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K.K.Venugopal

From Hodges. Engraved by George Cooke.

Tombs at Gazipoor.

A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

HINDOSTAN.

THE JOURNAL OF SIR THOMAS ROE,

Ambaſſador from His Majeſty King James the Firſt of England, to JEHAN GUIRE, the Mighty Emperor of India, commonly called the Great Mogul.

CONTAINING

An Account of his Voyage to that Country, and his Obſervations there.

Taken from his original Manuſcript *.

THE PREFACE, BY THE EDITOR OF CHURCHILL'S COLLECTION.

SIR THOMAS ROE has before appeared, in part, in Purchas's collection of travels, and ſince tranſlated into French, and publiſhed in the firſt volume of Thevenot. Now he comes abroad again with conſiderable additions, not foiſted in, but taken from his own original manuſcript, which it is likely Purchas had not, but ſome imperfect copy of it. It is true, the additions here are not great in bulk, as any will judge that ſhall compare this with the other edition, but they are valuable for the ſubject; and becauſe this being a journal, they are here more continued, and ſeveral matters that in the other were brought in abruptly, are here more methodical. His account at the latter end, of all the provinces ſubject to the Mogul, and of the extent of his dominions, is not to be rejected; for, though time and experience have pro-

* Churchill's Collection, vol. i. p. 617. edit. 1744.

duced more ample and exact relations, yet his are just as to the main, such as he received upon the spot, and pleasing to those that read of this mighty monarchy. Some extracts of letters are added out of a vast multitude, still preserved in two volumes; and in these extracts all that is remarkable, or of use at this time, the rest being only business of trade, as directed to the several factories in those parts, and to the East India Company in England. But that nothing might be omitted to satisfy the most curious, there is one list made out of many of his, containing all things that are fit for presents in India, and consequently they are good saleable commodities. In fine, here is all that is valuable of Sir Thomas Roe, and nothing that may cloy the reader.

SIR THOMAS ROE's JOURNAL,

Giving an Account of his Voyage to India, and his Observations in that Country, and particularly at the Court of the Great Mogul, where he resided as Ambassador from James the First, King of England.

MARCH the 6th we lost sight of the Lizard, and began our course for the Cape of Good Hope. The 26th we saw the coast of Barbary; the 27th had Cape Bojador E. by S. whence the current sets swift S.S.W. April the 14th we cut the line, May the 2d the tropic of Capricorn, and on the 5th of June came to anchor in the bay of Saldanha, next the Cape of Good Hope. The land is fruitful, but divided by high inaccessible rocky mountains covered with snow, the river Dulce falling into the bay on the east side. The people are the most barbarous in the world, eating carrion, wearing the guts of sheep about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads, which are curled like the Blacks, with the dung of beasts and dirt; and having no cloaths but skins wrapped about their shoulders, the flesh side next the body in summer, and the hair in winter. Their houses are but a mat rounded at the top like an oven, which they turn as the wind changes, having no door to keep it out. They have left off their custom of stealing, but know no God or religion. The air and water are very wholesome. Here are abundance of cows, antelopes, baboons, pheasants, partridges, larks, wild geese, ducks, and many other sorts. On the isle of Penguin is a sort of fowl of that name, that goes upright, his wings without feathers, hanging down like sleeves faced with white. They do not fly, but only walk in parcels, keeping regularly their own quarters; they are a sort of mixture of beast, bird, and fish, but most bird. The commodities here are cattle, nangin roots, and I believe there is a rock yielding quicksilver. The table mountain is eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty three foot high. The bay is full of whales and seals: the latitude is 33 deg. 45 min. The 21st we came up with the Cape of Good Hope; July the 8th with the isle of Madagascar, and the 22d with that of Molalia: this is one of the islands of Comera, the other three are Angaresia, Juanny, and Mayotta, lying almost east and west of one another, in the same meridian with Cape St. Augustin. Angaresia bears N. by W. from Molalia; it is the highest land that I ever saw, inhabited by Moors trading with the main, and the other three eastern islands, with their cattle and fruit for callico's, and other clothes to cover them. It is governed by ten petty kings, and has plenty enough of kine, goats, cows, oranges, and lemons. The people are counted false and treacherous. Juanny

lies eaſt from Molalia and Mayotta, the coaſt between them both. All theſe three iſlands are full of refreſhments, but chiefly Molalia, and next to it Juanny. Here lived an old woman who was Sultaneſs of all theſe iſlands. Under her there were three deputies in Molalia, children of the old woman. The Sultan, in whoſe quarter we anchored, is ſo abſolute, that the people dare not ſell a cocoa-nut without his leave. Four boats were ſent to his town to deſire this liberty, which was granted; and Captain Newport going aſhore with forty men, found the Governor ſitting on a mat, under the ſide of a junk that was building, attended by about fifty men. He had on a mantle of blue and red callico wrapped about him to his knes, his legs and feet bare, on his head a cloſe cap of chequer-work. Being preſented with a gun and a ſword, he returned four cows, and proclaimed liberty for the people to trade. He gave the Engliſh cocoa-nuts, and himſelf chewed betel tempered with lime of burnt oyſter-ſhells, and the kernel of a nut called areca, like an acorn: it has a biting taſte, voids rheum, cools the head, ſtrengthens the teeth, and is all their phyſic. Thoſe that are not uſed to it are giddy with it, and the ſpittle is red, which in time colours the teeth, and is counted a beauty. They all uſe this at all times. From the Governor's they were conducted to a carpenter's houſe, who was a chief man in the town; the houſe was built with lime and ſtone, plaiſtered with white lime, low and little, covered with rafters, and over them cocoa-leaves, the outſides wattled with canes. They are kept cleanly, and their poor houſhold ſtuff neat, their gardens incloſed with canes, containing tobacco and plantain trees. For dinner a board was ſet upon treſſels, covered with a fine new mat, and ſtone benches about it, on which they ſat. Firſt water was brought to every man in a cocoa-ſhell, and poured into a wooden platter, and inſtead of a towel they uſe the rinds of cocoas. Then they ſet before them boiled rice, with roaſted plantains on it, quarters of hens, and pieces of goat broiled. After grace ſaid they fell to their meat, with bread made of cocoas beaten, mixed with honey, and fried. Their drink was palmiſo wine and cocoa milk. Thoſe that went to ſee the Sultan, whoſe name was Amor Adell, found all things much reſembling what has been ſaid before of the Governor; but that in his behaviour he was more light, and made haſte to be drunk with ſome wine the Engliſh carried. The people are ſtrict Mahometans, very jealous to let their women and moſchs be ſeen; for ſome of the Engliſh coming near a village, they ſhut them up, and threatened to kill them if they came nearer. Many of them ſpeak and write Arabic, and ſome few of them Portugueſe, as trading to Morambique in junks of forty tons burden, and built, calked and rigged all out of the cocoa-tree. Here we bought oxen, cows fat but ſmall, Arabian ſheep, hens, cocoas, oranges, lemons, and limes in abundance, for callicoes, hollands, ſword-blades, pieces of eight, glaſſes, knives, and other trifles.

Auguſt the 2d we weighed, and ſtood our courſe for Socotora, and on the 10th repaſt the equinoctial to the northward. The 18th we made Cape Guardafu eight leagues to the weſtward, which is one of them that makes the entrance into the Red Sea; and came to an anchor in twelve fathom water in a ſmall bay, where we continued the 18th, and ſaw ſome people in turbans. Aſhore was a tomb of white ſtone, with a pillar at each end of it. The latitude 11 deg. 55 min.

The 24th we came to an anchor in the bay called Delicia in Socotora, having been before ſeparated in a ſtorm, and warned by the Sultan not to anchor at Tamara, which was too much expoſed to the violence of the winds. Socotora is an iſland at the mouth of the Red Sea, being the Dioſcuria or Dioſcorida of the ancients, lying in 12 deg. 55 min. of north latitude, governed then by a Sultan called Amar-Ben-Seid, ſon to the

King of Fortaque in Arabia Felix. The kingdom of Fortaque lies from 15 to 18 deg. along the coaſt of Arabia. The King was at peace with the Turk, on condition to aſſiſt him with five thouſand men, if he required it, and they to be paid by the Turk, to whom he made no other acknowledgment. Near the ſea about Dofor, was another petty king, whom he durſt not meddle with, becauſe he was under the Grand Seignior's protection. The Sultan of Socotora came down to the ſhore with about three hundred men, having ſet up a tent near the bay. He was a horſeback, as were two of his chief ſervants, and another on a camel; the people running before and behind him ſhouting; and two guards, one of his ſubjects, and the other of twelve hired guzarats, ſome with Turkiſh bows, ſome with piſtols, ſome with muſkets, but all with good ſwords. He had alſo a few kettle drums, and one trumpet. He received the General in a courteous manner, and was ſo abſolute, that no man could ſell any thing but himſelf. His people ſat about him very reſpectfully; his clothes were of Surat ſtuffs after the Arabian manner, with a caſſoc of red and white wrought velvet, and another, whereof the ground was gold. He had a very good turban, but was barefooted. Every night they all ſtand or kneel towards the ſun, the zerife throwing water on their heads. As for religion they are Mahometans. The King's town of Tamara is built of lime and ſtone whited over, with battlements and pinnacles, the houſes being flat at the top. At a diſtance it looks well, but when in it is poor. Mr. Boughton, who had leave to ſee the King's houſe, found it ſuch as would ſerve an ordinary gentleman in England. The lower rooms ſerved for warehouſes and wardrobe, ſome changes of robes hanging about the walls, and with them about twenty-five books of their law, religion, hiſtory, and ſaints lives. No man was permitted to go up ſtairs to ſee his wives, which were three, nor the other women; but the ordinary ſort might be ſeen in the town, with their ears full of ſilver rings. In the moſque the prieſt was at ſervice. Mr. Boughton had for his dinner three hens with rice, and for drink water and cahu, black liquor, drank as hot as could be endured *. On a hill a mile from Tamara is a ſquare caſtle, but leave could not be obtained to ſee it. The people are of four ſorts; Arabs come in by conqueſt, who dare not ſpeak in the Sultan's preſence without leave, and kiſſing his hand. The ſecond ſorts are ſlaves, who when they come to him kiſs his foot, do all his work, and make his aloes. The third I ſuppoſe are the old inhabitants of the country, called Bedwins, though not the oldeſt of all, whom I ſuppoſe to be thoſe commonly called Jacobite Chriſtians; becauſe Mr. Boughton going into a church of theirs, which the Arabs had forced them to abandon, found images in it, and a crucifix, which he took away; and the Mahometans would not ſay much of them, fearing leſt other Chriſtians ſhould relieve or ſupport them. They have had wars with the Arabs, and live retired from them in the mountains. The fourth ſort are a ſavage people, poor, lean, naked, with long hair, eating nothing but roots, riding on buffaloes, converſing with none of the others, and afraid of all, without houſes, and almoſt as brutal as beaſts, which by conjecture are the ancienteſt natives of the place. The iſland is very mountainous and barren, having ſome beeves, goats, and ſheep, a few dates and oranges, a little rice, and nothing elſe of ſuſtenance. All its commodity is aloes, which is the juice of a leaf like our houſe-leek. The people make a poor ſort of cloth for the ſlaves. The King had ſome dragon's blood and indigo of Lahor, as alſo civet cats and civet. The dead are here all buried in tombs, and the monuments of their ſaints are held in great veneration. The chief

* This was certainly coffee, which Sir Thomas Roe was not acquainted with.

of

of theſe is Seidy Hachim, buried at Tamara, who being killed a hundred years before, they ſaid ſtill appeared to them, and warned them of dangers at hand; and they imputed the high winds to his walking, having him in wonderful veneration.

The 31ſt we weighed, and ſtood our courſe for Surat, where I landed on the 26th of September, and was received in an open tent by the chief officers of the town well attended. Much controverſy was about ſearching my ſervants, but at length they paſſed free to the city, where we went into a houſe provided for us, and there continued till the 30th of October, ſuffering much from the Governor, who by force ſearched many cheſts, and took out what he thought fit. The 30th aforeſaid I departed Surat, and travelled but four coſſes to Cumaria, the 1ſt of November eleven miles to a village, the 2d to Biarat twenty-one miles, where there is a caſtle, this town being on the borders of the kingdom of Guzarat, ſubject to the Mogul, and belonging to Abraham Chan. The 3d entered the kingdom of Pardaffsha, a Pagan lord of the hills, ſubject to no body, and at fifteen miles end lay in the fields by a city of note called Mugher. The 4th nine miles rocky way, lay in the fields by a village called Narampora. The 5th fifteen miles in the fields. The 6th twenty miles to Nunderbar, a city of the kingdom of Brampore ſubject to the Mogul. Here we had firſt bread after coming from Surat, becauſe the Banians who inhabit all the country make no bread, but only cakes. The country is plentiful, eſpecially of cattle, the Banians killing none, or ſelling any to be killed. One day I met ten thouſand bullocks loaded with corn, in one drove, and moſt days after leſſer parcels. The 7th eighteen miles to Ningul. The 8th fifteen to Sinchelly. The 9th fifteen to Tolmere. The 10th eighteen to Chapre, where having pitched the tents without the town, the King's officers attended me all night with thirty horſe and twenty ſhot, for fear of the robbers on the mountains, becauſe I refuſed to remove into the town. The 11th eighteen miles, the 13th eighteen miles, and the 14th fifteen miles to Brampore, which I gueſs to be two hundred twenty three miles eaſt from Surat. The country miſerable and barren, the towns and villages built with mud. At Batharpore, a village two miles ſhort of Brampore, I ſaw ſome of the ordnance, which is moſt too ſhort, and too open in the bore. The Cutwall, an officer of the King's ſo called, met me well attended with ſixteen colours carried before him, and conducted me to the ſeraglio, where I was appointed to lodge. He took his leave at the gate, which made a handſome front of ſtone, but when in I had four chambers allotted me like ovens, and no bigger, round at the top, made of brick in the ſide of a wall, ſo that I lay in my tent; the Cutwall making his excuſe, that it was the beſt lodging in the town, as I found it was; all the place being only mud cottages except the Prince's houſe, the Chan's, and ſome few others. I was conducted by the Cutwall to viſit the Prince, in whoſe outward court I found about a hundred gentlemen a horſeback, waiting to ſalute him at his coming out. He ſat high in a gallery that went round, with a canopy over him, and a carpet before him. An officer told me, as I approached I muſt touch the ground with my head bare, which I refuſed, and went on to a place right under him railed in, with an aſcent of three ſteps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body: ſo I went within, where were all the great men of the town with their hands before them like ſlaves. The place was covered over head with a rich canopy, and under foot all with carpets: It was like a great ſtage, and the Prince ſat at the upper end of it. Having no place aſſigned, I ſtood right before him, he refuſing to admit me to come up the ſteps, or to allow me a chair. Having received my preſents he offered to go into another room, where I ſhould be allowed to ſit; but by the way he made himſelf drunk out of a caſe of bottles I gave him, and ſo the viſit ended.

The

The twenty-ſeventh of November I was carried ſick from Brampore, three coſſes to Raypora. The twenty-eighth fifteen coſſes to Burgome, and the thirtieth ſeven coſſes. December the firſt ten coſſes to Bicangome, the ſecond ſeven coſſes, the third five coſſes, the fourth eleven coſſes to Echarpur, ſtanding on a good river that falls into the ſea near Baroche. The fifth paſſed the river called Narbodah, the ſixth travelled eight coſſes, and lay in a wood not far from the King's famous caſtle of Mandoa, which ſtands on a ſteep hill of a vaſt extent, including fifteen coſſes within the wall. The ſeventh ten coſſes, the eighth eight, the ninth ten, the tenth twelve, the eleventh ſixteen, the twelfth fourteen, the thirteenth ſix, the fourteenth lay ſtill to reſt, the fifteenth ſix coſſes, the ſixteenth ſix, the ſeventeenth twelve, the eighteenth five to Cytor. This is an antient ruined city on a hill, but ſhews the footſteps of wonderful magnificence. There are ſtill ſtanding above a hundred churches all of carved ſtone, many fair towers and lanthorns, many pillars, and innumerable houſes, but not one inhabitant. There is but one ſteep aſcent cut out of the rock, and four gates in the aſcent before you come to the city gate, which is magnificent. The hill is incloſed on the top for about eight coſſes, and at the ſouth-weſt end is a goodly old caſtle. It is in the country of Rama, a Prince newly ſubdued by the Mogul, or rather brought to own ſubjection. It was brought under by Echar-Sha father to Jehan Guire. The Indian Prince Rama is lineally deſcended from Porus, that warlike Indian Monarch overcome by Alexander the Great.

The nineteenth I proceeded on my journey twelve coſſes, the twentieth ten, the twenty-firſt ten, the twenty-ſecond nine, the twenty-third ten to Adſmere. The firſt ſix days journey from Brampore towards Adſmere were weſt, or north-weſt, to compaſs the hills, but after that due north, ſo that they bear from one another almoſt north by weſt, and ſouth by eaſt, the whole diſtance two hundred and nine coſſes, which I judge to be about four hundred and eighteen miles Engliſh; the coſſes here being longer than near the ſea.

January the 10th, I went to court at four in the afternoon to the Durbar, where the Mogul daily ſits to entertain ſtrangers, receive petitions and preſents, give out orders, and to ſee and be ſeen. And here it will be proper to give ſome account of his court. None but eunuchs come within that King's private lodgings, and his women, who guard him with warlike weapons. Theſe puniſh one another for any offence committed. The Mogul every morning ſhews himſelf to the common people at a window that looks into the plain before his gate. At noon he is there again to ſee elephants and wild beaſts fight, the men of rank being under him within a rail. Hence he retires to ſleep among his women. After noon he comes to the Durbar aforementioned. After ſupper at eight of the clock he comes down to the Guzalcan, a fair court, in the midſt whereof is a throne of free ſtone, on which he ſits, or ſometimes below in a chair, where none are admitted but of the firſt quality, and few of them without leave. Here he diſcourſes of indifferent things very affably. No buſineſs of ſtate is done any where but at one of theſe two laſt places, where it is publicly canvaſſed, and ſo regiſtered; which regiſter might be ſeen for two ſhillings, and the common people know as much as the council; ſo that every day the King's reſolutions are the public news, and expoſed to the cenſure of every ſcoundrel. This method is never altered unleſs ſickneſs or drink obſtruct it; and this muſt be known, for if he be unſeen one day without a reaſon aſſigned, the people would mutiny; and for two days no excuſe will ſerve, but the doors muſt be opened, and ſome admitted to ſee him to ſatisfy others. On Tueſday he ſits in judgment at the Jarruco, and hears the meaneſt perſon's complaints, examines both parties, and often ſees execution done by his elephants.

Before

Before my audience, I had obtained leave to uſe the cuſtoms of my country. At the Durbar I was conducted right before him; entering the outward rail, two noble ſlaves met to conduct me nearer. At the firſt rail I made a low reverence, at the next another, and when under the King a third. The place is a great court, to which all ſorts of people reſort. The King ſits in a little gallery over head; ambaſſadors, great men, and ſtrangers of quality within the inmoſt rail under him, raiſed from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and ſilk, and good carpets under foot. The next degree, like our gentry, are within the firſt rail, the commonalty without in a baſs court, yet ſo that all may ſee the King. In fine, it is riſing by degrees like a theatre. His reception was very favourable, but needs not particularizing.

March the firſt I rid out to ſee a houſe of pleaſure of the King's, given him by Aſaph Chan, and two miles from Adſmere. It is ſeated betwixt two mighty rocks, ſo defended from the ſun, that it ſcarce any way ſees it. The foundation is cut out of the rock, as are ſome of the rooms, the reſt is free ſtone. There is a handſome little garden, with fine fountains, and two great fiſhponds, one thirty ſteps above another. The way to it admits of but one, or at moſt two men a-breaſt, and that very ſteep and ſtony. It is a place of melancholy, delight, and ſafety, all the company about it being wild peacocks, turtles, fowls, and monkeys, that inhabit the rocks hanging every way over it.

The 11th of March in the evening began the feſtival of the Noroſe. This is a cuſtom of ſolemnizing the new year, but the ceremony begins the firſt new moon after it. It is kept in imitation of the Perſians' feaſt, and ſignifies in that language nine days, becauſe anciently it laſted no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner of it is thus. A throne is erected four foot from the ground in the Durbar court: from the back whereof to the place where the King comes out, a ſquare of fifty-ſix paces in length, and forty-three in breadth, was railed in, and covered with fair ſemians, or canopies of cloth of gold, ſilk, or velvet, joined together, and held up with canes covered after the ſame manner. At the upper end were ſet out the pictures of the King of England, the Queen, the Lady Elizabeth, the Counteſſes of Somerſet and Saliſbury, and of a citizen's wife of London. Below them another of Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the Eaſt-India Company. The ground is laid with good Perſian carpets very large, into which place come all the men of quality to attend the King, except ſome few that are within a little rail right before the throne to receive his commands. Within this ſquare there were ſet out for ſhew many little houſes, one of them of ſilver, and ſome other curioſities of value. The Prince Sultan Corome had on the left ſide a pavilion, the ſupporters whereof were covered with ſilver, as were ſome of thoſe alſo near the King's throne. The form of this throne was ſquare, the matter wood inlaid with mother of pearl, born up with four pillars, and covered with cloth of gold. About the hedge over head, like a valence, was a net fringe of good pearl, from which hung down pomegranates, apples, pears, and ſuch fruit of gold, but hollow. Within it the King ſat on cuſhions very rich in pearls and jewels. Round about the court before the throne, the principal men had erected tents, which encompaſſed the court, and lined them with velvet, damaſk, or taffety for the moſt part, but ſome few with cloth of gold; into which they retired, and ſat to ſhew all their wealth. For anciently the Kings uſed to go to every tent, and take thence what they pleaſed; but now it is changed, the King ſitting to receive what new-year's gifts are brought him. He comes abroad at the uſual hour of the Durbar, and retires in the ſame order. Here great preſents are offered him by all ſorts, though not equal to report, yet incredible enough: and at the end of this feaſt, the King in return

return for the preſents received, advances ſome, and adds to their entertainment ſome horſe at his pleaſure.

The next day being the 12th of March, I went to viſit the King, and delivered him a preſent, where I ſaw abundance of wealth, but being of all ſorts put together without order, it did not look ſo regular. The ſame day the ſon of Rama, the new tributary before mentioned, did his homage, touching the ground three times with his head. The thirteenth at night I had audience at the Guzalcan, and preſſed to have the peace and commerce with England, ſettled after a ſolemn manner, and all the articles ſettled, which the Mogul ordered ſhould be done. The fifteenth I went again in the evening to the Noroſe, and according to the Mogul's order choſe my place of ſtanding, which was on the right hand of him on the riſing of the throne, the Prince and young Rama ſtanding on the other ſide; ſo I had a full view of what was to be ſeen, preſents, elephants, horſes, and whores. The twenty-third the Mogul condemned one of his own nation upon ſuſpicion of felony; but being one of the handſomeſt men in India, and the evidence not very clear againſt him, he would not ſuffer him to be executed, but ſent him to me in irons for a ſlave to diſpoſe of at my will. This is looked upon as a great favour, for which I returned thanks: adding, that in England we had no ſlaves, nor thought it lawful to make the image of God equal to a beaſt, but that I would uſe him as a ſervant, and if he behaved himſelf well, give him his liberty. This the Mogul was well pleaſed with. The twenty-ſixth I went to the Guzalcan, and delivered the articles I had drawn up, which were referred to Aſaph Chan, who a while after ſent to me to remove from the ſtanding I had taken before the King, becauſe I ſtood alone, and that was not the cuſtom. I refuſed at firſt, but he inſiſting I ſhould rank myſelf among the nobility, I removed to the other ſide, to the place where only the Prince and young Rama were; which more diſguſted Aſaph Chan, who perſuaded the Prince to complain of me, which he did; but the Mogul having heard their complaint, and my anſwer, that I removed by Aſaph Chan's order, anſwered, I had done well, and they were in the wrong to offer to diſplace me in his ſight. So I kept my place in quiet.

The ſubſtance of the articles delivered to the Great Mogul was, 1. That there be perpetual peace and amity between the King of Great Britain and His Indian Majeſty. 2. That the ſubjects of England have free trade in all ports of India. 3. That the governors of all ports publiſh this agreement three times upon the arrival of any Engliſh ſhips. 4. That the merchants and their ſervants ſhall not be ſearched, or ill uſed. 5. That no preſents ſent to the Mogul ſhall be opened. 6. That the Engliſh goods ſhall not be ſtopped above twenty four hours at the cuſtom-houſe, only to be there ſealed and ſent to the merchant's houſe, there to be opened and rated within ſix days after. 7. That no governor ſhall take any goods by force, but upon payment at the owner's price; nor any taken upon pretence of the King's ſervice. 8. That the merchants ſhall not be hindred ſelling their goods to whom they pleaſe, or ſending them to other factories, and this without paying any other duty than what is paid at the port. 9. That whatſoever goods the Engliſh buy in any part of the Mogul's dominions, they may ſend down to the ports without paying any duty more than ſhall be agreed on at the port at ſhipping them, and this without any hindrance or moleſtation. 10. That no goods brought to any port ſhall be again opened, the Engliſh ſhewing a certificate of their numbers, qualities, and conditions, from the governor or officers of the place where they were bought. 11. That no confiſcation ſhall be made of the goods or money of any Engliſh dying. 12. That no cuſtom be demanded for proviſions during the ſtay of Engliſh ſhips at any port. 13. That the merchants' ſervants, whether Engliſh or

Indians, ſhall not be puniſhed or beaten for doing their duty. 14. That the Mogul will puniſh any governor or officer, for breach of any of theſe articles. 15. That the Engliſh ſhips ſhall ſuffer all others to paſs and repaſs freely to the Mogul's ports, except their enemies; and that the Engliſh aſhore ſhall behave themſelves civilly as merchants. 16. That they ſhall yearly furniſh the Mogul with all rarities from Europe, and all other ſuch things as he ſhall deſire at reaſonable prices. 17. The Engliſh to pay the duty of three and a half per cent. for goods reaſonably rated, and two per cent. for pieces of eight, and no other duty elſewhere. 18. That the Engliſh ſhall be ready to aſſiſt the Mogul againſt all his enemies. Laſtly, That the Portugueſe may come into this peace within ſix months; or if they refuſe, the Engliſh to be at liberty to exerciſe all hoſtilities againſt them. Theſe were the articles preſented, but they were delayed and oppoſed, and what was the concluſion we ſhall ſee hereafter.

The 31ſt of March the Mogul dined at Aſaph Chan's houſe, all the way from the palace to it, which was an Engliſh mile, being laid under foot with ſilks and velvets ſewed together, but rolled up as the King paſſed. They reported the feaſt and preſent coſt ſix lecks of roupies, which is 60,000l. ſterling *.

From this time Sir Thomas Roe continues his journal as before; but there being nothing in it remarkable for many days, all the buſineſs being ſoliciting for money due to merchants, and ſuch other affairs, in which there is nothing worth obſerving, that part is thought fit to be wholly left out here, as it was alſo done by Purchas in his account of this embaſſy.

June the 18th, the King commanded one of his brother's ſons, who had been perſuaded to become a Chriſtian, with a deſign to make him odious to the people, to lay his hand on the head of a lion that was brought before the King, which he refuſed out of fear; upon which the King bid his youngeſt ſon go touch the lion, who did ſo without receiving any hurt: whereat the King took occaſion to ſend his nephew away to priſon, where he is never like to ſee day-light. The 19th, the King removed with the Prince and all the court to Havar Gemal. The 23d, the King returned to his own houſe, and ſat in public according to cuſtom. The 24th, Prince Couron, whoſe favour I was labouring to gain, and with whom I had many conteſts, had a ſon born; and he preparing to lead the army to Decan, the eyes of all men were fixed on him; ſome flattering, others envying him, and others to make their advantage, but none loving him. He received twenty lecks of roupies towards his charge, which amounts to 200,000l. ſterling †, and began to beſtow his money bountifully. Yet notwithſtanding this ſhew of his father's affection and greatneſs, a Chan told the King that the expedition would prove dangerous in reſpect of Prince Pervis, whoſe honour was ſo deeply concerned that he would not go unrevenged. The King anſwered, Let them fight, I am ſo ſatisfied, and he that proves himſelf the better commander ſhall purſue the war. The 25th, I had audience of the King, being ſent for by Aſaph Chan, and was received with the uſual courteſy by His Majeſty. This Aſaph Chan was the Prince's favourite, and therefore I was unwilling to diſoblige him, though he had given ſeveral provocations. And at this time Mocreb Chan, another great man, made me offers of his ſervice, being of a contrary faction to the other; but I thought beſt to make friends of them both. Mocreb told, me among other things, that the Engliſh carried too much cloth and bad ſwords, and ſcarce any thing elſe, and therefore adviſed to forbear two or three years, and rather bring ſuch rarities as China and Japan afforded, which would be

* Thevenot ſays a leck is 100,000, and a roupie worth a crown French and five ſols, after which rate the ſix lecks muſt amount at leaſt to 150,000l. ſterling.

† According to Thevenot, who ſays a roupie is worth a crown, this ſhould be 500,000l.

more acceptable; and from England the beſt cloth of gold and the richeſt ſilks wrought with gold and ſilver, but above all a good quantity of Arras hangings. The 30th I viſited Abdala Haſſan, having need of his friendſhip; and what is rare in that country, he received no preſents. He has the command of all ſoldiers entertained at court, and is treaſurer to all the armies. He entertained me with much civility, and we ſat to ſee his ſoldiers ſhoot with bows and guns. Moſt of them with a ſingle bullet hit the mark, being about a hand's breadth in a butt.

July paſſed moſt away in ſoliciting the Prince to ſign and ſeal the articles I had preſented to the King, of which an abſtract was given before. On the 13th at night I went to the Durbar to viſit the King, who ſent Aſaph Chan to tell me he was informed I had an excellent painter at my houſe, which I told him was only a young man that drew upon paper, and that very indifferently; however I promiſed to bring him to His Majeſty, who at this time uſed ſo many expreſſions of kindneſs to me that all men were amazed at it, and profered me any thing I would aſk for in his kingdom. I went from him to Aſaph Chan's houſe, where I continued till the King came out again, when I was conducted back to him, carrying with me Mr. Hughs, the ſuppoſed painter, with whom the King had ſome diſcourſe. After this I preſented the King with a curious picture I had of a friend of mine, which pleaſed him highly, and he ſhewed it to all the company. The King's chief painter being ſent for, pretended he could make as good; which I denying, a wager of a horſe was laid about it between me and Aſaph Chan, in the Mogul's preſence and to pleaſe him; but Aſaph Chan afterwards fell off. This done, the Mogul fell to drinking of Alicant wine I had preſented him, giving taſtes of it to ſeveral about him, and then ſent for a full bottle, and drinking a cup, ſent it to me, ſaying, it began to ſour ſo faſt it would be ſpoiled before he could drink it, and I had none. This done, he turned to ſleep; the candles were popped out, and I groped my way out in the dark. This day a gentlewoman of Normals, the King's favourite Queen, was taken in the King's houſe in ſome action with an eunuch. Another capon that loved her killed him. The poor woman was ſet up to the arm-pits in the earth cloſe rammed about her, with her feet tied to a ſtake, ſo to continue three days and two nights without any ſuſtenance, her head and arms bare, expoſed to the violent heat of the ſun. If ſhe died not in that time ſhe was to be pardoned. The eunuch was condemned to the elephants. This damſel was found worth in pearls, jewels, and ready money, 160,000 roupies.

The 22d I received letters from Brampor, in anſwer to others I had ſent long before to Mahobet Chan, who had granted all I deſired of him, ſending his order to Baroche in ample form to receive the Engliſh there, and give them a houſe for a factory near the governor, ſtrictly commanding all men not to moleſt them, either by ſea or land, not to take any cuſtom of them, or any way trouble them under ſuch pretence. In ſhort, that they might buy, ſell, and tranſport any commodity at their pleaſure, without any moleſtation, giving a ſtrict charge for the execution of this order. Beſides, I received a letter from him full of civility, and all kind offers, far exceeding all I had found in India. This was a noble and generous man, well beloved by all men, and the King's only favourite, but cared not for the Prince, ſo that this was a good retreat in caſe the merchants ſhould be drove away from Surat by the Prince. As for cuſtoms, the King takes none, but the governors exact them for their own private gain, which this worthy man ſcorned to do, ſaying, he would not abuſe the liberty of the King's ports.

Nothing remarkable happened till Auguſt the 6th: I was ſent for to the Durbar, where I had much talk with the King, who aſked me many queſtions to ſatisfy his curioſity,

curioſity, and bid me come to the Guzalcan at night, and I ſhould ſee my picture ſo exactly copied, that I ſhould not know the one from the other. I came at night, and he ſhewed me ſix pictures, five of them painted by his own painter, all paſted upon a board, and ſo like, that by candle-light I could ſcarce know one from another. Neither did I at firſt ſight know my own, at which the Mogul was much pleaſed; but looking cloſer upon them I ſhewed it, and the difference between it and the others. The Mogul was overjoyed, and I ſurprized at their art, not thinking they could have performed ſo well; and the King after many civilities, promiſed me his own picture.

The 9th a hundred thieves were brought chained before the Mogul, with their accuſation: without further ceremony, as in all ſuch caſes is the cuſtom, he ordered them to be carried away, the chief of them to be torn in pieces by dogs, the reſt put to death. This was all the proceſs and form. The priſoners were divided into ſeveral quarters of the town, and executed in the ſtreets, as in one by my houſe, where twelve dogs tore the chief of them in pieces, and thirteen of his fellows having their hands tied down to their feet, had their necks cut with a ſword, but not quite off, being ſo left naked, bloody, and ſtinking, to the view of all men, and annoyance of the neighbourhood. The 10th, 11th, and 12th I ſpent in giving the King and Prince advice that a Dutch ſhip lay before Surat, and would not declare upon what deſign it came, till a fleet arrived; which was expected with the firſt fit ſeaſon. This I improved to fill their heads with jealouſies of the deſigns of the Dutch, and the dangers that might enſue from them, which was well taken; and being demanded, I gave my advice to prevent coming to a rupture with them, and yet exclude them the trade of India. The laſt of theſe days I went to viſit Gemaldin-Uſſin, Viceroy of Patan, and ſeventy years of age. He received me with extraordinary courteſy, offering me a lack of roupies, or all his intereſt at court; informing me of all the cuſtoms of the country, and ſhewing me a book he had compoſed of all memorable things that had happened under three Kings, whom he had ſerved; and offering me a copy if I could get it tranſlated. It alſo treated of the King's revenue, and the manner of raiſing it. He ſhewed me that the government of every province did pay a yearly rent; and for inſtance, he for his government of Patan gave the King eleven lacks of roupies; the roupie is two ſhillings and twopence *. All other profits were the governor's, and he had regal authority to take what he pleaſed; which in his viceroyſhip of Patan was valued at five thouſand horſe; the pay of each at two hundred roupies a year, whereof he kept a thouſand and five hundred, and was allowed the ſurplus as dead pay. Beſides this, the King gave him a penſion of a thouſand roupies a day, and ſome ſmaller governments; yet he aſſured me there were ſeveral that had double his allowance, and above twenty equal to him. He praiſed the good prophet Jeſus and his laws, and had much pleaſant and profitable diſcourſe. Some days had paſſed after this viſit, and I thought his kindneſs had been at an end; when he borrowed the King's pleaſure-houſe and garden called Havar Gemal, a mile out of the town, to treat me in, and invited me over night. At midnight he went himſelf, and carried his tents and all his furniture, and fitted up a place by the pond-ſide very handſomely. I went in the morning; he met me with much civility, and carried me into his room prepared for me, where he had ſome company, and a hundred ſervants attending two of his ſons, he having thirty. He ſhewed me the King's cloſets and retiring rooms, which were painted *a l'antique*, and in ſome panes the pictures of the King of France, and other Chriſtian Princes. He told me he was a poor

* Thevenot ſays, a roupie is a crown.

having ſent away his ſon Sultan Pervis to Bengala, might be near at hand to countenance his ſon Sultan Coron, who he deſigned ſhould command in Decan, contrary to the inclination of all the great men. The 30th the King returning from hunting, ſent me a wild boar ſo large, that he deſired the tuſks might be ſent him back for their extraordinary ſize, ſending word he had killed it with his own hand, and bidding me eat it merrily.

The ſecond of September was the King's birth-day, and kept with great ſolemnity. On this day the King is weighed againſt ſome jewels, gold, ſilver, ſtuffs of gold, ſilver, and ſilk, butter, rice, fruit, and many other things, of every ſort a little, which is all given to the Bramas or Bramans. The King commanded Aſaph Chan to ſend for me to this ſolemnity, who appointed me to come to the place where the King ſits at Durbar, and I ſhould be ſent for in; but the meſſenger miſtaking, I went not till Durbar time, and ſo miſſed the ſight; but being there before the King came out, as ſoon as he ſpied me, he ſent to know the reaſon why I came not in, ſince he had ordered it. I anſwered according to the miſtake, yet he was very angry, and chid Aſaph Chan publicly. He was ſo rich in jewels, that I own in my life I never ſaw ſuch ineſtimable wealth together. The time was ſpent in bringing his greateſt elephants before him; ſome of which being lord elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and ſilver, with many gilt banners and flags carried about them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on each of them, clothed in gold, ſilk, and ſilver. In this manner about twelve companies paſſed by moſt richly adorned, the firſt having all the plates on his head and breaſt ſet with rubies and emeralds, being a beaſt of wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bowed down before the King, making their reverence very handſomely; this was the fineſt ſhow of beaſts I ever ſaw. The keepers of every chief elephant gave a preſent. Then having made me ſome favourable compliments, he roſe up and went in. At night about ten of the clock he ſent for me. I was then abed. The meſſage was, that he heard I had a picture which I had not ſhewed him, deſiring me to come to him and bring it; and if I would not give it him, he would order copies of it to be taken for his women. I got up, and carried it with me. When I came in, I found him ſitting croſs-legged on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Before him a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all ſet with jewels, ſome very great and extremely rich, ſome of them of leſs value, but all of them almoſt covered with ſmall ſtones. His nobility about him in their beſt equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily, ſeveral ſorts of wine ſtanding by in great flaggons. When I drew near, he aſked for the picture. I ſhewed him two; he ſeemed aſtoniſhed at one of them, and aſked whoſe it was. I told him a friend of mine that was dead. He aſked if I would give it him. I anſwered I valued it above all things, but if His Majeſty would pardon me, and accept of the other, which was an excellent piece, I would willingly beſtow it on His Majeſty. He thanked me, and ſaid he deſired none but that picture, and if I would give it him, he ſhould prize it above the richeſt jewel in his houſe. I replied, I was not ſo fond of any thing, but I would part with it to pleaſe His Majeſty, with other expreſſions of reſpect. He bowed to me, and ſaid it was enough, I had given it him; that he owned he had never ſeen ſo much art, ſo much beauty, and conjured me to tell him truly, whether ever ſuch a woman lived. I aſſured him there did, but ſhe was now dead. He ſaid he would ſhew it his women, and take five copies, and if I knew my own I ſhould have it again. Other compliments paſſed, but he would reſtore it, his painters being excellent at copying in water colours. The other picture being in oil, he did not like. Then he ſent me word it was his birth-day, and all men made merry, and aſked whether I would drink with them. I anſwered, I

would

would do whatſoever His Majeſty commanded, and wiſhed him many happy days, and that the ceremony might be renewed a hundred years. He aſked me whether I would drink wine of the grape, or made, whether ſtrong or ſmall. I replied, what he commanded, but hoped it would not be too much, nor too ſtrong. Then he called for a gold cup full of mixed wine, half of the grape and half artificial, and drank; cauſing it to be filled again, and then ſent it by one of the nobles to me with this meſſage, that I ſhould drink it off twice, thrice, four, or five times for his ſake, and accept of the cup and appurtenances as a preſent. I drank a little, but it was ſtronger than any I ever taſted; inſomuch that it made me ſneeze, which made him laugh; and he called for raiſins, almonds, and ſliced lemons, which were brought me on a gold plate, bidding me eat and drink what I would, and no more. I made reverence for my preſent after my own manner, though Aſaph Chan would have had me kneel, and knock my head againſt the ground; but His Majeſty accepted of what I did. The cup was of gold, ſet all about with ſmall rubies and Turkey ſtones, the cover with large rubies, emeralds, and Turkey ſtones in curious works, and a diſh ſuitable to ſet the cup on. The value I know not, becauſe the ſtones are many of them ſmall, and the greater, which are many, not all clean; but they are in number about two thouſand, and the gold about twenty ounces. Thus he made merry, and ſent me word he eſteemed me more than ever he had done, and aſked whether I was merry at eating the wild boar ſent me a few days before, how I dreſſed it, what I drank, aſſuring me I ſhould want for nothing in his country: the effects of all which his public favours I preſently found in the behaviour of all his nobility. Then he threw about to thoſe that ſtood below two chargers of new roupies, and among us two charges of hollow almonds of gold and ſilver mixed; but I would not ſcramble, as his great men did, for I ſaw his ſon take up none. Then he gave ſaſhes of gold and girdles, to all the muſicians and waiters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others to do the ſame, His Majeſty and all his Lords became the fineſt men I ever ſaw, of a thouſand ſeveral humours. But his ſon, Aſaph Chan, two old men, the late King of Candahar, and myſelf forbore. When he could hold up his head no longer, he laid down to ſleep, and we all departed.

Seven months were now ſpent in ſoliciting the ſigning and ſealing of the articles of peace and commerce ſet down above, and nothing obtained but promiſes from week to week, and from day to day; and therefore on the 3d September, the Engliſh fleet being hourly expected at Surat, I went to the Prince, and delivered him a memorial containing the articles I deſired him to give an order to be obſerved for the unloading of the ſhips. The articles were,

Firſt, That the preſents coming for the King and Prince ſhould not be opened at the port, but ſent up to court ſealed by the cuſtom-houſe officers.

Secondly, That curioſities ſent for other preſents, and for the merchants to ſell, ſhould alſo be ſent up to court ſealed, for the Prince to take the firſt choice.

Thirdly, That the groſs merchandize be landed, reaſonably rated for the cuſtom, and not detained in the cuſtom-houſe; but that the merchants paying the cuſtom, have full liberty to ſell or diſpoſe of it; and that the ſhips be ſupplied with proviſions without paying cuſtom.

On the 4th, Aſaph Chan ſent me back my firſt articles, after ſo long attendance and ſo many falſe promiſes, ſome of them altered, others ſtruck out, and an anſwer, that there was no articling at all, but it was enough to have an order from the Prince, who was Lord of Surat, to trade there: but for Bengala or Syndu, it ſhould never be granted. Notwithſtanding all this vexation, I durſt not change my method of proceeding, or wholly quit the Prince and Aſaph Chan: therefore I drew up other articles,

leaving out what was diſpleaſing in the former, and deſiring Aſaph Chan to put them in form, and procure the ſeal, or elſe to give me leave to apply myſelf to the King, to receive his denial, and depart the country. The ſubſtance of the new articles was as follows. That all the ſubjects of the Mogul ſhould receive the Engliſh in friendly manner; to ſuffer them to land their goods peaceably; to furniſh them with proviſions for their money, without paying any cuſtoms for them; to have liberty, after paying cuſtom for their goods, to ſell them to any perſon, and none to oblige them to ſell any under rate; to have liberty to paſs with ſuch goods to any parts, without any thing being exacted further of them more than at the port; to have the preſents for the Mogul and Prince ſealed without opening, and ſent to the ambaſſador; to have the goods of any that die ſecured from coſiſcation, and delivered to the other Engliſh factors; and in ſhort, that no injury in any ſort be offered to any of them.

The 8th of this month, Aſaph Chan ſent me word in plain terms, he would procure nothing for me ſealed; but I might be ſatisfied with an order ſigned by the Prince: which made me reſolve to apply myſelf directly to the Prince, and apply no more to Aſaph Chan. Accordingly I was with the Prince the 10th, and the 11th he ſent me an order, but ſo altered from what I had given in, that I ſent it back. But at night I received a new order from the ſecretary, containing all my articles; though ſome words were ſomewhat ambiguous, which the ſecretary interpreted favourably, and at my requeſt, writ to the Governor of Surat, explaining them to him as he had done to me. He gave me many aſſurances of the Prince's favour; and being a man not ſubject to bribery, I gave the more credit to him. So I accepted of the order, which when tranſlated, I found very effectual. The 16th I viſited the Prince, reſolving to ſeem wholly to depend on him, till I had heard what entertainment our ſhips met with. I found him ſad for fear of Prince Pervis coming to court, he being but eight coſſes from it; but the power of Normahall, the favourite Queen, diverted it, and he was ordered away directly to Bengala. The Mogul was retired, but whither no man could certainly tell.

Several days paſſed in ſoliciting the King and great ones, and paying court to them, without any thing remarkable; till on the 9th of October I received letters from Surat with an account that four Engliſh ſhips were arrived there. Abdala Chan the great governor of Amadabat being ſent for to court in diſgrace, for many inſolencies and contempts of the King's authority: it was at firſt thought that he would ſtand on his guard and refuſe to appear; but the Prince Sultan Corone, whoſe ambition laid hold of every advantage, deſiring to oblige ſo great a man, as being one of the chief commanders in India, prevailed with him, on his word, to ſubmit. So he came ſixty miles on foot in pilgrim's clothes with forty ſervants, counterfeiting great humility, and performed the reſt of his journey in his palankine, till he came near the court; but had two thouſand horſe one day's journey behind him. On the 10th of October he was brought to the Jarruco (the place where the King ſits in public to ſee ſports, and hear complaints) with chains at his heels, and barefoot, led between two noblemen. He pulled his turban over his eyes, that he might ſee no man before he had the happineſs to behold the King's face. After reverence made, and ſome few queſtions, the King forgave him, cauſed his irons to be knocked off, and him to be clothed with a new veſt of gold, with a turbant and girdle ſuitable.

The Prince, who intended to advance his honour in the wars of Decan, which his elder brother had left with diſgrace, and the great commander Chan-Channa did not proſper in, as being ſuppoſed to receive a penſion from the Decannins; cauſed his father to recal Chan-Channa, who refuſing to come, deſired the King not to ſend Sultan

tan Corone to that war, but one of his youngeſt ſons, about fifteen years of age. This Sultan Corone took to heart, but holding his purpoſe of carrying on that war, promiſed Abdala Chan the command of the army under him, removing of Chan-Channa. The King fearing troubles, and being ſenſible of this ſon's ambition and factious contrivances, of the diſcontent of his two elder ſons, and the power of Chan-Channa, was deſirous to accommodate matters by accepting of peace, and confirming Chan-Channa in his poſt. To this purpoſe he ſecretly writ a favourable letter, and deſigned to ſend Chan-Channa a veſt according to the ceremony of reconciliation; but before he diſpatched it, he made it known to a kinſwoman of his living in the ſeraglio. She, whether it was out of falſhood to her friend, or that ſhe was corrupted by Sultan Corone, or out of pride of heart, ſeeing the top of her family, who had ſo well deſerved, ſtand on ſuch tickliſh terms, ſaid plainly, ſhe did not believe Chan-Channa would wear any thing ſent by the King, knowing His Majeſty hated him, and had once or twice offered him poiſon, which he, putting into his boſom inſtead of his mouth, had made trial of; therefore ſhe was confident he would not dare to put on his body any thing that came from His Majeſty. The King offered to wear it himſelf before her an hour, and that ſhe ſhould write to teſtify it. She replied, he would truſt neither of them with his life; but if he might live quietly in his command, would do His Majeſty good ſervice. Upon this the King altered his purpoſe, and reſolved to ſend Sultan Corone; and to countenance his reception, would himſelf follow after with another army. Chan-Channa perceiving the ſtorm, practiſed with the Decannins, who were at his devotion, to offer terms of peace for ſome time, as finding no other way to diſpel this cloud that hung over both, till the King and Prince were departed and ſettled further off. To this purpoſe two ambaſſadors arrived at court this ſame 10th of October from the Princes of Decan. They brought horſes with rich furniture for preſents. At firſt the King refuſed to hear them, or receive their gifts; but turned them over to his ſon, ſaying, it was in his breaſt to chuſe peace or war. The Prince, puffed up with this favour, reſolved to proceed on his journey; though the conditions, I was told, were very honourable, and ſuch as the King would have accepted of; anſwering, he would treat of no peace till he was in the field with his army, and Chan-Channa ſhould not ſo defraud him of the honour of finiſhing the war. This young Prince's ambition is notorious, and become the common talk of the people; yet his father deſigns not the crown for him, for Sultan Corſorone, the eldeſt brother, is beloved and honoured of all men, even to a degree of adoration, and that deſervedly for his excellent qualities. The King knows it, and loves him, but thinks his liberty would be a leſſening of his own glory, yet ſees not that this fly youth darkens him more by his ambitious practices than the other would by virtuous actions. Thus he nouriſhes diviſion and emulation among the brethren, and puts ſuch power into the hands of the younger, believing he can reaſſume it at pleaſure, that the wiſeſt men foreſee great diſtractions and troubles like to follow in this kingdom upon the King's death, and that it is in danger to be torn in pieces by a civil war. The hiſtory of this country for variety of matter, and the many ſubtle practices in the time of Ezbar-Sha, father of this King, and theſe latter troubles, were well worth writing; but becauſe they come from ſuch remote parts, many will deſpiſe them; and by reaſon theſe people are eſteemed barbarous, few will believe them, and therefore I forbear making them public, though I could deliver as many rare and notable acts of ſtate, ſubtle evaſions, policies, anſwers, and adages, as I believe, for one age, would not eaſily be equalled: yet I cannot omit one thing that happened lately, to ſhew wiſdom and patience in a father, faith in a ſervant, falſhood in a brother, and impudent boldneſs in a faction that dare attempt any thing, when the ſupreme Majeſty allows them a

liberty beyond either the law of their own condition, or the bounds of policy and reaſon.

The Prince Sultan Corone, Normahall, the beloved Queen, aunt to this Prince's wife, Aſaph Chan his father-in-law, brother to the Queen, and Etiman Doulet father to them both, being they that now govern all, and dare attempt any thing, reſolved it was not poſſible for them to ſtand if Prince Sultan Corſorone lived, he being beloved by the nobility, and like to puniſh their ambition in time, if delivered: therefore they practiſed how to get him into their power in order to take him off by poiſon. Normahall attempts the King with crocodile tears, telling him that Sultan Corſorone was not ſafe, nor his aſpiring thoughts laid aſide. The King heard, and ſeemed to aſſent, but would not underſtand more than ſhe delivered in plain terms. This failing, they took the opportunity of the King's being drunk, when Prince Etiman Doulet, and Aſaph Chan moved, that, for the ſafety of Sultan Corſorone, and his honour, it were fitter he were in the keeping of his brother, that their company might be a comfort to one another, and he better taken care of, than in the hands of a Reſbote idolater, to whom the King had committed him: therefore they humbly deſired His Majeſty that he might be delivered into the hands of his dear brother, which the King granted, and ſo fell aſleep. They thought themſelves ſo great, that uſing the King's authority no man durſt refuſe them, and if he were once in their poſſeſſion they would diſpute the reſtoring of him. So the ſame night Aſaph Chan, ſent by the Prince in the King's name, came with a guard to demand and receive Sultan Corſorone at the hands of Annarah, a Rajah Reſbote, that is, a Prince, to whoſe cuſtody the King had committed him. He refuſed to deliver his charge, with this anſwer, That he was Sultan Corone's humble ſervant, but that he had received his brother from the hands of the King, and would deliver him to no other; that he ſhould have patience till the morning, when he would diſcharge himſelf to His Majeſty, and be wholly at his diſpoſal. This anſwer broke the deſign. In the morning Annarah came to the King, and acquainted him with the Prince's demand, his refuſal, and anſwer, adding, that His Majeſty had given him charge of his ſon, and made him commander of four thouſand horſe, with all which he would die at the gate, rather than deliver up the Prince into the hands of his enemies. If His Majeſty required, he was ready to obey his will, but he would clear his own innocency. The King replied, You have done honeſtly and faithfully; you have anſwered diſcreetly, continue your reſolution, and take no notice of any orders; I will not ſeem to know this, nor do you ſtir further in it; preſerve your fidelity, and let us ſee how far they will carry it. The Prince and the faction the next day finding the King took no notice of any thing, and therefore hoping he had forgot what paſſed in his wine, made no mention of the grant or of the refuſal; but the buſineſs fell on both ſides, yet not without jealouſy. This I inſert, that the company may not ſcatter their goods, or engage too far into the kingdom, becauſe the time will ſoon come when all will be in a combuſtion; and if Sultan Corſorone prevail in aſſerting his right, this kingdom will be a ſanctuary for Chriſtians, whom he loves and honours, favouring learning, valour, and warlike diſcipline, and abhorring covetouſneſs, and the baſe cuſtom of taking preſents uſed by his anceſtors and the nobility. If the other be ſuperior, we ſhall be loſers, for he is zealous in his ſuperſtition, an enemy to all Chriſtians, proud, falſe, and barbarouſly tyrannical.

The 13th of this month of October the King returning from hunting, ſent me a wild pig. I received advice that the four Engliſh ſhips before mentioned were ſafe in the port of Solai. There came ſix out of England, but they loſt company of one in bad weather, and another was ſent to Bantam. By the way they had fought a Portugueſe galeon

galeon bound for Goa, which burnt itſelf. Upon this news, on the 14th I ſent for a Portugueſe jeſuit reſiding at the court, and gave him an account of it, offering a peace upon equal terms, which he promiſed to acquaint the Viceroy of Goa with. Then I viſited the Prince, and propoſing to him that we might have a port and place to fortify, and we would defend his ſhips againſt the Portugueſes, he rejected it with ſcorn. In the evening I waited on the King with the ſame account of our ſhips' arrival, and he preſently aſked me what preſents came for him, which I could not give him an account of. He ordered I ſhould have ſuch things as I required ſent up to court ſealed, without ſearching or paying any cuſtom. The 16th, being with the Prince's ſecretary about the diſpatch of our affairs, he moved me by His Highneſs's order to procure him two gunners out of our fleet to ſerve him in the Decan wars for good pay, which I undertook to perform, knowing that indifferent artiſts would ſerve there. This day Abdala Chan came to viſit the Prince, ſo greatly attended, that I have not ſeen the like: his drums and muſic on horſe-back, being about twenty, made noiſe enough, then followed fifty perſons carrying white flags before him, and two hundred ſoldiers well mounted in coats of cloth of gold, velvet, and rich ſilks, who entered the gate with him in order. Next his perſon were forty targetiers in ſuch like liveries. He made humble reverence and preſented a black Arabian horſe with his furniture ſtudded with flowers of gold, enamelled and ſet with ſmall ſtones. The Prince, according to cuſtom, returned a turban, a veſt, and a girdle.

The Prince holding a reſolution of finiſhing the Decan wars in perſon, would not give any anſwer to thoſe ambaſſadors, but detained them till he came near the frontiers. Being to depart, neither he nor his party thought themſelves ſecure, if Sultan Corſorone remained in the hands of Annarah, becauſe in his abſence the King might be reconciled, and he getting his liberty, all the glory and hopes of their faction would vaniſh, and their ambition and ill practices hardly be pardoned. On the 17th of this month therefore, they again attack the King's conſtancy, deſiring him to deliver up his ſon into the hands of Aſaph Chan, as his guardian under Sultan Corone, pretending it will fright Chan-Channa and the Decans, when they hear this Prince is ſo favoured, who comes to make war upon them, that the King has delivered up his eldeſt ſon to him, and in him, as it were, the whole kingdom, the hope of ſucceſſion, and the preſent power. The King, who had yielded himſelf up into the hands of a woman, could not defend his ſon from her practices. He either ſees not the ambition, or truſts it too far in confidence of his own power, and conſents; ſo that this day he was delivered up, the ſoldiers of Annarah diſcharged, and a ſupply of Aſaph Chan's placed about him, with an addition of two hundred of the Prince's horſe. His ſiſter and many women in the ſeraglio mourn, refuſe their meat, exclaim againſt the King's dotage and cruelty, and declare that if he dies, a hundred of his kindred will burn for him in memory of the King's inhumanity toward his worthieſt ſon. The King gives fair words, proteſts no harm is deſigned the Prince, promiſes his delivery, and ſends Normahall to appeaſe theſe enraged ladies, who curſe, threaten, and refuſe to ſee her. The common people murmur, and ſay the King has not delivered his ſon, but his own life into the hands of an ambitious Prince, and a treacherous faction. That Sultan Corſorone cannot periſh without ſcandal to the father, or revenge from him, and therefore he muſt go firſt, and after him his ſon, and ſo through their blood this youth muſt mount the throne. New hopes are ſpread of his re-deliverance, and ſoon allayed; every man tells news according to his fears or deſires; but the poor Prince remains in the paws of the tiger, refuſes meat, and requires his father to take his life, and not ſuffer it to fall a victim to his enemies. The whole court is full of whiſpers, the nobility are ſad, the multitude like

itſelf, full of rumour and noiſe, without head or order, and rages, but applies not to any proper means. The conſequences of theſe troubles are much to be feared.

The 19th, the Perſian ambaſſador Mahomet Raza Beg made his entry into the town about noon, with a great train, partly ſent out by the King to meet him with a hundred elephants, and muſic, though no man of greater quality than the ordinary receiver of ſtrangers. The ambaſſador's own retinue were about fifty horſe, well equipped, and in coats of cloth of gold; their bows, quivers, and targets richly garniſhed, forty ſhot, and about two hundred common foot, and attendance on the baggage. He was carried to reſt in a room within the King's outward court till evening, when he came to the Durbar, before the King. I ſent my ſecretary to obſerve the faſhion of this ceremony. When he approached, he made at the firſt rail three teſelins, and one ſizeda, which is proſtrating himſelf and knocking his head againſt the ground; he did ſo again within, and ſo preſented Sha Abas' letter, which the King took with a little motion of his body, only aſking, how does my brother? without mentioning the title of Majeſty. After ſome few words he was placed in the ſeventh rank againſt the rail by the door, below ſo many of the King's ſervants on both ſides, which in my opinion was a very mean place for his maſter's ambaſſador; but he well deſerved it, for doing that reverence which his predeceſſors refuſed, to the diſhonour of his Prince, and to the regret of many of his nation. It is ſaid he had order from the Sophy to give content, and it is therefore ſuppoſed his meſſage is for ſome ſupply of money againſt the Turk, which has often been liberally granted, though at the ſame time it is pretended he comes only to mediate a peace for the Decans, whom Sha Abas pretends to protect, being jealous of the increaſe of this empire. The King according to cuſtom gave him a handſome turbant, a veſt of cloth of gold, and a girdle, for which again he made three teſelins, and one ſizeda, or inclination down to the ground. He brought for preſents three times nine Arabian and Perſian horſes, this being a ceremonious number among them; nine mules very fair and large, ſeven camels laden with velvet, two ſuits of European hangings, which I ſuppoſe were not Arras, but Venetian velvet wrought with gold; two cheſts of Perſian hangings, one rich cabinet, forty muſkets, five clocks, one camel laden with Perſian cloth of gold, eight carpets of ſilk, two rubies ballaces, twenty-one camel loads of wine of the grape, fourteen camels of diſtilled ſweet waters, ſeven of roſe-water, ſeven daggers ſet with precious ſtones, five ſwords ſet after the ſame manner, ſeven Venetian looking-glaſſes, and theſe ſo fair and rich, that I was out of countenance when I heard it. Theſe preſents were not delivered now, but only a note of them. His own equipage was rich, having nine led horſes trapped in gold and ſilver. About his turbant was wound a ſtring of pearls, rubies, and Turkey ſtones, and three pipes of gold anſwering to three feathers. I cauſed his reception to be diligently obſerved, and found he was not favoured above me in any point, but much leſs in many particulars, being placed much inferior than I, and only exceeding in being met out of town, which by reaſon of my ſickneſs was not demanded; nor did the King receive Sha Abas' letter with ſuch reſpect as he did my maſter's, whom he called the King of England his brother, and the Perſian barely brother, without any addition; which was an obſervation of the jeſuit, who underſtood the language.

The 20th of October I received the Prince's letter to ſend for Surat, with orders to the governor of that place to ſit with the judge of the cuſtom-houſe, and take care that no wrong was done the Engliſh. But as to the matter of ſending up the preſents to me ſealed and unſearched, it was ſo unintelligible that it was ſubject to various conſtructions, which I judged to be done deſignedly, that they might be ſent to him to be his own carver. This made me ſend it back to his ſecretary, and it being returned more

more intricate than at firſt, I went to the Prince on the 21ſt, and deſired him to have that part better explained. He aſked me how he ſhould have his preſents, or ſuch other curioſities as came up? and moved me to go with him where they were. I anſwered, I could not do it till I had delivered my meſſage and tokens to the King, but would then attend His Highneſs with his preſents, and all rarities that came to my hands ſhould be ſent after him. He preſſed me to give my word for the performance, and ſo I obtained an order to my mind. His Highneſs looking on a white feather in my hat, aſked if I would give it him. I replied, I would not offer what I had worn, but if he pleaſed to command it, that or any thing in my power was at his ſervice; and I took his acceptance as a great honour. He aſked me whether I had any more; I ſaid, three or four of other colours; and he again aſked, whether I would give them all, becauſe he was to ſhew his horſes and ſervants to the King within two days, and wanted ſome, they being very rare in thoſe parts. I promiſed to bring them all on the morrow, that His Highneſs might take what he pleaſed.

Abdala Chan, in a gallant equipage both as to his perſon and retinue, though the apparel was ſtrange and antic, but ſoldier-like in thoſe parts, preſented the Prince a white horſe, the ſaddle and furniture gold enamelled, the beaſt of delicate ſhape, mettleſome and bold. The Prince returned a plain ſword with a leather belt. Many others were brought before him with ſilver hilts, and chapes ſet with ſmall ſtones, and targets covered with velvet wrought with gold, and ſome painted and boſſed with gold and ſilver, which he gave to his ſervants againſt the review. Many ſaddles and furnitures of his own, all of gold ſet with ſtones for led horſes, were ſhewn, his boots embroidered, and all other accoutrements of ſtate. The value is wonderful, and the wealth daily ſeen ineſtimable.

It is reported, that this laſt night ſix of the Prince's ſervants went to murder Sultan Corſorone, but were not admitted by the porter; and that the Queen-Mother is gone to the King with an account of all the practice.

In the evening I went to the Durbar to viſit the King, where I met the Perſian ambaſſador with the firſt ſhew of his preſents. He appeared more like a jeſter or juggler, than a perſon of gravity, running up and down, and acting all he ſaid like a mimic. He delivered the preſents with his own hands, which the King received with ſmiles, a cheerful countenance, and expreſſions of ſatisfaction. His tongue was a great advantage to him in delivering his buſineſs; which he did with ſo much flattery and obſequiouſneſs, that it pleaſed as much as his gift; ever calling the Mogul, King and Commander of the World, forgetting his own maſter had a ſhare in it; and upon every ſlight occaſion he made his teſelins. When all was delivered for that day, he proſtrated himſelf on the ground, and knocked it with his head as if he would have entered it. The gifts were a quiver for bow and arrows delicately embroidered, all ſorts of European fruits artificial in diſhes, folding purſes, and knacks of leather wrought with needle-work in coloured ſilks, ſhoes embroidered and ſtitched, great glaſſes in frames inlaid, one ſquare piece of velvet embroidered high with gold in panes, between which were Italian pictures wrought in the ſtuff, which he ſaid were the King and Queen of Venice; of theſe ſix pieces were given, but only one ſhewed. There were beſides many other curioſities of ſmall value; after which came three times nine horſes, which had either loſt their fleſh or beauty, for I thought them all, except two or three, unfit to be ſent to, or received by princes; the mules were handſome. After this he returned with many antic tricks to his place, far inferior to that allowed me, which was alone, and above all ſubjects. This is but the firſt act of his preſenting, the play will not be finiſhed in ten days.

The

The 22d the letter the Prince had promiſed me for the ſending up of the preſents unſearched, being again detained, I went to his ſecretary, who ſaid they could not be ſent up without viſiting, leſt the merchants under that pretence ſhould ſteal cuſtoms. I was offended and going away, but the ſecretary prevailed with me to go with him to the Prince, who accepted ſome feathers I brought him; and knowing my reſolution, ordered I ſhould be diſpatched to content. At night I went to the Durbar to obſerve the Perſian ambaſſador, and found him ſtanding in his rank, but often removed and ſet lower, as great men came in. The King once ſpoke to him, and he danced to that muſic, but gave no preſent, and the Mogul ordered he ſhould be feaſted by the nobles. The 24th the King removed to Havar Gemal, and ſent for the Perſian ambaſſador, who at night eat and drank before the King with the nobility in the ſame manner as I had done on the birth-day. The difference was, that the Mogul gave him twenty thouſand roupees for his expence, for which he made many teſelins and ſizedaes, not riſing from the ground for a conſiderable time, which extremely pleaſed the King, and was baſe, but profitable flattery. The 25th the King returned to court, having been far gone over night in wine. Some either accidentally or maliciouſly ſpoke of the laſt merry night, and that many of the nobility drank wine, which none muſt do without leave. The King forgetting his order, aſked who gave it; and an anſwer was made, the buxy, for no man dares ſay it was the King, when he ſeems to be willing to make a doubt of it. The cuſtom is, that when the King drinks, which is alone, ſometimes he will command the nobility to drink after him, which if they do not, it is looked upon as a crime; and ſo every man that takes a cup of wine of the officer, has his name writ down, and he makes his teſelin, though perhaps the King's eyes are clouded. The King not remembering his own command, called the buxy, and aſked whether he gave the order; who falſely denied it, for he had it from the King, and by name called all that drank with the ambaſſador. The King then called for the liſt, and perſons named in it, and fined ſome one, ſome two, and ſome three thouſand roupies; and ſome that were nearer his perſon he cauſed to be whipped before him, they receiving a hundred and thirty ſtripes with a terrible inſtrument having at the ends of four cords, irons like ſpur-rowels, ſo that every ſtroke made four wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the ſtanders by to ſpurn them, and after that the porters to break their ſtaves on them. Thus moſt cruelly mangled and bruiſed they were carried out; one of them died on the ſpot. Some would have excuſed it by laying it on the ambaſſador; but the King replied, he only ordered a cup or two to be given him. Though drunkenneſs be a common vice and an exerciſe of the King's, yet it is ſo ſtrictly forbidden, that no man can enter the Guzelcan, where the King ſits, but the porters ſmell his breath, and if he have but taſted wine, is not ſuffered to come in; and if the reaſon of his abſence be known, it will be a difficult matter to eſcape the whip: for if the King once takes offence, the father will not ſpeak for the ſon. Thus the King made all the company pay the Perſian ambaſſador's preſent.

The 28th, the King's day of removal being at hand, I ſent to Aſaph Chan for a warrant for carriages. The merchants having ſought all the town to remove their goods to Agra, could find none. I being enrolled by His Majeſty received order for twenty camels, four carts, and two coaches at the King's price. Of theſe I allowed the factors as many as they needed for their uſe. I cannot here omit a paſſage either of wonderful baſeneſs in this great monarch, or elſe a trial put upon me. The King had condemned divers thieves, among which were ſome boys. There was no way to ſave their lives, but to ſell them for ſlaves. His Majeſty commanded Aſaph Chan to offer two of them to me for money; which he appointed the Cutwall, that is the marſhal,

marſhal, to do. My interpreter made anſwer, without my knowledge, that Chriſtians kept no ſlaves; that thoſe the King had given me I had ſet free, and it was in vain to propoſe it to me. Yet afterwards of himſelf he told me of it. I ſuſpected it might be a trial of me, to ſee whether I would give a little money to ſave the lives of two children; or elſe, I thought, though it were in earneſt, it were no great loſs to do a good deed, and try the baſeneſs or ſcope of this offer. I commanded my interpreter to go to Aſaph Chan, and tell him he acquainted me with the motion, and his anſwer; that I had reproved him for pretending to deliver my thoughts in any caſe; and therefore my own reply was, that if there were any money to be paid to redeem the lives of two children to thoſe whom they had robbed, or to redeem them from the law, I was ready to give it, both out of reſpect to the King's commands, and for charity: but I would not buy them as ſlaves, only pay their ranſom, and free them; and therefore if he would know the King's pleaſure, that I might give them their liberty without offence, I was very willing to do it. Aſaph Chan replied I might diſpoſe of them as I pleaſed; that it was an extraordinary goodneſs, and with many commendations accepted of the money, deſiring me to ſend it to the Cutwall, and to uſe my own diſcretion with the boys, never offering to inform the King, which was one end of my liberality. But I reſolving not to be impoſed upon, leſt this ſhould be only a trick of the officers to get money, ſent to let the Cutwall know what had paſſed between me and Aſaph Chan, and that if at night he would acquaint the King that I had offered to redeem the priſoners out of charity, and His Majeſty would conſent to their liberty, I was ready to pay the money, but would not buy them as ſlaves; and deſired His Majeſty to pardon them upon my redemption. Thus I put them to the teſt of their own offer. The ſum demanded did not exceed 10l. The Cutwall anſwered, he would know the King's pleaſure. Some would perſuade me this is one of the Mogul's ſignal favours, to pitch upon ſuch great men, to whom he will offer the opportunity of doing good, as the redeeming of priſoners; and that the money is to make ſatisfaction to the party that was robbed; and that theſe ſo appointed by the King to ranſom others, make the ſizeda, as for ſome benefit received. I went to the Durbar to ſee if His Majeſty would himſelf ſpeak to me; the Cutwall made many motions, but I underſtood nothing. This day I ſent my ſecretary to the Perſian ambaſſador, to let him know I would viſit him, if he would give his word to repay the viſit, with other compliments. Who anſwered with all reſpect, that it was the cuſtom of the country for ambaſſadors not to viſit one another without the King's leave, which he would move for, and then receive me with all friendſhip, and repay my viſit, with many more expreſſions of civility.

November the 1ſt, Sultan Corone took his leave and went to his tents. The King at noon ſet out in the Durbar, whither the Prince brought his elephants, being about ſix hundred richly trapped and furniſhed, and his followers by computation one thouſand horſe; many of them in cloth of gold, with herons' feathers in their turbants all very gallant. The Prince himſelf in a coat of cloth of ſilver embroidered with great pearl, and glittering with diamonds like the firmament. The King embraced, kiſſed, and ſhewed him much affection. At his departure he gave him a ſword, the ſcabbard of which was all of gold ſet with ſtones, valued at 100,000 roupies; a dagger at 4000; an elephant and two horſes, all their furniture of gold ſet with ſtones; and for a cloſe one of the new coaches made in imitation of that ſent by the King my maſter; and commanded the Engliſh coachman to drive him to his tents. The Prince went into the coach, and ſat in the middle, the ſides open, his chiefeſt nobles a-foot walking by him to his tents about four miles diſtant. All the way he threw quarters of roupies, being

followed by a multitude of people. He reached his hand to the coachman, and put into his hat about 100 roupies.

The 2d the King removed about three miles to his tents with his women and all the court. I went beforehand to attend him; and coming to the palace, found him at the jarruco window, and went upon the ſcaffold under him. Not having ſeen this place before, I was glad of the opportunity. Two eunuchs ſtood on two treſſels with long poles and feather fans at the end of them, fanning him. He beſtowed my favours, and received preſents. What he beſtowed he let down by a ſilk ſtring rolled on a turning inſtrument; what was given him, a venerable fat deformed old matron, wrinkled and hung round with gimbels like an image, pulled up at a hole with ſuch another clue. At one ſide in a window were his two principal wives, whoſe curioſity made them break little holes in a grate of reed that hung before it to gaze on me. I ſaw firſt their fingers, and then they laying their faces cloſe, firſt the one, and then the other, I could ſometimes diſcern their full proportion. They were indifferently white, with black hair ſmoothed up; but if there had been no other light, their diamonds and pearls had ſufficed to ſhew them. When I looked up, they retired; and were ſo merry, that I ſuppoſe they laughed at me. On a ſudden the King roſe, we retired to the Durbar, and ſat on the carpets, attending his coming out. Not long after he came, and ſat about half an hour, till his ladies at their door had mounted their elephants, which were about fifty, all of them richly adorned, but chiefly three with turrets on their backs, all encloſed with grates of gold wire to look through, and canopies over of cloth of ſilver. Then the King came down the ſtairs with ſuch an acclamation of health to the King, as would have out-roared cannon. At the foot of the ſtairs, where I met him, and ſhuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carp, another a diſh of white ſtuff like ſtarch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fiſh, and ſo rubbed it on his forehead; a ceremony uſed preſaging good fortune. Then another came, and girt on his ſword, and hung on his buckler ſet all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold ſuitable. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow in a caſe, being the ſame that was preſented by the Perſian ambaſſador. On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of herons' feathers, not many but long. On one ſide hung a ruby unſet, as big as a walnut, on the other ſide a diamond as large, in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger. His ſtaff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies, and diamonds drilled. About his neck he wore a chain of three ſtrings of moſt excellent pearl, the largeſt I ever ſaw. Above his elbows, armlets ſet with diamonds, and on his wriſt three rows of ſeveral ſorts; his hands bare, but almoſt on every finger a ring. His gloves, which were Engliſh, ſtuck under his girdle. His coat of cloth of gold without ſleeves, upon a fine ſemain, as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of buſkins embroidered with pearl, the toes ſharp and turning up. Thus armed and accoutred he went to the coach that attended him, with his new Engliſh ſervant, who was clothed as rich as any player, and more gaudy, and had broke four horſes, which were trapped and harneſſed in gold velvets. This was the firſt coach he ever ſat in, made by that ſent out of England, ſo like that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a Perſian gold velvet. He ſat at the end, and on each ſide went two eunuchs, who carried ſmall maces of gold ſet all over with rubies, with a long bunch of horſe-tail to flap the flies away. Before him went drums, baſe trumpets, and loud muſic, many canopies, umbrellas, and other ſtrange enſigns of majeſty, made of cloth of gold ſet in many places with rubies. Nine led horſes, the furniture ſome garniſhed with rubies, ſome with pearls and emeralds, ſome only with ſtuds enamelled. The Perſian ambaſ-

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ſador preſented him a horſe. Next behind came three palankines, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, ſet at the ends with ſtones, and covered with crimſon velvet embroidered with pearl, and a fringe of great pearl hanging in ropes a foot deep, a border about it ſet with rubies and emeralds. A footman carried a foot-ſtool of gold ſet with ſtones. The other two palankines were covered and lined only with cloth of gold. Next followed the Engliſh coach, newly covered and richly adorned, which he had given to Queen Normahall, who ſat in it. After them a third, in which ſat his younger ſons. Then followed about twenty elephants royal, led for him to mount, ſo rich in ſtones and furniture, that they glittered like the ſun. Every elephant had ſundry flags of cloth of ſilver, gilt ſatin and taffety. His noblemen he ſuffered to walk afoot, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wives on their elephants were carried half a mile behind him. When he came before the door where his eldeſt ſon is priſoner, he ſtayed the coach and called for him. He came and made reverence, with a ſword and buckler in his hand, his beard grown to his middle, a ſign of diſfavour. The King commanded him to mount one of the ſpare elephants, and ſo rode next to him, with extraordinary applauſe and joy of all men, who were now filled with new hopes. The King gave him one thouſand roupies to caſt to the people. His gaoler Aſaph Chan, and all thoſe monſters were yet afoot. I took horſe to avoid the crowd and other inconveniences, and croſſed out of the leſkar before him, waiting till he came near his tents. He paſſed all the way between a guard of elephants, having every one a turret on his back, and on the four corners of each four banners of yellow taffety, and right before a piece of cannon carrying a bullet as big as a tennis-ball, the gunner behind it. They were in all about three hundred. Other elephants of ſtate went before and behind, being about ſix hundred, all which were covered with velvet, or cloth of gold, and had two or three gilded banners. Several footmen ran along the way with ſkins of water to lay the duſt before the King. No horſe or man was ſuffered to come within two furlongs of the coach, except thoſe that walked by afoot. So that I haſted to his tents to attend his alighting. They were walled in about half an Engliſh mile in compaſs, in form of a fort, with ſeveral angles and bulwarks, and high curtains of a coarſe ſtuff made like arras, red on the outſide, and within figures in panes, with a handſome gate-houſe, every poſt that bore theſe up headed with braſs. The throng was great, I had a mind to go in; no man was permitted, the greateſt in the land ſitting at the door: however I made an offer, and they admitted me, but refuſed the Perſian ambaſſador, and all the noblemen. Here firſt the Perſian ambaſſador ſaluted me with a ſilent compliment. In the midſt of this court was a throne of mother of pearl borne on two pillars raiſed on earth, covered over with a high tent, the pole headed with a knob of gold; under that, canopies of cloth of gold, and under foot carpets. When the King drew near the door, ſome noblemen came in, and the Perſian ambaſſador. We ſtood on both ſides making a line. The King entering caſt his eye on me; I made him reverence, and he laid his hand on his breaſt and bowed, and turning to the other ſide nodded to the Perſian. I followed at his heels till he went up, and every man cried, joy and good fortune; and ſo we took our places. He called for water, waſhed his hands, and departed. His women went in ſome other way to their apartment, and his ſon I ſaw not. Within this incloſure were about thirty diviſions with tents. All the noblemen retired to theirs, which were in excellent forms, ſome all white, ſome green, ſome mixed, all incloſed as orderly as any houſe, in the moſt magnificent manner I ever ſaw. The vale ſhewed like a beautiful city, for the baggage made no confuſion. I was ill provided with carriage and aſhamed of my equipage; for five years allowance would not have provided

me an indifferent ſuit anſwerable to others, and to add to the grandeur every man has two, ſo that one goes before to the next ground, and is ſet up a day before the King riſes from the place where he is. So I returned to my poor houſe.

November the 5th I rode about five miles to the Prince's tents. I made His Highneſs my compliments of leave, wiſhing him proſperity and ſucceſs, but he ordered me to return and take my leave two days after, having preſented him ſome buſineſs about debts due to the Engliſh, which he promiſed to examine and diſpatch. He ſat with the ſame greatneſs and magnificence I mentioned of his father, his throne being plated over with ſilver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the canopy over it ſquare, borne upon four pillars covered with ſilver; his arms, ſword, buckler, bows, arrows, and lance on a table before him. The watch was ſet, for it was evening when we came abroad. I obſerved him curiouſly now he was abſolute, and took notice of his behaviour and actions. He received two letters, and read them ſtanding before he aſcended his throne. I never ſaw ſo ſettled a countenance, or any man keep ſo conſtant a gravity, never ſmiling, nor by his looks ſhewing any reſpect or diſtinction of perſons, but an extreme pride and contempt of all. Yet I perceived ſome inward trouble now and then aſſail him, and a kind of interruption and diſtraction in his thoughts; anſwering ſuitors diſorderly, or in confuſion, or not hearing them. If I can judge of it, he has left his heart among his father's women, with whom he has the liberty of converſing. Normahall the day before went to viſit him in the Engliſh coach, and took leave of him. She gave him a cloak all embroidered with pearl, diamonds, and rubies, and carried away, if I miſtake not, all his attention for buſineſs. The 9th the Prince being to remove, ſent one of his guard in haſte for me, I was not provided to go, but he preſſed me, urging his maſter ſtaid for me; that he ordered him not to return without me; that all the court did talk of the Prince's favour to me; that it was reported he had deſired the King to let me accompany him to the army; and that he had promiſed to uſe me ſo well, that I ſhould confeſs his favour to our nation. This news made me take horſe after dinner; but I found him newly riſen and marching, but met a Dutchman, his jeweller, who confirmed all the ſoldier had ſaid, and added ſo much more that I believed none of it. I ſent word I was come, and he returned anſwer, that I ſhould paſs before the tents, and ſit till he came; and he would ſpeak with me. It was night before he came; he only looked on me, ſat a little, and went in among his women. As he paſſed he turned about, and ſent a ſervant to deſire me to ſtay a while, and he would come into the Guzalcan, and take his leave of me. Within half an hour he ſet out, but I could not get any man to put him in mind of me, and he was fallen to play, and either forgot it, or put a trick of ſtate upon me; ſo that I ſtaid an hour. Being much troubled I went to the door, and told the waiters that the Prince had ſent for me; that I came only to receive his orders; that I had ſtaid long, and muſt return to my houſe, it being late; and if His Highneſs had any buſineſs I deſired him to ſend it after me, for I ſcorned ſuch uſage; and ſo went away to take horſe. Before I could mount, meſſengers came running for me, and I went in. He excuſed himſelf, and blamed his officers, uſing me with much ſhew of civility; calling me to ſee his cards, and aſking me ſeveral queſtions. The eunuchs and officers told me the Prince would make me a great preſent, and if I feared to ride home late, I ſhould have ten horſe to guard me. The preſent came, and was a cloak of cloth of gold which he had worn once or twice, and which they put upon my back: I made reverence for it very unwillingly; and it is here reputed the higheſt favour to give a garment that has been worn by the Prince, or juſt lain on his ſhoulders; yet this would have become an actor that had repreſented his anceſtor Tamerlan. Then he bowed and I had my diſcharge;

yet firſt I urged ſome buſineſs, and having my anſwer, took my leave. Going out, I was followed by his porters and waiters in ſuch ſhameful manner, that I half paid for my cloak before I got clear of them.

November the 10th almoſt all the town being removed, I was left behind, having got neither camels nor carts, notwithſtanding my warrant; and the Perſian ambaſſador was under the ſame circumſtances, who complained and was ſoon redreſſed; whereupon I ſent to court, and on the eleventh received two warrants for carts and camels at the King's price; but it was not eaſy to get either, the great men having ſoldiers every where to take all up; and indeed it was wonderful how the whole town and two leſkars, or camps, that is the King's and Princes, could remove at once. The 16th the King gave orders to fire all the leſkars or huts at Adſmere, to oblige the people to follow him; which was daily executed. The Perſian ambaſſador and I were left in bad plight, in danger of thieves, who came daily from the camp to rob; and almoſt without bread to eat. This made me think of buying beaſts and carriages, which would prove as cheap as hiring; but firſt I ſent again to court to make one trial more. Having nothing material to ſpeak of during my ſolitude at Adſmere, I will here ſay ſomething of the condition of Sultan Corſorone, of whoſe late delivery into the hands of his enemies, before mentioned, every man's heart and mouth was full. The King, notwithſtanding he had ſo far condeſcended to ſatisfy his proud ſon at his departure, yet it ſeems deſigned not to wink at any wrong offered the elder; and therefore partly to ſecure him in the hands of Aſaph Chan, and partly to ſatisfy the people, who murmured, and feared ſome treachery might be practiſed againſt him, took occaſion to declare his mind in public. Aſaph Chan had viſited his new priſoner, and in his behaviour did not acknowledge him as his Prince, but rudely preſt upon him againſt his will, and without reſpect. Some are of opinion he picked a quarrel, and knowing that the Prince's brave nature would not bear an affront, tempted him to draw his ſword, or to uſe ſome violence, which the guard ſhould preſently revenge, or elſe it ſhould be repreſented to the King as an attempt to kill his keeper, and make his eſcape. But the Prince was more patient, and only got a friend to acquaint the King with his gaoler's manners. The King called Aſaph Chan at the Durbar, and aſked when he ſaw his charge. He anſwered, two days before. His Majeſty replied, What did you with him? He ſaid, only viſit him. The King preſſed to know how he behaved himſelf towards the Prince. Aſaph Chan perceiving the King knew what had happened, ſaid he went to ſee him, and to offer him his ſervice, but the Prince refuſed to admit him into his chamber; which he, having charge of him, thought neceſſary for himſelf to do, and uncivil for the other to refuſe, and therefore he preſt in. The King preſently replied, When you were in, what ſaid you, what did you, what duty ſhewed you towards my ſon? Aſaph was blank, and confeſſed he did him no reverence. Whereupon the King told him, he would make his proud heart know him to be his eldeſt ſon and beloved heir, his Prince and Lord; and if he once heard of any the leaſt want of reſpect or duty towards him, he would command his ſon to ſet his feet upon his neck and trample on him: that he loved Sultan Corone well, but would make the world know, he did not entruſt his ſon among them for his ruin.

The 20th of this month I received a new warrant for carriages, which procured me eight camels, but ſuch poor ones as would not ſuffice me, and therefore I was forced to take order to buy the reſt. The 22d I removed into my tents. The 25th I removed ſix coſſes, but ſtaid the following days for the caravan that was going from Agra to Surat, to ſend my papers with ſafety. December the firſt I removed four coſſes to Ramſor, where the King had left the bodies of a hundred naked men, executed in the

fields for robbing. The 2d ſeven coſſes, the 3d reſted becauſe of the rain, the 4th five coſſes; in the way this day I overtook a camel laden with three hundred men's heads, ſent from Candahar by the governor as a preſent to the King, theſe men being in rebellion. The 5th five coſſes, the 6th four, where I overtook the King at a walled town called Todah, in the beſt country I ſaw ſince my landing; being a fair champaign, at every coſſe a village; the ſoil fruitful in corn, cotton, and cattle. The 7th the King only removed from one ſide to the other of the town, which was one of the beſt built I ever ſaw in India, for ſome houſes were two ſtories high, and moſt of them ſuch as a pedlar might not ſcorn to keep ſhop in, all covered with tile. It had been the ſeat of Raja Raſbote before the conqueſt of Ezbar Sha, and ſtood at the foot of a great rock, very ſtrong, had many excellent works of hewed ſtone about it, many ponds arched, vaulted, and deſcents to them large and deep; by it was a delicate grove, two miles long and a quarter broad, planted on purpoſe with mangoes, tamarinds, and other fruit-trees divided into walks, and full of little temples, and altars of pagods, and Indian idolatry, many fountains, wells, and ſummer-houſes of carved ſtone curiouſly arched; ſo that a baniſhed Engliſhman might have been content to live there. But it is a general obſervation, that all goes to ruin and deſtruction; for ſince the property of all is come to the King, no man takes care of any thing in particular, ſo that devaſtation and the ſpoils of war appear in every place without any reparation. The 8th I was at the King's Guzalcan, and found him ſo near drunk, that he made it up in half an hour, ſo that I could move no buſineſs to him.

The 9th I took a view of the leſkar, or King's camp, which is one of the greateſt wonders I ever beheld, and chiefly for that I ſaw it ſet up and finiſhed in leſs than four hours, except ſome of the great men, who have double ſuits of tents, it being no leſs than twenty Engliſh miles in compaſs, the length ſome ways three coſſes, including the ſkirts; in the middle, where the ſtreets are orderly, and tents joined, there are all ſorts of ſhops, and ſo regularly diſpoſed, that every man knows whither to go directly for what he wants; each man of quality, and every trade being appointed how far from the King's tents they ſhall pitch, what ground they ſhall take up, and on what ſide, without ever altering. All which as it lies together is almoſt equal to any town in Europe for greatneſs; but no man muſt approach the royal ataſckanha, or quarter, by a muſket ſhot every way; which is now ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that none are admitted but by name, and the time of the durbar in the evening is omitted, and ſpent in hunting, or hawking on pools by boat, in which the King takes wonderful delight, and his barges are removed on carts with him. He ſits on the ſides of theſe pools, which are often a mile or two over. At the Jarruco in the morning he is ſeen, but buſineſs or ſpeech prohibited, all being concluded at night in the Guzalcan, and there very often the opportunity is miſſed, His Majeſty being overcome by the fumes of Bacchus. There was now a whiſper at court about a new affinity of Sultan Corſorone and Aſaph Chan, and great hope of the former's liberty. I will find an opportunity to diſcourſe of it, becauſe the particulars are worth obſerving, and the wiſdom and goodneſs of the King appears above the malice of others; and Normahall fulfils that obſervation, that a woman has always a great hand at court and in faction; ſhe ſhews they are not incapable of managing buſineſs. This will diſcover a noble Prince, an excellent wife, a faithful counſellor, a crafty ſtep-mother, an ambitious ſon, a cunning favourite, all reconciled by a patient King, whoſe heart was not underſtood by any of all thoſe. But this will require a peculiar place. The Engliſh at Surat complained of ill uſage at this time, but their drunkenneſs and other exorbitances proceeding from it were ſo great in that place, that it was rather wonderful they were ſuffered to live.

The

The 18th of this month of December I viſited the King, who having been at his ſports, and having all his game before him, deſired me to take my choice of the fowl and fiſh, and then diſtributed the remainder to the nobility. I found him ſitting on his throne, and a beggar at his feet, a poor ſilly old man, all ragged and patched, with a young rogue attending him. The country abounds in this ſort of profeſſed poor holy men, and they are held in great veneration; and in works of mortification and voluntary ſufferings, they outdo all that ever has been pretended either by heretics or idolaters. This miſerable wretch, clothed in rags, crowned with feathers, covered with aſhes, His Majeſty talked with about an hour ſo familiarly, and with ſuch ſeeming kindneſs, that it muſt needs argue an humility not found eaſily among Kings. The beggar ſat, which the King's ſon dares not do; he gave the King a preſent, a cake mixed with aſhes, burnt on the coals, and made by himſelf of coarſe grain, which the King willingly accepted, broke a bit and eat it, which a nice perſon could ſcarce have done; then he took the clout and wrapt it up, and put it into the poor man's boſom, and ſent for one hundred roupies, and with his own hand poured them into the poor man's lap, and gathered up for him what fell beſide. When his collation, or banquet and drink came, whatſoever he took to eat, he broke and gave the beggar half; and riſing after many ſtrange humiliations and charities, the old wretch not being nimble, he took him up in his arms, though no cleanly body durſt have touched him, embracing him, and three times laying his hand on his heart, and calling him father, left him and all of us, and me in admiration to ſee ſuch virtue in a heathen Prince, which I mention with emulation and ſorrow, that we having the true vine ſhould bring forth the baſtard ſtock of grapes; wiſhing either our Chriſtian Princes had this devotion, or that this zeal were guided by a true light of the goſpel.

The 23d being about three coſſes ſhort of a city called Rantepoor, where it was ſuppoſed the King would reſt, and conſult what way to take, he on a ſudden turned towards Mandoa, but without declaring his reſolution. I am of opinion he took this way for fear of the plague at Agra, rather than out of any deſign of being near the army; for we marched every other day about four coſſes only, with ſuch a train of baggage as was almoſt impoſſible to be kept in order. The 26th we paſſed through woods and over mountains thick of buſhes, where many camels periſhed; many people tired with the difficulties of an impaſſable way, went away to Agra, and all complained. I loſt my tents and carts, but by midnight we met again. The King reſteth two days, for the leſkar could not in leſs time recover their order; many of the King's women, and thouſands of coaches, carts, and camels lying in the woody mountains, without meat or water: he himſelf got through on a ſmall elephant that will climb up rocks, and paſs ſuch ſtraits, that no horſe or beaſt I have ſeen can follow him. The 29th we lay by the river of Chambet.

January the firſt I complained to Aſaph Chan of the injuries offered to the Engliſh at Surat, though at the ſame time I was perplexed with ſeveral relations which gave as bad an account of their diſorders and outrages. Aſaph adviſed me not to make my complaint to the King, which would incenſe the Prince, but to aſk leave of the former to go viſit the latter with a letter from him, recommending the diſpatch of my buſineſs and good uſage of our nation. That carrying His Highneſs a preſent with this letter, I ſhould pleaſe both parties, and ſucceed in my buſineſs. This was the ſame I had before propoſed to myſelf, and therefore pleaſed me the better; the King being now certainly deſigned for Mandoa, which is but eight days' journey from Brampore, where the Prince was, and I had as good ride over to him as lie idle in the fields. This day at noon I viſited the Perſian ambaſſador, being the firſt time we had leiſure to do it, and

and he received me with much reſpect and courteſy. After our firſt compliments, I propoſed to him the ſettling of trade in his maſter's dominions, which he undertook to forward as much as in him lay. He made me a banquet of ill fruit, but being a good fellow it appeared well. In his courteſy he outdid all my entertainment in India. He railed at the court, at the King's officers and council, and uſed a ſtrange liberty. He offered to be my interpreter, deſiring I would pitch my tents by his, and he would propoſe whatever I would to the King. Much more paſſed between us, but at parting he preſſed me to accept of a horſe with a good furniture, which was brought to the door, but I refuſed him; and therefore he ſent for nine pieces of Perſian ſilks, and nine bottles of wine, that I might not depart without ſome teſtimony of his love, which I alſo refuſed with all expreſſions of affection. He looking earneſtly upon my ſword, I offered it, and he by my example would not receive. At night I viſited the King, who ſpent his time ſadly with an old man, after reading long letters, and few ſpoke to him. At his riſing he gave this gentleman that ſat by him, and was a cripple for age, five thouſand roupies, and with many embraces took his leave. Here I met the Perſian ambaſſador again, who after ſome compliments, repenting that he had refuſed my ſword, which he had a liking to, begged it, declaring that liberty among friends was good manners in his country. We continued removing every other day about four or five coſſes, and on the 7th came to the goodly river Shind. The 18th the King paſſed between two mountains, having cut the way through the woods, but with ſo much trouble and incumbrance to the baggage, that it was left behind, without any proviſion for man or beaſt. I found my tents at midnight, having taken up my lodging till then under a tree. This country is full of thieves, and not perfectly under obedience, but as it is kept by force. It belongs to a Raja, who deſires not to ſee the King. The exactor complained, and ſome few of the people that fled being taken and chained by the necks, were preſented to the King; the reſt kept the mountains. At night the King fired the town by which he lay, and appointed a new governor of the quarter to re-edify and re-people it, and to reduce it to more civility. He left him ſome horſe to perform this. The 20th thoſe that had fled into the woods, in revenge for the burning of their town, ſet upon a company of ſtragglers left behind, killing many and robbing the reſt. The 22d having no news of the preſents I expected from Surat, I went to viſit the King at night, to obſerve how he received me: I found him ſitting after a new manner, ſo that I was to ſeek what place to chooſe. Being loth to mix with his great men, as was offered, and doubting to go into the room where the King was, which was cut down the bank of a river, and none near him but Etimon Doulet his father-in-law, Aſaph Chan, and three or four others; I went to the brink and ſtood alone. The King obſerved me, and let me ſtay a while, and then ſmiling, called me in, and with his hand directed me to ſtand by him; a favour ſo unuſual, that it pleaſed and honoured me, and I ſoon found the effects of it in the behaviour of other men. He provoked me to talk, and I called for an interpreter; he refuſed it, preſſing me to make uſe of what Perſian words I had. Our diſcourſe had not much ſenſe or coherence, but he was pleaſed with it, and ſhowed his approbation in a very courteous manner.

The 24th news came to court, that the Decans would not be frightened out of their liberty at the hearing of the Mogul's approach, as Aſaph Chan and Normahall had pretended, to perſuade this expedition; but that they had ſent their baggage far into the country, and lay on the borders with fifty thouſand horſe, reſolving to give battle. The Sultan Corone was as yet advanced no farther than Mandoa, being afraid both of the enemy and Chan Channa. Hereupon theſe counſellors altered their advice, declaring to the Mogul, that they imagined the Decan would have yielded upon the dread of

of his approach, before he had paſſed the laſt hills; but finding the contrary, they perſuaded him to convert it into a hunting journey, and to turn his face towards Agra, for that the Decan was not an enemy worth his expoſing his perſon. He replied, this conſideration came too late, for his honour was engaged, having advanced ſo far; and therefore he would follow their firſt council, and his own reſolution. He daily ſent away freſh troops to his ſon, both from his own army, and from ſeveral governments; they were reported to be thirty thouſand horſe, but the muſters were not ſo high. Water was ſometimes ſcarce in the camp, and proviſions grew daily dear, the country being not well reduced. The King not feeling it, took no care, and his Chans are followed by their proviſions, ſo that they did not inform him; the whole burden lay upon ſtrangers, ſoldiers, and the poor, who were worſt able to bear it. Every other day the King removed three, four, or five coſſes, yet the 29th we were ſixty ſhort of Mandoa.

February the 3d, leaving the road of the leſkar for my eaſe, and the benefit of the ſhade, and reſting under a tree, Sultan Corforone on a ſudden came upon me, ſeeking the ſame conveniency. This was the King's eldeſt ſon, before mentioned to have been confined by the practices of his brother Sultan Corone, and his faction, and taken out of their hands by the King at his ſetting out from Adſmere, as was there obſerved. He was now mounted on an elephant, with no great guard or attendants. His people deſired me to give him room, which I did, but ſtaid to ſee him, who called for me; and having aſked ſome civil and familiar queſtions with much courteſy and affability, he departed. His perſon is comely, his countenance cheerful, his beard grown to his girdle. This only I obſerved, that his queſtions ſhewed ignorance of all that was done at court, inſomuch that he had never heard of any Engliſh, or their ambaſſador. The 4th and 5th we did not reſt, and the 6th at night came to a little tower newly repaired, where the King pitched in a pleaſant place upon the river Sepra, one coſſe ſhort of Ugen, the chief city of Mulwa. This place, called Calleada, was formerly a ſeat of the heathen kings of Mandoa, one of whom was there drowned in his drink, who being once before fallen into the river, and taken up by the hair of the head by a ſlave that dived, and come to himſelf, it was told him to procure a reward. He called for his deliverer, and aſking how he durſt put his hands on his ſovereign's head, he cauſed them to be cut off. Not long after ſitting alone with his wife and drunk, he had the ſame fortune to ſlip into the water, but ſo that ſhe might eaſily have ſaved him, which ſhe did not; and being aſked why? replied, ſhe knew not whether he might not cut off her hands for her reward. The 10th we removed one coſſe beyond Ugen. The 11th the King rode to Ugen to ſpeak with a derviſe, or religious man, living on a hill, who is reported to be three hundred years old. I thought this miracle not worth my examining. This day I received advice by a foot-poſt, that the Prince had ſtopt the preſents as they were coming to me, but not broken them open, hoping to compel the Engliſh to conſent to it, which by my orders they would not do. The Prince at the ſame time ſent to the King to acquaint him with his ſtopping ſome goods, without mentioning they were preſents, and to deſire his leave to buy what he thought fit. This faithleſs proceeding of the Prince, contrary to his word, and orders under his hand, obliged me to have recourſe to the King for redreſs, being now blameleſs in the eyes of all the world for taking this courſe. I was afraid to go to Aſaph Chan to introduce me, leſt if he knew of the wrong done he ſhould prevent me; and yet I durſt not well provoke him by uſing any other means. The prophet, derviſe, or religious man the King went to viſit, offered me an opportunity of doing my buſineſs; and my new interpreter, a Greek I had ſent for from Adſmere, was ready. I rode and met His Majeſty on

on his elephant, and alighted, making ſigns to ſpeak. The King turned his monſter to me, and prevented me; ſaying, my ſon has taken your goods and my preſents, be not ſad, he ſhall not touch nor open a ſeal or lock. At night I will ſend him a command to free them. He graciouſly added, That he knew I came full of complaint, and to eaſe me he began firſt. Upon the way I could do no more; but at night without further ſeeking to Aſaph Chan, I went to the Guzalcan, reſolving to proſecute the complaint of forcing back our goods, and all other grievances. As ſoon as I came in, the King called my interpreter, and declared by his own that he had written and ſent his command very effectually, that not a hair ſhould be diminiſhed. I replied, the injury was ſuch, and the charge and abuſes of our liberty by the Prince's officers, that I deſired redreſs, being no longer able to endure it. It was anſwered, that what was paſt I muſt remit to his ſon; but by Aſaph Chan's mediation I could procure nothing but good words, for he ſmoothed on both ſides. So I was forced to ſeem content, and to ſeek an opportunity in the abſence of my falſe friend and procurator. The good King fell to diſpute of the laws of Moſes, Chriſt and Mahomet, and in his drink was ſo kind, that he turned to me, and ſaid, if I am a King you ſhall be welcome, Chriſtians, Moors, and Jews; he meddled not with their faith, they came all in love, and he would protect them from wrong; they lived under his protection, and none ſhould oppreſs them. This he often repeated, but being very drunk, fell to weeping and into divers paſſions, and ſo kept us till midnight.

I was much concerned to ſee the factors had detained the preſents four months at Surat, and by this delay given occaſion for them to fall into the Prince's hands. It was a ſecond wrong to us that we could receive no redreſs of the firſt. Therefore conſidering that the complaint I had already made againſt the Prince had ſufficiently incenſed him, I thought ſince we muſt loſe him quite, the beſt way was to uſe all my intereſt with the King. I waited for an opportunity of doing it effectually; and immediately ſent back the meſſenger that came to me from Mr. Terry, with orders to ſtay wherever he met him, and expect the King's commands. During this time the King had cauſed the cheſts to be privately brought to him, and had opened them, which I reſolved not to put up; and having obtained audience, made my complaint. He received me with much mean flattery, more unworthy him than even the action he had done. I ſuppoſe he did it to appeaſe me, ſeeing by my countenance I was highly provoked. He told me he had found ſeveral things that pleaſed him extremely, and among them two embroidered ſweet-bags, two glaſs cabinets, and the maſtiff dogs. That if I would not give him any of thoſe things, he would reſtore them, for he would have me pleaſed. I anſwered there was little but what was deſigned for him, but that this was not a civil way of dealing with the King my maſter, and I knew not how to give him to underſtand that his preſents had been ſeized, and not delivered by me as he had appointed. That ſome of the preſents were for the Prince, and ſome for Queen Normahall; the reſt to remain in my hands, to make uſe of as occaſion offered, to move His Majeſty to protect us againſt the wrongs offered us by ſtrangers. That there were ſome few for my friends and for my own uſe; the reſt belonged to the merchants, and were not at my diſpoſal. He deſired me not to take it ill that he had cauſed them to be brought to him; that thoſe things had pleaſed him ſo well, he had not the patience to ſtay till I preſented them, and he thought he had done me no wrong, believing it was my intention he ſhould be firſt ſerved in the diſtribution of the preſents. As for the King of England he would ſatisfy him, and make my excuſe. That the Prince, Queen Normahall and he, were all one; and for the preſents to be kept to uſe as occaſion offered, that was a needleſs ceremony; for he would give me an audience at any time,

and I ſhould be well received, though I came empty-handed, he being ſenſible it was not my fault that I came ſo. Then he began to talk of his ſon, and told me he would reſtore part of what he had taken, and ſatisfy the merchants for what belonged to them. In concluſion, he deſired me not to take what he had done in ill part, for he had no deſign to wrong me. I made no anſwer to all this: whereupon he preſſed me to ſpeak my mind; aſking me ſeveral times whether I was ſatisfied. I replied, I was very well pleaſed to ſee His Majeſty was ſo. Then he began to reckon up all the things he had taken, beginning with the maſtiffs, the ſweet-bags, and the caſe for combs and razors; and ſmiling ſaid, You would not have me reſtore thoſe things, for I have a mind to them. Thus he proceeded, aſking about the reſt, and cauſed a cheſt of pictures to be brought, which were taken out; and there being among them one of a Venus leading a ſatyr by the noſe, he ſhewed it to all about him, bidding them to expound the ſignification of it, obſerving the ſatyr's horns, the blackneſs of his ſkin, and other particulars. Every man ſpoke as he thought, but the King liked none of their expoſitions, yet reſerved his own thoughts, and aſked me what it meant, who told him it was only the painter's fancy, who often repreſented the fables writ by poets, which was all I could ſay of it. Then he put the ſame queſtion to Mr. Terry my chaplain, who could give him no better ſatisfaction. Whereupon he ſaid, Why do you bring me what you do not underſtand? I replied, the miniſter did not concern himſelf with ſuch things, and only came with them to look to them on the road. This I relate for the information of the gentlemen of the Eaſt-India Company, and of all that ſhall hereafter come in my place, and adviſe them for the future not to ſend into thoſe parts things that may be liable to an ill conſtruction, for thoſe people are very jealous. For though the King would not declare his opinion, yet by what he ſaid I had ground to believe he thought that picture was made in deriſion of the people of Aſia, whom he ſuppoſed to be repreſented by the ſatyr, as being of their complexion, and that Venus leading him by the noſe denoted the great power the women in that country have over the men. He was ſatisfied I had never ſeen the picture, and therefore preſſed no further for me to tell my opinion of it, but believed me to be really ignorant as I pretended. Yet this ſuſpicion remained in his mind, and without expreſſing any diſtaſte, he told me he accepted of the picture as a preſent from me. As for the ſaddle and other trifles, he ſaid he would have them ſent to his ſon for whom they were fit, promiſing to write to him ſo effectually, that I ſhould not ſtand in need of any ſolicitor near him. After ſome more diſcourſe about other trifles, he ſaid I muſt needs help him to one of our large horſes, to a brace of Iriſh greyhounds, dog and bitch, and other ſorts of dogs of all ſorts of game; which if I would procure him, he proteſted on the word of a Prince, he would gratify me, and grant me more privileges than I ſhould think of aſking. I anſwered, I would order them to be put aboard the next ſhips, but could not anſwer they would outlive ſo tedious a voyage; but in caſe they died, to convince him I had obeyed his commands, the ſkins and bones ſhould be brought him. Upon this promiſe he bowed to me ſeveral times, laid his hand on his breaſt, and ſhewed me ſo much kindneſs, favour, and familiarity, that all there preſent proteſted he had never done the like to any man. This was the reward I had; but he ſaid further he would make amends for the wrong he had done me, and ſend me home to my country loaden with favours worthy a perſon of my rank. Nevertheleſs perceiving I had only fair words for the merchandize, I again aſked His Majeſty for the pieces of velvet and ſilks, as commodities belonging to the merchants, making him believe the merchants had put them into thoſe cheſts, only to prevent their falling into the hands of the Prince's officers. He ſent for Mr. Biddolfe to agree with and ſatisfy him. Then I preſented a memorial containing the

privileges and franchiſes I deſired, ſaying, if he would not grant them, I ſhould have the diſſatisfaction of being uſeleſs in my employment to my Prince, and conſequently return home in diſgrace. I preſſed the payment of a debt. He anſwered, I ſhould have ſatisfaction in all things, and return home to my Prince with honour; that he would ſend him a noble preſent by me, and with it a letter certifying the good ſervice I had done. Then he preſſed me to tell him what preſent I thought would be moſt acceptable. I ſaid, it would not look well in me to aſk a preſent; that it was not the cuſtom of our country; that it was againſt my maſter's honour to do any ſuch thing: but that I was ſure His Majeſty would receive any thing he ſent with much ſatisfaction, as coming from a Prince for whom he had a great eſteem. He was ſo earneſt with me, and made ſuch proteſtations of ſincerity, that I was forced to tell him that the great Perſian carpets were proper to ſend, becauſe my maſter did not expect preſents of great value. Whereupon he told me he would chuſe a good quantity of all ſorts and ſizes, and add what he thought moſt proper to convince the King of the eſteem he had for him. There was a quantity of all ſorts of game laid before him. He gave me half a buck, and told me at the ſame time he had killed it with his own hand, and deſigned the other half for his women. That half was accordingly cut in pieces of about four pounds weight each, and immediately the King's third ſon and two women came out of the Seraglio, and took up thoſe pieces of fleſh in their hands, and carried them into the Seraglio, as if they had been beggars that had received them for charity. He then repeated his expreſſions of deſire to ſatisfy me; and added, I have often admired, that your maſter having ſent you with the character of ambaſſador, your preſents have been inferior to thoſe a merchant you have ſeen here has brought, which have gained him the affection of all men. I own you as an ambaſſador, your behaviour ſpeaks you a man of quality, and yet I cannot underſtand why you are kept here with ſo little of grandeur. I am ſatisfied it is not yours nor your Prince's fault, and I will make you ſenſible I value you more than thoſe that ſent you. I will ſend you home with honour, and give you a preſent for your maſter without regarding thoſe I have received; and in return I deſire but one thing of you, which I do not care to commit to the merchants. It is to get me a quiver made in your country to carry my arrows, a caſe for my bow, a pattern whereof ſhall be given you, a pillow after my manner to ſleep on, a pair of buſkins, which you ſhall cauſe to be embroidered in England the richeſt that may be, and a coat of mail for my own wearing. I promiſed to ſend for them, and Aſaph Chan was commanded to give patterns. The night being ſpent in this diſcourſe, the Prince roſe up and diſmiſſed me.

March the 3d, I came to Mandoa: the King was expected to make his entry there, but the day was not yet fixed; for he expected the aſtrologers ſhould aſſign an auſpicious hour for performing that ceremony, ſo we ſtaid without, waiting that happy moment. The ſixth I went into Mandoa. My ſervants, whom I had ſent to take up my quarters, had taken poſſeſſion of a large incloſure ſhut in with good walls, where there was a temple and tomb. Some perſons belonging to the court had alſo taken up their quarters there; but that did not hinder me from keeping poſſeſſion, as being the beſt quarter in the town. It might have been made convenient in all reſpects with a very little charge. The air was wholeſome, and the proſpect pleaſant; for the houſe was on the top of a riſing ground. This inconveniency there was, that it was two miles from the King's palace. The 11th I ſet out to go meet the King, but was told, that a lion having killed ſome horſes of his train, he was gone out to hunt him. I ſpent ſome time in ſeeking water; for though the city was on a hill, there were no wells nor ciſterns; ſuch is the forecaſt of thoſe people. All that multitude of people there was in danger

of periſhing with thirſt. The great men at court had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe few wells there were in the country about, ſo that I could get no water. All the poor people were forced to leave the town; and an order was ſent forth for all beaſts and camels to be ſent out. All that had not favour, were forced to ſeek other habitations three or four leagues from thence. This produced much confuſion at court, and made proviſions dear. For my own part I was ſufficiently troubled to think what I ſhould do, for my houſe was very good; and though I was far from the markets and water, yet I thought I could live there more commodiouſly than in the open country, where I muſt have gone to encamp. I mounted on horſe-back to ſeek for water myſelf, and found a well that was guarded for a Chan, to whom the King had given it. I acquainted him how much I ſtood in need of his favour, and he granted me four loads of water a day. I valued this favour as it deſerved, and returned to my quarters well pleaſed; and having the following days ſold ſome goods, and eaſed myſelf of part of my carriages, I delivered myſelf from the public calamity. I cannot but declare, that in my travels following the Mogul's court, I endured all the inconveniencies men are ſubject to under an ill government, and in an intemperate climate.

The 12th of March I preſented the King for a new-years gift a couple of fine knives and ſix glaſſes, from the Company; and he took in good part the excuſe I made for the ſmallneſs of the preſent. He commanded one of his officers to call Mr. Biddolfe immediately, and to pay him what he demanded. All our creditors had orders at the ſame time to pay what they owed the Company. Then the King ordered me to come up the ſteps of his throne, and draw near him: I obeyed, and found the Perſian ambaſſador on the one ſide of him, and the old King of Candahar on the other. As ſoon as I had taken my place near that Prince, he aſked me for a knife, which I ſent him the next day. Then the King called the Perſian ambaſſador, and gave him ſome ſtones and a young elephant. He knelt, and knocked his head againſt the ſteps of the throne to thank him. This was the ſame throne that ſerved the year before, and was then mentioned, having the ſame ornaments about it. Over the throne were the pictures of the King my maſter, the Queen, the Lady Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Smith, and ſome others. Under it were two very fine Perſian carpets. The throne itſelf, as has been ſaid, was of gold ſet with rubies, emeralds, and Turkey ſtones. On one ſide upon a little ſtage or ſcaffold was a company of women-muſicians. The 30th of this month I ſent Aſaph Chan a compliment with a preſent of a pair of gloves and a curious night cap. He ſent back the gloves, as of no uſe in that country; but the cap he received, and ſent to beg ſome Spaniſh wine of me, which I ſent him the next day. The 21ſt I diſcovered the Mogul was jealous that the Engliſh intended to ſteal away out of his country, and that they had ſome deſign of ſurprizing Surat; which the Prince had inſtilled into him, that he might have an opportunity of fortifying that place for his own uſe: but I ſatisfied His Majeſty as to both points. The complaints made at that court of the miſdemeanors of officers are ſo odious there, that they gained me the ill-will of all the men of note; who made this their own concern, as being the common cauſe. For they farm all the governments in the kingdom, where they exerciſe all manner of tyrannical exactions upon thoſe under their juriſdiction, and will not ſuffer the knowledge of the wrongs they do to reach the King's ear. They grind the people under their government to get money out of them, and are afraid the King ſhould know it; and this made me looked upon, and hated in the Mogul's court as an informer.

The 30th of April the Perſian ambaſſador ſent to excuſe himſelf to me, for going away without paying his reſpects to me. His meſſenger told me he was not ſick as he pretended; but that finding no ſucceſs in his negociations with the King, he had taken

his leave, and at parting gave him thirty fine horſes. The King, in return, preſented him three thouſand crowns, and the ambaſſador teſtified his diſſatisfaction at that gift. The King to juſtify himſelf, cauſed two liſts to be drawn; one of them of the ambaſſador's preſents, with the price ſet on every one, but lower much than what they were really worth. In the other were ſet down even the meaneſt thinsg the King had given him, not omitting the melons, pine-apples, and Spaniſh wine ſent him, with their prices, but much above the real value. Theſe two liſts being laid before the ambaſſador, they offered him the reſt of the money to make up the balance. This ill uſage made the Perſian feign himſelf ſick of a fever to avoid viſiting Aſaph Chan and Etiman Doulet. Therefore he ſaid he could not croſs the town to ſee me without diſcovering the counterfeit; but to make amends he had ſent to let me know the truth, and would ſerve my nation in his country to the utmoſt of his power. I preſented him ſome Spaniſh wine, and a few knives.

May the 12th a lion and a wolf by night broke into my quarters, and fell upon ſome ſheep there were in the court. I ſent to aſk leave to kill them; for in that country none but the King may hunt a lion. Leave being granted, I went out into the court, the lion quitted his prey, and fell upon a little Iriſh maſtiff. One of my ſervants killed the wolf, and I ſent it the King.

June the 14th there was brought to the King a trunk, which the jeſuits had ſent from Cambaya, in which there were medicines and a letter. It was betrayed into the King's hands by him that was entruſted with the carriage of it. The King opened the trunk, cauſed a jeſuit that was then at court to be brought to read the letter, and looked into all the boxes; but finding nothing for his turn, reſtored all to the jeſuit. This I mention here as a caution to thoſe who deal in that country to take care what they write or ſend; for it is that Prince's humour to look into the meaneſt things, and the moſt inconſiderable trifles are in danger when in his hands.

The 30th of July I received advice from Surat that two Dutch ſhips were run aground on the coaſt of Damam. They were loaded with ſpice and China ſilks, and bound for the Red ſea; but meeting with bad weather, they had loſt the ſeaſon for getting into that ſea. They tried to recover Socotora, or ſome port on the coaſts of Arabia; but failing, reſolved to run as far as Surat, hoping to ride it out in that road, as they had done other years: but now they found all years are not alike; for when they were come to an anchor, they were obliged by ſtorms to cut down their maſts by the board. After which, their cables failing, they were caſt upon a bank of ſand. The leſſer veſſel of fifty ton was beaten all to pieces; the other ſaved all the men, and moſt of the goods.

Auguſt the 21ſt, Marre Ruſtan King of Candahar came to viſit me. I treated him with wine and fruit. He ſtaid with me about half an hour, and concluded his viſit, begging a caſk of wine. This day Prince Sultan Corſorone went out of his priſon, and came to take the air in a houſe near mine. The other Prince Sultan Corone had taken a wife at Brampore, againſt the King's will, who had declared his diſlike of it; and at the ſame time there was a diſcovery of ſome practices of his againſt his brother's life. He was ordered to come to court to clear himſelf. Queen Normahall and Aſaph Chan, by the advice of Etiman Doulet, propoſed an alliance with Sultan Corſorone. This news produced an univerſal joy among the people, who now began to hope that good Prince would be reſtored to his full liberty.

The 1ſt of September being the King's birth-day, and of the ſolemnity of weighing him, I was conducted into a fine garden, where beſides others there was a great ſquare pond with trees ſet about it, and in the midſt of it a pavilion or tent, under which were

the ſcales the King was to be weighed in. The ſcales were of beaten gold, ſet with ſmall ſtones, rubies, and turkoiſes; they hung by chains of gold, and for more ſurety there were ſilk ropes. The beam was covered with plates of gold. The great lords of the nation ſat about the throne on rich carpets, expecting the King's coming out. At length he appeared covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. He had ſeveral ſtrings of them about his neck, arms, wriſts and turban, and two or three rings on every finger. His ſword, buckler, and throne were alſo covered with precious ſtones. Among the reſt I ſaw rubies as big as walnuts, and pearls of a prodigious magnitude. He got into one of the ſcales, ſitting on his legs like a tailor. Into the other ſcale to weigh againſt him, were put ſeveral parcels, which they changed ſix times. The country people told me they were full of ſilver, and that the King that day weighed 9000 roupies. Then they put into the ſame ſcale gold and precious ſtones; but being packed up I ſaw them not. After that he was weighed againſt cloth of gold, ſilks, callicoes, ſpices, and all other ſorts of precious commodities, if we may believe the natives, for all thoſe things were packed up. Laſtly, he was weighed againſt honey, butter, and corn; and I was informed all that was be to diſtributed among the Banians; but I think that diſtribution was not made, and all thoſe things were carefully carried back. They told me all the money was kept for the poor, the King uſing to cauſe ſome to be brought at night, and to diſtribute that money among them very charitably. Whilſt the King was in one of the ſcales, he looked upon me and ſmiled, but ſaid never a word, perhaps becauſe he did not ſee my interpreter, who could not get in with me. After being weighed, he aſcended the throne. Before him there were baſons full of almonds, nuts, and all ſorts of fruit artificially made in ſilver. He threw about a great part of them, the greateſt noblemen about him ſcrambled for them. I thought it not decent to do ſo; and the King obſerving it, took up one of thoſe baſons which was almoſt full, and poured it out into my cloak. His courtiers had the impudence to thruſt in their hands ſo greedily, that had I not prevented them, they had not left me one. Before I came in, they had told me thoſe fruits were of maſſive gold; but I found by experience they were only ſilver, and ſo light, that a thouſand of them do not weigh the value of 20l. I ſaved the value of ten or twelve crowns, and thoſe would have filled a large diſh. I keep them to ſhew the vanity of thoſe people. I do not believe the King that day threw away much above the value of 100l. After this ſolemnity, the King ſpent all the night a drinking with his nobles: I was invited, but deſired to be excuſed, becauſe there was no avoiding drinking, and their liquors are ſo hot they will burn a man's very bowels. I was then ill of a flux, and durſt not venture ſuch a debauch.

September the 9th the King went to take the air upon the banks of the river Darbadat, and I took horſe to meet him. It is the cuſtom there that the maſters of all the houſes by whoſe doors the King paſſes muſt make him ſome preſent; which gift is called *maubarech*, ſignifying good news, or good ſucceſs. Theſe preſents the King takes as a good omen of the ſucceſs of what he has in hand. I had nothing to give him, and it was a ſhame to appear before him empty handed; beſides, it had been ill manners in me not to be at home upon that day: I reſolved therefore to preſent him an Atlas neatly bound, and make him this compliment, that my houſe affording nothing worthy the acceptance of ſo great a Prince, I preſented him with all the world, he being maſter of ſo conſiderable and ſo wealthy a part of it. He received my preſent very courteouſly, often putting his hand to his breaſt, and proteſting that any thing from me was always very acceptable to him. After other courteous expreſſions, he told me he had received ſome wild boars ſent him from Goa extraordinary fat, and if I would

would eat any he would ſend me ſome. I made my profound obeiſance, and anſwered, I ſhould receive any thing that came from His Majeſty with the utmoſt ſatiſfaction and reſpect. He mounted his elephant, and having made a little halt before my lodging, liked it very well; for it was one of the beſt in the camp, and I had built it out of the ruins of a temple and an ancient tomb. He took leave of me ſeveral times, and would needs have me return to my lodging becauſe the way was very bad. I took my leave, and obeyed him.

The 16th I went to pay the King of Candahar his viſit, who ſent me word at his door, that he could not receive me without the King's leave, or acquainting Etiman Doulet or Aſaph Chan, which he would do at the durbar. I ſent him word he might ſpare his labour, for I would take care not to come a ſecond time to a perſon ſo ill bred. His ſervants would have ſtaid me to carry in my anſwer, but I went away, and at night was at court, where the King aſked me ſeveral queſtions about my book of maps.

The 25th, though I was very weak, I went again to court to ſee whether there was any thing to be expected from the King in relation to our debts. One of our debtors had lately given me to underſtand, he could not pay without ſelling his houſe. I preſented the merchant's petition to the King, who cauſed it to be read aloud, and would hear the names of the debtors, what ſecurity they had given, and what ſums they owed. Aſaph Chan read it: then the King called Aradet Chan the lord ſteward of his houſhold, and the Cutwall, and gave them ſome directions which I underſtood not. As the names were read he enquired into their quality, and what commodities had been ſold them. It appeared that ſome of them were dead, and others were not the King's ſubjects. As for what concerned Sulph, Aſaph Chan undertook to ſpeak to the Prince about it, and conclude that affair when he came. Then my interpreter was called in, and the King turning to me, told me our merchants had truſted that money according to their own fancies, and to whom they pleaſed; that they had not preſented him an inventory of their goods, and therefore if their debtors were not ſolvent it was their own fault, and they could not expect he ſhould pay the debts of private perſons. I thought he meant that of Ergon an officer of his, who was lately dead, and all his goods ſeized for the King. His Majeſty added, that this being the firſt time he would eaſe me of my trouble, and ſee me paid; but that if for the future the merchants ſold their goods to his officers without acquainting him, it ſhould be at their own peril; but if when the Engliſh ſhips came they would deliver him an inventory of all their goods, he would take what was for his own turn, and diſtribute the reſt among others; and if any of thoſe proved inſolvent, he would pay it out of his own pocket. This is the cuſtom of the merchants of Perſia, who carry all they have to the King; and he having taken what he likes for himſelf, diſtributes the reſt among his nobility. His notaries enter what every man receives, and another officer ſettles the price. The merchant has a copy of this entry given him, and he has nothing to do but to go to their houſes for his money. If they happen to be backward, there is a proper officer that makes them pay by force. Then my interpreter was informed what order the King had given, which was, that Arad Chan ſhould make the creditors appear before him, and oblige them to pay. Our merchants were not pleaſed with this anſwer, but I thought it very juſt, and more favourable than could be expected by private perſons from ſo great a Prince.

The 26th the King ſent two Omrahs, who are great commanders, with ſome forces, to apprehend a Raja of the Raſbotes, who had rebelled, and was in the mountains, twenty coſſes from the camp. That rebel ſtood his ground, and in a battle killed one of

of the Omrahs, and twelve captains. This news being brought to the King he thought it proper to ſend his ſon to reduce the Raja.

October the 2d, Prince Sultan Corone made his entry into the town, attended by the chief nobility in great ſplendor. The King, contrary to our expectation, received him as if he had been his only ſon: all the great men and the King's mother went five coſſes out of town to meet him. I excuſed myſelf on account of my weakneſs.

The 5th I received advice that our admiral was not yet arrived at Surat, and that the ſhips of the company in their way thither had reſcued a ſhip of the Queen-Mother's coming from the Red Sea, which was chaſed by two Engliſh pirates. If this ſhip had been taken, it would have been of very ill conſequence to us. The 6th I went to viſit the Prince upon his arrival, having need of him for our buſineſs. I deſigned to offer him the ſervice of our nation, and preſent him with a gold chain made in China. When I ſent to deſire audience, word was brought me I might come in the morning at break of day, or ſtay till he went out to ſee the King, which I muſt have done at the door. I took this as an affront, having never been refuſed audience by his father; and therefore ſhewed my reſentment, ſaying, I was none of his ſlave, but free, and the ambaſſador of a King, and would take care not to viſit or make court to him any more; and ſince he refuſed me juſtice, I would for the future ſeek it elſewhere: accordingly at night I went to the King, who received me with much civility. I bowed to the Prince, and he would not take notice he ſaw me. I gave the King an account of what he had required of me, and told him, I had brought an inventory of goods in purſuance to his commands. He aſked ſeveral queſtions, and ſeemed well pleaſed at what was in the inventory, promiſing me all favours and privileges I could deſire. He aſked whether our ſhips had brought any pearls, or precious ſtones; to which I anſwered, they were dearer in England than in his dominions: which anſwer ſeemed to ſatisfy him. I durſt not ſay there were pearls, fearing that would ſet the prince upon perſecuting our people; beſides, I thought thoſe pearls would be the more valued being the leſs expected, and hoped to make a friend with them; and therefore when Aſaph Chan preſſed me to tell him whether we had any jewels, I declared to him, I would have him ſecond the anſwer I had given, that they were dearer in England than in India, and I had ſomething to ſay to him in private: he took me at half a word, and ſaid no more. The King ſeeming to me to be then in a good diſpoſition towards us, I thought it proper ſeaſon to mention our debts; and having then the petition ready drawn about me, took it out, and held it up to preſent it. The King having his thoughts perhaps otherwiſe employed at that time, did not obſerve it; but his courtiers preſently imagined what it might be, and believing he would be very angry that his orders were not obeyed, one of them ſlily drew near, and pulled down my hand, deſiring not to preſent that petition to the King. I told him, Aradet had refuſed to do me juſtice. He hearing what I ſaid was very uneaſy, and applying himſelf to Aſaph Chan, deſired him not to let me make my complaint, I urged, our ſhips being now come, we could ſuffer no longer delays and loſs of time. They conſulted what was to be done, and calling for the Cutwall, told him he muſt execute the King's orders. That ſame night our debtors tents were beſet, others were purſued, ſo that I believe this time we ſhall have juſtice done us. I had many thanks returned me for the civility uſed by the Engliſh, towards the paſſengers that were aboard the Queen-Mother's ſhip, and for protecting that veſſel againſt the pirates of our nation. They repreſented the thing well to the King, and the great men told me they had reaſon to love the Engliſh; that they would do us all ſervice in their power;

power; but that they wondered our King could not command his ſubjects, and that any ſhould preſume to take ſhips out of the kingdom without his leave. Aſaph Chan and I withdrew to tranſlate the inventory into Perſian for the King: I ſomewhat increaſed the article of the money, that he might have the better opinion of our trade. I concluded, deſiring His Majeſty to allow us the liberty of ſelling the reſt. That done, Aſaph Chan put me in mind I had ſomething to ſay to him in private. I told him it was true, I had ſome rarities come, but I had fared ſo ill the laſt year by having my ſecret divulged, that now I durſt truſt none but him; and therefore on his word of ſecrecy and advice, I declared I had a pearl of a great value, and ſome other rarities, and knew not whether I ſhould tell the king, leſt the Prince ſhould become our utter enemy. I gave him an account of what happened going to viſit him in the morning, that I was ſtill ſenſible we ſtood in need of his favour, and had therefore kept that pearl to make him our friend, to which I deſired his advice. He embraced me, and ſaid I had done wiſely, but muſt keep the ſecret, or it would breed me trouble; that the Prince was a tyrant, and miſuſed all ſtrangers. All this I ſaw tended to get the pearl out of my hands, adviſing me to ſend for it and truſt no man, telling me inſtances of the ill-uſage of the Portugueſes upon the like occaſions; that if I would ſell him the pearl, he would depoſit the money I ſhould value it at in the hands of a third perſon; and in return for the confidence I repoſed in him, he would ſolicit our buſineſs which could never be done without him. I ſaid I would ſerve him, but feared he would reveal the ſecret: he ſwore he would keep it, and to make the oath the more ſolemn, we ſqueezed one another's thumbs, as is the cuſtom of the country. I promiſed on my part to rely wholly on him, and do all things according to his direction. He ſaid he would get me orders that our goods ſhould not be touched, but left wholly at my diſpoſal; that he would reconcile the Prince and me, and I ſhould be better uſed than I had been; have a particular judge aſſigned that ſhould take care of our buſineſs, and all the ſatisfaction we could wiſh. He ſaid it would be proper to make his ſiſter Queen Normahall a preſent, and ſhe would prevail with the King to give me money. To this I replied, I had rather His Majeſty ſhould beſtow his favours on our nation in general. Then he carried me to the King, to whom I preſented the inventory tranſlated: I had a favourable reception. He aſked me whether there was any tapeſtry? I ſaid ſome was ſent me, if it were not ſeized by the way by the Prince's order. He ſaid he would take a good quantity of our cloths, and other commodities, directing me to have them brought, and Aſaph Chan to draw up the order for their free paſſage. I was well pleaſed with this day's ſucceſs; for though experience had taught me that there was no faith among thoſe barbarians, yet I had no cauſe to miſtruſt Aſaph Chan, when it was his intereſt to be faithful to me, till he had got the pearl, which he might otherwiſe have miſſed of; nor could I ſuſpect him afterwards, becauſe he could not betray my ſecret without diſcovering his own falſehood to the Prince.

The 12th Aſaph Chan according to promiſe went with me to the Prince, who received me in his chamber, where I preſented him a ſmall gold chain made in China, on a ſalver of that country. Aſaph Chan perſuaded him to deal more kindly with us than he had done, repreſenting the profit our trade would yield him, and the loſs it would be if we went away. The Prince immediately directed his ſecretary to draw the order to our mind, and write a letter to the governor to ſee it executed; adding I ſhould have any other letter I deſired. This made me ſenſible of the poor ſpirits of thoſe people. Aſaph Chan was become ſo much our friend in hopes to buy ſome trifles, that he would have betrayed his own ſon to ſerve us, and was my humble ſervant. He would needs ſend one of his ſervants aboard our ſhips to this purpoſe, which

which I could not refuſe him; beſides, it is no loſs to us, for he is a good pay-maſter, bought by wholeſale what we muſt have ſold by retail, and ſaved us the charge of carriage. He obtained an order from the Prince to this effect, and writ a kind letter to the governor in our behalf. I now alſo obtained an order from the Prince for Bengala, which before he would not hear me ſpeak of. Afterwards I found he proſecuted our debtors, as if they had been his own; and as he paſſed before the Cutwall's houſe, called him out to bid him be ſpeedy in our buſineſs, which was an unparalleled favour. The next day Aſaph Chan ſent one of his ſervants in the Queen's name to acquaint me ſhe had obtained another order from the Prince, that all our goods for the future ſhould be under her protection; that this was done, and ſhe was about ſending one to ſee what elſe we wanted, and take care that no wrong was offered us. Aſaph Chan ſent word he had done this for fear of the Prince's paſſionate temper, and his delays in thoſe affairs: but now we might be ſecure, ſince his ſiſter had undertook our protection, for the Prince would meddle in it no more; and that he engaged on his honour that all things directed for me ſhould be delivered to me. That ſhe had ſent a poſitive order directing the perſon that carried it to be aſſiſting to our factors, that they might have no cauſe to complain of the officers of Surat. She further deſired me to write to the captain of the ſhip and to the factors, to be kind to her meſſenger, and let him buy ſome of thoſe toys that had been laid aſide. This I could not refuſe, but gave her a liſt of them, upon condition ſhe would ſhew me a copy of the order, which was ſealed. This ſhews how eaſy it is to ſell ſuch commodities here. Laſt year they did not regard us; now the liſt or inventory is tranſlated, yet without mentioning the pearls I had given the King, every one runs to buy. Moſt of the great men at court deſired me to give them letters to ſend their ſervants to deal with our factors; ſo that if I had been furniſhed with three times the quantity of goods, they had been ſold aboard the ſhips, and we had ſaved the duties, carriage, and the ſeizures made before. I writ to our factors to ſell to Normahall's and her brother's ſervants what goods they deſired, even of thoſe ſet apart, that I might be ſupported by their intereſt at court.

The 24th the King went twenty-four coſſes from Mandoa. He went from place to place on the mountains; and nobody knowing what he intended, we were at a loſs what way to take. The 26th I got an order for ten camels at the King's rates. The 29th I ſet out, being forced to quit my quarters which were ſo inconvenient. The 31ſt I came to the King's tents, who was gone a hunting for ten days, none going with him, but ſuch as he had named. His camp was diſperſed and ſcattered about the country, the water was bad, and proviſions dear, much ſickneſs, and other inconveniences; but nothing diverts him from taking his pleaſure, when he ſets on it. I was informed he had not yet reſolved whether he ſhould go to Agra or Guzurat; the latter was moſt talked of, but the former ſeemed more probable, becauſe his council thought that a more commodious and pleaſant place than the other. To me either was indifferent, becauſe I had no proſpect but the compaſſing my buſineſs. Therefore ſeeing he might ſtay there a month, I concluded it was the beſt way to have my preſents brought thither, and endeavour to conclude my buſineſs, hoping after that I might obtain ſome reſt, which I needed, being very ill, and wanting conveniencies, whilſt I followed the court, to recover my health.

November the 2d Steele and Jackman came to me with their pearls, and ſome other inconſiderable things they had brought aſhore privately by my order. Theſe men came with projects of water-works to me, made to advance the ſale of lead, which I did not approve of, for good reaſons; but was ſatisfied they ſhould make a trial, to pleaſe them; and bid them bring their workmen to Amadabat, where with the aſſiſtance of

Mocreb Chan, the only man there that loves new inventions, I would offer their ſervice to the King, and ſee what conditions he would propoſe; though I was of opinion it was labour and money loſt. The company ſhould not ſo eaſily give ear to theſe projectors, who generally mind their own profit more than theirs that employ them. The other project, to oblige the caravans and merchants of Lahor and Agra, who travel generally into Perſia through Candahar, to change their method, and ſend their goods down the river Indus, to be put aboard our ſhips, and ſo conveyed into the Gulph of Perſia, is a mere chimæra never to be reduced to practice; for though it is eaſy to run down the river, the Portugueſes have a reſidence at the mouth of it; and then it is a matter of much difficulty to return up the river; beſides that, they muſt inſure their commodities. There are many other reaſons againſt this deſign too long to inſert, and needleſs, becauſe there is no probability the thing ſhould ever be put in execution. The third project of uniting the trade of the Red ſea with this, is what I have always recommended, and has already begun to be practiſed. The danger of pirates in theſe ſeas is great, and therefore I did not queſtion but many merchants would put their goods aboard our ſhips, which would make our friendſhip neceſſary for theſe people; and I adviſed to employ one of our ſhips this year in that trade, which might return in September. This I earneſtly recommended to the captains and factors; and if executed, the company would find the advantage. Were it my own concern, moſt of the ſhips being light by reaſon of the ſmall ſtowage the goods here take up, I would ſend them to the Red ſea, though they were empty, for there are many good hits in that ſea; and though they did nothing but bring back the goods you have at Mocca, and other ports in that ſea, it would pay the charge of the voyage. Steele, Kerridge, and others, are very fond of their notions, inſomuch that they do not pay me the reſpect they ought, and are every day at daggers-drawn with my parſon. I have told Steele, his wife cannot live in this country, for ſhe would draw many inconveniences on us, and therefore he muſt ſend her back into England.

The 6th I went to Aſaph Chan, and ſhewed him the pearls according to promiſe. He told me they were not fit for that country, which was afterwards confirmed to me by others; yet he was ſo pleaſed I had kept my word with him, that I believe I may ſay as Pharaoh did, "The land is before you, ſettle where you pleaſe." We ſpoke not of the price of the great pearl. He promiſed to keep the ſecret, aſſuring me that for my ſake, and becauſe I had confided in him, he would give more for it than it was worth, and pay ready money; for he had a great deal, and would lend me ſome if I had occaſion. I had all imaginable good words from him, and ſome good actions. He further told me, there was little difference in that country between giving and ſelling, which I found by experience to be true. After this familiar diſcourſe in his bed-chamber, he roſe up to go to dinner, and invited me and my retinue. I dined at a table apart, becauſe they make a ſcruple of eating with us.

I mentioned before that the King had ſent me three criminals condemned to death, offering them to me to buy them as ſlaves, which is there looked upon as a favour, and what anſwer I returned. The King ordered the priſoners to be ſent to me, and expected I ſhould ſend him the money; but I hearing no more of him, hoped it was forgot, and took no care to pay it. One night the King's officers brought the priſoners to my ſteward's houſe, and took his word for ſixty roupies, which I paid, and ſet them at liberty. This money is pretended to ſatisfy thoſe that have been wronged; but the King takes it himſelf, and makes his advantage of his great men's charity, who look upon it as a favour that he gives them this occaſion to exerciſe it.

The 10th I viſited Aſaph Chan, on account of a complaint I received that we were not allowed to lay our ſhips aſhore, the Prince having been informed we intended to build a fort at Soali, and that our ſhips were to that purpoſe loaded with bricks and lime. This jealouſy ſprung from our men bringing their ſhips aſhore to careen them. The report was ſo hot, that I was forced to go to court to clear myſelf, and had much ado to undeceive the King; this conceit being more ſtrongly fixed in them, becauſe I had not long before aſked a port of the King for that purpoſe. Yet this did not prevent his ſending down a body of horſe to demoliſh a brick fort that was at the mouth of that river. They diſarmed our men, but the arms were put into the cuſtom-houſe, and only the ſailors had theirs taken away. I told Aſaph Chan I could not live in ſervitude; that there was no honour in a Prince who granted a favourable order one day, and recalled it the next; and that I ſhould be blamed if I ſtaid any longer after ſuch uſage. He ſaid he would that night acquaint the King before the Prince, and return me his anſwer. The 30th he told me wonders of the Mogul's kindneſs for the King my maſter, my nation, and for me in particular; adding, he had run the hazard of loſing the Prince's favour to ſerve us, but that he ſhould ſoon be in a condition to do it effectually; for he was about being governor of Surat, which the Prince muſt quit, having the government of Amadabat and Cambaya conferred on him; and to demonſtrate he was real, deſired me to be with the King at night, with the King my maſter's letter tranſlated into Perſian, adviſing me to complain and deſire leave to be gone, and I ſhould ſee how he would ſecond me. In the evening I attended the King, found a great court, preſented my letter; and Etimon Doulet at the requeſt of Aſaph Chan read the Perſian tranſlation. The King ſaid he would take upon him to conclude a peace between us and the Portugueſes, anſwer His Majeſty's letter, and perform all he deſired in it. However I aſked leave to return to England. The King and Prince had ſome conteſt about this matter, the latter ſaying he got nothing by our ſtay at Surat, and was willing we ſhould be gone. Here Aſaph Chan ſtood up boldly, and ſaid the kingdom gained conſiderably by our trade, and was in ſome meaſure ſecured by it; that the Prince's officers uſed us ill, and it was impoſſible for us to ſtay without redreſs; and therefore it were better for His Majeſty to diſmiſs us, than keep us to ſuffer new wrongs. The Prince in a paſſion ſaid he had never wronged us, but that on the contrary, at his ſuit, he had lately granted us an order. It is true, replied Aſaph Chan, you granted them the order as they deſired it, but ten days after you ſent another to recal it; adding, that his honour ſuffered by this breach of faith; that he had no intereſt in it, and only ſpoke with reſpect to the King's juſtice and reputation. For our uſage Aſaph Chan referred it to me, who had often complained that our goods were taken from us forcibly theſe two years laſt paſt; that we could never get payment, and his officers ſtill uſed the ſame violence every fleet that came; that if the Prince was weary of us, it were better for him to turn us out, and he might be ſure we would do ourſelves right upon the ſea. Does the Prince, or the King, ſaid he, maintain this ambaſſador? He is a ſtranger that follows the court at his own expence; if his goods are forcibly taken from him, and he can procure no payment, how can he ſubſiſt? This was ſpoke with much heat, and the King two or three times repeated violence, violence, ſeverely checking the Prince. This open breach with the Prince ſucceeded as Aſaph Chan had forecaſted; for we were paid all that was due to us at Surat, and the cuſtom-houſe officers had orders to treat us better for the future. I am ſatisfied had I not fallen out with the Prince, I ſhould never have made good of it. I told the Prince's meſſenger before the Engliſh merchants, that if he offered any violence to me

or my merchants, it would coſt him ſome blood; that I would ſhip myſelf aboard his own veſſels, taking them out of his ports, and would carry them into England.

January the 30th the Dutch came to court with a preſent of ſeveral rarities brought out of China. They were not permitted to come near the third aſcent. The Prince aſked me who they were. I told him they were Dutch, and lived at Surat. He aſked, whether they were our friends. I anſwered, they were a nation that depended on the King of England, and were not well received in all parts; that I knew not what brought them thither. Since they are your friends, ſaid he, call them. I was forced to ſend for them to deliver their preſents. They were placed near our merchants, without holding any diſcourſe with them.

[Here ends all that is to be found of Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, the reſt being loſt; though Purchas in his extract ſays, there was nothing more material in it, but only what peculiarly related to trade, and the buſineſs of the company. It will not be amiſs to add what little matter could be found worth the reader's knowledge in two volumes of Sir Thomas his letters, which have been peruſed to take out all that might be of uſe.]

An Extract of a Letter of Sir Thomas Roe's to the Company, dated at Adſmere, January the 25th 1615. *Containing only what is remarkable, and not mentioned in the Journal.*

AT my firſt audience, the Mogul prevented me in ſpeech, bidding me welcome as to the brother of the King my maſter; and after many compliments I delivered His Majeſty's letter, with a copy of it in Perſian; then I ſhewed my commiſſion, and delivered your preſents, that is, the coach, the virginals, the knives, a ſcarf embroidered, and a rich ſword of my own. He ſitting in his ſtate could not well ſee the coach, but ſent many to view it, and cauſed the muſician to play on the virginals, which gave him content. At night, having ſtaid the coachman and muſician, he came down into a court, got into the coach, and into every corner of it, cauſing it to be drawn about. Then he ſent to me, though it was ten o'clock at night, for a ſervant to put on his ſcarf and ſword after the Engliſh faſhion, which he was ſo proud of, that he walked up and down, drawing and flouriſhing it, and has never ſince been ſince without it. But after the Engliſh were come away, he aſked the jeſuit, whether the King of England were a great King, that ſent preſents of ſo ſmall value, and that he looked for ſome jewels; yet rarities pleaſe as well; and if you were yearly furniſhed from Frankfort, where there are all ſorts of knacks and new devices, a hundred pounds would go further than five hundred laid out in England, and be more acceptable here. This country is ſpoiled by the many preſents that have been given, and it will be chargeable to follow the example. There is nothing more welcome here, nor did I ever ſee men ſo fond of drink, as the King and Prince are of red wine, whereof the governor of Surat ſent up ſome bottles, and the King has ever ſince ſolicited for more: I think four or five caſks of that wine will be more welcome than the richeſt jewel in Cheapſide; large pictures on cloth, the frames in pieces, but they muſt be good, and for variety ſome ſtory with many faces. For the Queen, fine needle-work toys, bone laces, cutwork, and ſome handſome wrought waiſtcoats, ſweet-bags, and cabinets will be moſt convenient. I would wiſh you to ſpare ſending ſcarlet, it is dear to you, and no better eſteemed here than ſtammel. I muſt add, that any fair China bedſteads, or cabinets, or trunks of Japan, are here rich preſents.

Lately the King of Viſapour ſent his ambaſſador with thirty-ſix elephants, two of them with all their chains of wrought beaten gold, two of ſilver, the reſt of braſs, and four rich furniſhed horſes, with jewels to the value of ten lecks of roupies. Yet withal he ſent China ware, and one figure of chryſtal, which the King valued more than all that maſs of wealth.

This place is either made, or of itſelf unfit for an ambaſſador; for though they underſtand the character, yet they have much ado to underſtand the privileges due to it, and the rather becauſe they have been too humbly ſought to before.

Extract of a Letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Dated at Adſmere, January 29, 1615.

LAWS theſe people have none written; the King's judgment binds, who ſits and gives ſentence once a week, with much patience, both in civil and criminal cauſes, where ſometimes he ſees the execution done by his elephants, with too much delight in blood.

His governors of provinces rule by his firmaes, which are his letters, or commiſſions authorizing them, and take life and goods at pleaſure.

There are many religions, and in them many ſects. Moors or Mahometans following Hali; and ſuch is the King. Banians or Pythagoreans, believing the tranſmigration of ſouls, and therefore will not kill the vermin that bite them, for fear of diſlodging the ſoul. They often buy many days reſpite from killing any fleſh in a province or city, merely out of charity. Idolators there are of ſeveral ſorts, their wives adorning the funeral piles, and caſting themſelves into the flames with great joy.

The extent of this dominion is on the weſt to Syndu, on the north-weſt to Candahar, on the north almoſt to the mountain Taurus, on the eaſt to the borders of Ganges, and ſouth-eaſt all Bengala, the land forming the gulph down to Decan. It is much greater than the Perſian monarchy, almoſt, if not quite equal to the Turkiſh. Agra, the ordinary reſidence of the King, is near a thouſand miles from any of the borders, and farther from ſome. The right iſſue of Porus is here a King in the midſt of the Mogul's dominions, never ſubdued till laſt year; and to ſay the truth, he is rather bought than conquered, won to own a ſuperior by gifts, and not by arms. The pillar erected by Alexander is yet ſtanding at Delhi, the ancient ſeat of the anceſtors of Rama, the ſucceſſor of Porus.

The buildings are all baſe, of mud, one ſtory high, except in Surat, where there are ſome of ſtone. I know not by what policy the King ſeeks the ruin of all the ancient cities which were nobly built, and now lie deſolate and in rubbiſh. His own houſes are of ſtone, handſome and uniform. His great men build not, for want of inheritance; but as far as I have yet ſeen, live in tents, or houſes worſe than our cottages. Yet where the King likes, as at Agra, becauſe it is a city erected by him, the buildings, as is reported, are fair and of carved ſtone.

In revenue he doubtleſs exceeds either Turk or Perſian, or any eaſtern Prince, the ſums I dare not name; but the reaſon. All the land is his, no man has a foot. He maintains all that are not mechanics by revenues beſtowed on them reckoned by horſes, and the allowance of many is greater than the eſtates of German Princes. All men riſe to greater and greater lordſhips as they advance in favour, which is got by frequent preſents rich and rare. The Mogul is heir to all that die, as well thoſe that gained it by their induſtry, as merchants, &c. as thoſe that live by him. He takes all their money, only leaving the widow and daughters what he pleaſes. To the ſons of thoſe that

that die worth two or three millions, he gives ſome ſmall lordſhip to begin the world anew.

The King ſits out in three ſeveral places at three times of the day, except ſomething extraordinary hinder him. An hour at noon to ſee his elephants fight; from four till five to entertain all comers, to be ſeen and worſhipped; from nine till midnight amidſt his principal men in more familiarity, being below among them.

All the policy of his ſtate is to keep the greateſt men about him, or to pay them afar off liberally. There is no council, but every officer gives the King his opinion apart.

He (meaning Jehan Guire) is of countenance cheerful, and not proud in nature, but only by habit and cuſtom; for at night he is very affable, and full of gentle converſation.

[There is an account in this letter of Sir Thomas Roe's audience, but that is to be ſeen before in the journal.]

An Extract of a Letter of Sir Thomas Roe to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Dated at Adſmere, the 30th of October, 1616.

BEFORE the inundation of Temer the Great, that is Tamerlan, the ninth anceſtor of this King, theſe countries were governed by divers heathen petty Princes, worſhipping all ſorts of creatures after their ſeveral manners. Tamerlan's offspring brought in the knowledge of Mahomet, but impoſed it on none by the law of conqueſt, leaving conſciences at liberty. So that the natives from the circumciſion brought in by the Mahometans, called them Moguls, or chief of the circumciſed. Among the Moguls there are many ſtrict Mahometans, many that follow Hali his ſon-in-law, and other later prophets, who have their Xerifes, Mulhaes, and prieſts, their moſques, religious votaries, waſhings, praying, and ceremonies without end. And as for penitents, no ſect in the world can ſhew ſuch ſtrange examples, nor boaſt of ſuch voluntary poverty, puniſhments, ſufferings, and chaſtiſements as theſe, who are all eſteemed holy men, but of a mixed religion, not upright with their prophet *. The Gentiles are of more ſorts, ſome valiant good ſoldiers, drinking wine, eating hog's fleſh, but worſhipping the figure of a beaſt. Some who will not touch the fleſh that is not holy by imputation; others that will not eat any thing that ever had life, nor kill the vermin that bites them, nor drink in the ſame cup with thoſe that do, ſuperſtitious in waſhing, and moſt zealous in their profeſſion; but all of them aſcribe a ſort of divinity to their river Ganges, at which once a year forty or fifty thouſand meet, and caſt in gold and ſilver for an oblation. In like manner they reverence a pig's head in a pagod near this city, and all living cows, and ſome other beaſts and creatures. Theſe have their pagods, and holy men, prophets, witches, ſoothſayers, and all other impoſtures of the devil. The Mahometan Mulhaes know ſomewhat in philoſophy and the mathematics, are great aſtrologers, and can talk of Ariſtotle, Euclid, Averroes, and other authors. The learned tongue is the Arabian. In this confuſion they continued till the time of Ezbar Sha, father to this King, without any knowledge of Chriſtianity †. Ezbar Sha being a Prince by nature juſt and good, inquiſitive after novelties, curious of new opi-

* Sir Thomas Roe ſhould have excepted the idolaters in India, who far outdo the Mahometans in this particular.

† This is another miſtake in Sir Thomas Roe, for they had always heard of Chriſtianity, and there were Chriſtians both in Perſia and ſome parts of India.

nions,

nions, and excelling in many virtues, eſpecially in piety and reverence towards his parents, called in three Jeſuits from Goa, the chief of whom was Jerom Xaverius, a Navarrois. After their arrival he heard them diſcourſe with much ſatisfaction, and diſpute of religion, and cauſed F. Xaverius to write a book in defence of his religion againſt both Moors and Gentiles, which when finiſhed he read in every night, and had ſome part diſcuſſed. Finally, he granted them his letters patent to build, preach, teach, convert, and to uſe all their rites and ceremonies as freely as in Rome, beſtowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devotion. In this grant he gave liberty to all ſorts of men to become Chriſtians, even to his own court and blood, profeſſing it ſhould be no cauſe of diſfavour. Ezbar Sha himſelf continued a Mahometan, yet he began to make a breach into the law; for conſidering that Mahomet was but a man, and a King as he was, and therefore reverenced, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himſelf. This defection of the King ſpread not far, a certain outward awe withheld him, and ſo he died in the formal profeſſion of his ſect. Jehan Guire Sha, his ſon, the preſent King, being the iſſue of this new fancy, and never circumciſed, bred up without any religion at all, continues ſo to this hour, and is an atheiſt. Sometimes he will profeſs himſelf a Mahometan, but always obſerves the holy days, and does all ceremonies with the Gentiles. He is pleaſed with all religions, but loves none that changes; and falling into his father's conceit, has dared to proceed further in it, and to profeſs himſelf for the main of his religion, to be a greater prophet than Mahomet, and has formed to himſelf a new one, being a mixture of all others, which many have received with ſuch ſuperſtition, that they will not eat till they have ſaluted him in the morning; for which purpoſe he comes at ſun riſing to a window open to a great plain before his houſe, where multitudes attend him. When the Moors about him talk of Mahomet, he will ſooth them; but is glad when any one will laſh out againſt him. Of Chriſt he never utters any diſreſpectful words, nor do any of all theſe ſects; which is a wonderful ſecret working of God's truth, and worth obſerving.

As for the new planted Chriſtian church, he confirmed and enlarged its privileges, ſpending two hours every night for a year, in hearing diſputes; often dropping words of his converſion, but to a wicked purpoſe. To give the more hope, he delivered many youths into the hands of F. Franciſco Corſi, ſtill reſident here, to teach them to read and write Portugueſe, and to inſtruct them in human learning, and in the law of Chriſt. To that purpoſe the father kept a ſchool ſome years, to which the King ſent two Princes his brother's ſons, who being brought up in the knowledge of God, and his Son our bleſſed Saviour, were ſolemnly baptized in the church of Agra, with great pomp, being firſt carried up and down all the city on elephants in triumph; and this by the King's expreſs order, who would often examine them to ſee what progreſs they made, and ſeemed well pleaſed with them. This made many bend towards the ſame way, being ignorant of His Majeſty's intention; others that knew him better, ſuppoſed he ſuffered this in policy to render thoſe children odious to the Moors for their converſion, the ſtrength of his eſtate conſiſting in them: but all men miſtook his deſign, which was thus diſcovered. When theſe and ſome other children were ſettled, as was thought, in the Chriſtian religion, and had learnt the principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with infidels, &c. the King ſet the boys to demand Portugueſe wives of the Jeſuits; who thinking it only an idle notion of their own, chid them, and ſuſpected no more: but that being the end of their converſion to get a woman for the King, and no care being taken in it, the two Princes came to the Jeſuits, and delivered up their croſſes, and all other tokens of religion, declaring they would be no longer Chriſtians, becauſe the King of Portugal ſent them no preſents nor wives, as they expected.

pected. The fathers seeing this, began to doubt there was more in it than the boys discovered; especially seeing their confidence that had cast off the awe of pupils; and examining the matter, they confessed the King commanded them. The Jesuits refused to receive the crosses, answering, they had been given by His Majesty's order, and they would not take notice of any such surrender from boys, but bid them desire the King to send one of those who are, according to order, to deliver all His Majesty's commands, whose words are by privilege a sufficient warrant, and then they would accept of them; hoping the King would not discover himself to any of his officers in this poor plot. The boys returned with this message, which enraged the King; but being desirous to break up the school, and withdraw the youth without noise, he bid them call the Jesuits to the women's door, where by a lady he gave the order, and without ever taking any notice since of any thing, his kinsmen were recalled, and are now absolute Moors, without any taste of their first faith: and here have ended the conversions of these infidels.

I will add one or two more pleasant relations, and so conclude. Not long since the Jesuit's house and church being burnt, the crucifix remained untouched, which was given out for a miracle, and much talked of. The King, who never lets slip any opportunity of new talk, or novelties, hearing of this accident, calls the Jesuit, and questions him about it. He answers ambiguously; whereupon His Majesty asked, whether he did not desire to convert him? And being answered in the affirmative, replied, You speak of your great miracles, and of many done in the name of your prophet: if you will cast the crucifix and picture of Christ into a fire before me, if it burn not, I will become a Christian. The Jesuit refused the trial as unjust, answering, That God was not tied to the call of man, that it was a sin to tempt him, and that he wrought miracles according to his own will; yet he offered to cast himself into the fire for a proof of his faith, which the King would not allow of. Here arose a great dispute, began by the Prince, a most stiff Mahometan, and hater of all Christians, urging, that it was reasonable to try our religion after this manner; but withal, that if the crucifix did burn, then the Jesuit should be obliged to turn Moor. He urged examples of miracles said to be wrought for less purposes than the conversion of so mighty a King, and spoke scornfully of Christ Jesus. The King took up the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a prophet, comparing his works with those of their absurd saints, instancing the raising of the dead, which never any of theirs did. The Prince replied, that to give sight to one born blind was as great a miracle. This being hotly debated on both sides, a third man interposed to end the controversy, saying, that both the father and the son were in the right as to their opinions; for to raise a dead body to life must be owned to be the greatest miracle ever done, but that to give sight to an eye naturally blind was the same work, because a blind eye was dead, sight being the life of it; therefore he that gave sight to a blind eye, did as it were, raise it from death. Thus this discourse ended.

The other story is this. A juggler of Bengala, of which craft there are many, and very notable at it, brought before the King a great ape, which, as he said, could divine and prophesy; and to this beast some of the Indian sects attribute a sort of divinity. The King took a ring off his finger, and caused it to be hid under a boy's girdle, there being a dozen present; then bid the ape divine, who went to the right child, and took it out. His Majesty being somewhat more curious, caused the names of twelve law-givers, as Christ, Moses, Mahomet, Haly, and others, to be writ on twelve papers in the Persian tongue; and shuffling them in a bag, bid the beast divine which was the true law, who putting in his paw, took out that inscribed with the name of Christ. This amazed

amazed the King, who, ſuſpecting the ape's maſter could read Perſian, and might aſſiſt him, wrote them anew in court characters, and preſentedthem the ſecond time. The ape found the right, and kiſſed it. At this a great officer grew angry, telling the King it was ſome impoſture, and deſiring he might have leave to make the ſcrolls anew, offering to undergo any puniſhment if the ape could deceive him. He writ the names, putting only eleven in a bag, and kept the other in his hand. The monkey ſearched, but refuſed all; the King commanding it to bring one, it tore them in a fury, and made ſigns the true law-giver's name was not among them. The King aſked where it was, and the ape ran to the nobleman and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inſcribed with the name of Chriſt Jeſus. The King was concerned, and keeps the ape. This was done in public before thouſands, and no doubt is to be made of the truth of the matter of fact.

Part of a Letter to the Eaſt-India Company, dated at Adſmere, November 24, 1616.

MY HONOURED FRIENDS,

I RECEIVED your letter, &c. (*the firſt part omitted, as nothing material.*)

Concerning the aiding the Mogul, or wafting his ſubjects into the Red Sea, it is now uſeleſs, yet I made offer of your affections; but when they need not a courteſy, they regard it as a dog does dry bread when his belly is full. The King has peace with the Portugueſes, and will never make a conſtant war, except firſt we diſplant them; then his greatneſs will ſtep in for a ſhare of the benefit; which dares not partake of the peril. When they have peace, they ſcorn our aſſiſtance, and ſpeak as loud as our cannon; if war oppreſs them, they dare not put out under any protection, nor will they pay for it. You muſt remove all thoughts of trading to their port, any otherwiſe than defending yourſelves, and leaving them to their fortune: you can never oblige them by any benefits, and they will ſooner fear than love you. Your reſidence you need not doubt, as long as you tame the Portugueſes, therefore avoid all other charge as unneceſſary. At my firſt arrival I underſtood a fort was very neceſſary, but experience teaches me we are refuſed it to our own advantage. If he would offer me ten, I would not accept of one. Firſt, where the river is commodious the country is barren, and has no trade; the paſſages to better parts ſo full of thieves, that the King's authority avails not, and the ſtrength of the hills ſecures them in that life. If it had been fit for trade, the natives would have choſen it, for they feel the inconveniency of a barred haven; and it is argument enough of ſome ſecret inconveniency, that they make not uſe of it: but if it were ſafe without the walls, yet it is not an eaſy work to divert the courſe of trade, and draw the reſort of merchants from their accuſtomed mart, eſpecially for our commodity, which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called ſtaple. Secondly, The charge is greater than the trade can bear, for to maintain a garriſon will eat out the profit: an hundred men will not keep it, for if once the Portugueſes ſee you take that courſe, they will uſe all their endeavours to ſupplant you. A war and traffick are incompatible. By my conſent you ſhall never engage yourſelves but at ſea, where you are likely to gain as often as to loſe. The Portugueſes, notwithſtanding their many rich reſidences, are beggared by keeping of ſoldiers, and yet their garriſons are but mean. They never made advantage of the Indies ſince they defended them. Obſerve this well. It has been alſo the error of the Dutch, who ſeek plantations here by the ſword; they turn a wonderful ſtock, they prole in all places, they poſſeſs ſome of the beſt, yet their dead pays conſume all the gain. Let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, ſeek it at ſea, and in quiet trade; for without controverſy, it is an error to affect garriſons

and land wars in India. If you made it only againſt the natives, I ſhould agree to it; but to make it for them, they do not deſerve it, and you ſhould be very wary how you engage your reputation in it. You cannot ſo eaſily make a fair retreat as an onſet. One diſaſter would either diſcredit you, or engage you in a war of extreme danger, and doubtful event: beſides an action ſo ſubject to chance as a war, is moſt unfitly undertaken, and with moſt hazard, when the remoteneſs of the place for ſupplies, ſuccours, and counſel, ſubjects it to irrecoverable loſs; for where there is moſt uncertainty, remedies ſhould be ſo much the nearer upon all occaſions. At ſea you may take and leave, your deſigns are not publiſhed. The road of Soali, and the port of Surat are the fitteſt for you in all the Mogul's territories. I have weighed it well, and to deliver you that which ſhall never be diſproved. You need no more. It is not a number of ports, reſidencies, and factories that will profit you; they will increaſe charge, but not recompenſe it. The conveniency of one with reſpect to your ſails, and to the commodity of inveſtments, and the well employing of your ſervants, is all you need. A port to ſecure your ſhips, and a fit place to unlade, will not be found together. The road at Soali, during the ſeaſon, is as ſafe as a pond. Surat, Cambaya, Baroche, and Amadabat, are better traded than all India, and ſeated commodiouſly. The inconveniences are, the Portugueſes at ſea, and the landing of goods. To obviate the firſt, you muſt bring to paſs that your lading be ready by the end of September at the port, which may be effected by a ſtock beforehand, or by taking up money for three months; and ſo you may diſcharge and lade at once, and depart in excellent ſeaſon for England, and the enemy will not have time to offend you, being newly arrived: and if the preparation be of longer date, we ſhall know it. For the ſecond, to land goods without danger of frigates, and to ſave the carriage over land, you muſt ſend a pinnace of ſixty tons with ten guns, that draws but ſeven or eight foot water, to paſs up the river between Soali and Surat, and ſo your goods will be ſafe and in your own command, to the cuſtom-houſe-key, and it will a little awe the town; ſhe may afterwards proceed according to your appointment. The commodities you ſell paſs beſt in that quarter, the goods you ſeek being indigo and cloth; no one place is ſo fit for both, and the leſs inconveniences are to be choſen. Syndu is poſſeſſed by the Portugueſes; or, if free, were no fitter than Surat, nor ſafer; as it is, will be more ſubject to peril.

For the ſettling your traffick here, I doubt not to effect any reaſonable deſire, my credit is ſufficient with the King, and your force will always bind him to conſtancy. It will not need ſo much help at court as you ſuppoſe, a little countenance, and the diſcretion of your factors will, with eaſy charge, return you moſt profit, but you muſt alter your ſtock. Let not your ſervants deceive you; cloth, lead, teeth, quickſilver, are dead commodities, and will never drive this trade; you muſt ſuccour it by change. Articles of treaty on equal terms I cannot obtain, want of preſents has diſgraced me, and yet by piece-meals I have got as much as I deſired at once. I have recovered all bribes, extortions, and debts made and contracted before my time till this day, or at leaſt an honourable compoſition.

The preſents ſent are too few to follow examples, they will ſcarce ſerve the firſt day. The rule is, at every arrival of a fleet, the Mogul, and the Prince, during his government of our port, will expect a formal preſent and ſome letter from the King, our ſolicitor from you, which need not be dear if well choſen. Your agent muſt be furniſhed with a China ſhop to ſerve ſmall turns; for often giving of trifles is the way of preferment; it cannot be avoided, and I have been ſcorned for my poverty in that kind. At my delivery of the firſt ſent by me, contentment outwardly appeared; but I will acquaint you with the cabinet council's opinion, by which you may judge three exceptions were

taken and argued by the King and his great ones. Firſt, it was cenſured to name preſents in a King's letter, to be ſent by a principal man his ambaſſador; and ſuch poor ones delivered, meaner and fewer than when they came with leſs oſtentations. That if they had not been named as from a monarch, they had been leſs deſpicable; for ſuch is their pride, that though the coach for its form, and as a model, gave much content, yet the matter was ſcorned, and it was never uſed till two others of rich ſtuffs were made by it, and that covered with cloth of gold, harneſs and furniture, and all the tin nails headed with ſilver, or hatched: ſo that it was nine months a repairing, and when I ſaw it I knew it not. 2. Exception was taken that His Majeſty did write his name before the Mogul, but it matters not for that dull pride. 3. That His Majeſty in his letter intimated, that honour and profit ſhould ariſe to this Prince by the Engliſh and their trade, which he ſo much ſcorns to hear of, that he would willingly be rid of it and us, if he durſt. The forgetting to ſend me letters diminiſhes my credit, which is to be maintained by all ceremonies, and Sultan Corone expected one as an honour to him.

The ſuffering of volunteers to paſs in your fleets is an extreme incommodity. How to diſpoſe of one here honeſtly, I know not. Aſſure yourſelves they are either ſome unruly youths that want ground to ſow their humours, and are expoſed to be tamed, and may do you and me much prejudice in reputation. I have had a bitter experience of ſome taken by myſelf in good nature. Here is ſubject to practiſe all vice upon, and no virtue to be learned: or elſe they are ſent at your charge to learn to diſcover the ſtraits and fitteſt places of interception of Indian goods for a future voyage, and to enable them by experience to do you a miſchief who bred them to it. I know many envy you this trade, and would be extreme glad to rob you of it; you cannot do better than keep all men in ignorance but yourſelves, or at leaſt as many as neceſſity does not oblige you to uſe.

The Dutch are arrived at Surat from the Red Sea, with ſome money and ſouthern commodities. I have done my beſt to diſgrace them, but could not turn them out without further danger. They come on the ſame ground we ſtand on, fear of their ſhips, againſt which I ſuppoſe you will not warrant the ſubjects of this King. Your comfort is, here are goods enough for both.

Concerning Perſia, the factors do not underſtand what they have undertaken. Jaſques is no port or place for ſale of goods, and thoſe they have ſent not ſaleable. In order to ſecure your ſafety and the Portugueſes, there are but two ways, peace or compulſion. The firſt I have undertaken by means of a Jeſuit, but deſpair of ſucceſs. The next is force, which is always uſed to diſadvantage when you are only upon the defenſive. My opinion is, that you give orders to all your fleets to make prize of them, and that as you now ride at Solia road to protect one ſhip, you would ſend that guard the next year to ride before Goa, to brave or burn them, or at leaſt to ſtop them that they may not put to ſea in December; ſo you will make them loſe their ſeaſons, and one or two returns ſtopt would undo them. On my word they are weak in India, and able to do your fleet no harm, but by ſupplies from Liſbon, where you muſt endeavour to have intelligence, and apply your ſtrength accordingly. Thus you will add much reputation to your cauſe, and force them to that which their pride will never ſuffer them to ſee they want more than you, which is a quiet trade. For your traffick into the Red Sea, it is more important than all other projects: my counſel is, that one of your ſmalleſt ſhips with the fitteſt Engliſh goods, and ſuch others as this country affords, go yearly in company of the Guzarats, and trade for themſelves for money, which is taken in abundance, and return in September with them to ſupply this place. The profit exceeds all

the trades of India, and will drive this alone. The danger is rather a jealouſy than ſubſtantial. When the Turks betrayed Sir Henry Middleton, our factories and courſes in thoſe parts were unknown to them; and doubtleſs, we being ſtrangers in that ſea, were miſtruſted for pirates. Experience has made us better known, and in company of the Guzarats, for their ſake, whom they cannot ſpare, we ſhall be admitted. The King would write to the Admiral to entertain our conſort ſhip, and they would be glad of it, and it were one of the beſt ſecurities of our friendſhip. The Dutch have practiſed it this year to great advantage, and were all well received. Our own wariness might ſecure us. They muſt ride ſix months for winds, time enough to ſend all the goods aſhore by parcels, and never truſt above one or two factors, and a ſmall quantity of goods at once. They will not declare their treachery for trifles, and I doubt not you may procure the Grand Signior's command to meet them. If I have any judgment, there is not any matter for your profit of ſuch importance. Port Pequenho, in Bengala, you are miſinformed in, there is no mart, or reſort of merchants; it is traded to by the Portugueſes from Pegu with rubies, topazes, and ſaphires, and returns cloth which is fine, but you may be furniſhed nearer hand.

I will ſettle your trade here ſecure with the King, and reduce it to order, if I may be heard; when I have ſo done, I muſt plead againſt myſelf, that an ambaſſador lives not in fit honour here. I could ſooner die than be ſubject to the ſlavery the Perſian is content with. A meaner agent would, among theſe proud Moors, better effect your buſineſs. My quality often for ceremonies, either begets you enemies, or ſuffers unworthily. The King has often demanded an ambaſſador from Spain, but could never obtain one, for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe they would not give preſents unworthy their King's greatneſs; next, they knew his reception ſhould not anſwer his quality. I have moderated according to my diſcretion, but with a ſwoln heart. Half my charge ſhall corrupt all this court to be your ſlaves.

Poſtſcript.

The beſt way to do your buſineſs in this court is to find ſome Mogul that you may entertain for a thouſand roupies a year, as your ſolicitor at court. He muſt be authoriſed by the King, and then he will ſerve you better than ten ambaſſadors. Under him you muſt allow five hundred roupies for another at your port to follow the governor, and cuſtomers, and to advertiſe his chief at court. Theſe two will effect all, for your other ſmaller reſidences are not ſubject to much inconveniency.

Concerning private trade, my opinion is, that you abſolutely prohibit it, and execute forfeitures; for your buſineſs will be the better done. All your loſs is not in the goods brought home; I ſee here the inconveniences you think not of. I know this is harſh to all men, and ſeems hard; men profeſs they come not for bare wages: but you will take away this plea, if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from, but then you muſt make good choice of your ſervants, and uſe fewer.

The ſeveral Kingdoms and Provinces ſubject to the Great Mogul, Sha-Selim Jehan-Guire, with the principal Cities and Rivers, their Situation, Borders, and Extent, in Length and Breadth, as near as I could gather by common Computation. The Names I took out of the King's Regiſter, and begin at the North-Weſt.

1. CANDAHAR. The chief city and kingdom both of the ſame name. It lies N.W. from the heart of the Mogul's territories, and was formerly a province of Perſia, on which it borders.

2. Tatta. A kingdom and chief city ſo called, is divided by the river Indus, which falls into the ſea at Syndu. It lies ſouth of Candahar, and weſt ſomewhat ſoutherly from Agra.

3. Buckor. The chief city called Buckorſuckar, lies upon the river of Syndu or Indus to the northward, ſomewhat eaſterly of Tatta; and on the weſt borders on the Baloaches, a kind of rude warlike people.

4. Multan. The chief city called by the ſame name, lying alſo upon Indus, ſouth-eaſt from Candahar, northerly from Backar.

5. Hajacan. The kingdom of the Baloaches, north of Tatta and Backar, and on the weſt borders on the kingdom of Lar, ſubject to the King of Perſia; Indus winds itſelf along the eaſt ſide of it, and it has no city of note.

6. Cabul. The city has the ſame name. It is a great kingdom, the moſt northerly of this empire, and runs up to the confines of the Great Tartary.

7. Kyſhmier, or Cachimir. The chief city of it is called Sirinakra, the river Bhat paſſes through it, and falls into Ganges, though others ſay it runs into the ſea in the north part of the bay Bengala: the kingdom of Cabul is bordered by it on the eaſt, ſoutherly it is all mountains.

8. Bankiſh. The chief city of it is called Beiſhar, it lies eaſt of Cachimir.

9. Atack or Attock. The chief city of the ſame name, it lies on one ſide of the river Nilob, which runs on the north-weſt into the river Indus.

10. The kingdom of the Kakares. Lies at the foot of the mountains. Its principal cities are Dankely and Purchola, and borders on the north-eaſt ſide of the kingdom of Cachimir.

11. Penjah, which ſignifies five waters, becauſe it is ſeated within five rivers. The chief city is called Lahor. It is a great kingdom, and very fruitful. The city is the mart of India for traffic; it borders on the eaſt ſide of Multan.

12. Jenba or Jamba. The chief city of the ſame name. It lies eaſt of Benjab, and is very mountainous.

13. Peitan or Pitan. The chief city ſo called lies north-eaſt of Jenba, and north of Patna, and is full of mountains.

14. Naugracut. The chief city of the ſame name. It lies north between Benjab and Jamba, and is very mountainous.

15. Siba. The chief city of the ſame name, north of Jamba, and the bay of Bengala, and very mountainous.

16. Jeſval. The chief city is called Rajapore: it reaches down to the kingdom of Bengala, and lies north of it, and eaſt of Patna, full of mountains.

17. Delli. The chief city of the ſame name. It lies on both ſides of the river Gemmi, which falls into Ganges, and runs through Agra. It is an ancient city, and the ſeat of the Mogul's anceſtors, but ruined. Some affirm it to have been the

ſeat of Porus conquered by Alexander the Great, and that there ſtill ſtands a pillar with a Greek inſcription.

18. Mevat. The chief city called Narval, it lies on the eaſt of Ganges, and Gemna, to the north-eaſt of their meeting.

19. Sambal. The chief city bears the ſame name. It lies betwixt the river Ganges and Gemma, north of their meeting.

20. Bakar. The chief city is called Bikaner. Ganges borders it on the eaſt, and the province of Delli on the weſt.

21. Agra, a principal and great kingdom, the chief city of the ſame name, the heart of the Mogul's dominions, in about 28 degrees and a half of north latitude. It lies moſt on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the river Gemma, the city upon the river where one of the Emperor's treaſuries is kept. From Agra to Lahor there are three hundred and twenty coſſes, which is no leſs than ſeven hundred miles, all a plain, and the highway planted on both ſides with trees, like a delicate wall. It is one of the great works and wonders of the world.

22. Jenupar. The city of the ſame name upon the river Kaul, which I ſuppoſe to be one of the five rivers incloſing Lahor; and the country lies between it and Agra, north-weſt from the one, and ſouth-eaſt from the other.

23. Bando. The chief city is ſo called. It borders on Agra on the eaſt, and Jeſſelmere on the weſt.

24. Patna. The chief city has the ſame name. It is incloſed by four great rivers, Ganges, Jemna, Serſeli, and Kanda, and lies north-eaſt from Agra, and north of the bay of Bengala, where all theſe rivers pay tribute.

25. Gor. The chief city is alſo ſo called. It lies in the northern part of the Mogul's dominions, and towards the heads of the rivers Ganges and Kanda.

26. Bengala. A mighty kingdom incloſing the eaſt and north ſide of the bay of that name; whence winding towards the ſouth, it borders on Coromandel, or rather Golconda. The chief cities are Ragmehal and Dekaka. There are many havens, as Port Grande, Port Pequenho, reſorted to by Portugueſes; Piliptan, Siligam, &c. It contains divers provinces, as that of Prurop, Patan, &c.

27. Udeza. The chief city called Jakanat. It is the utmoſt extent eaſtward of the Mogul's dominions, north of the bay, and borders on the kingdom of Maug, a ſavage people lying between Udeza and Pegu.

28. Kanduana. The chief city is called Karakatanka. This and Gor are the north-eaſt bounds of this monarchy, on the weſt of it is Pitan.

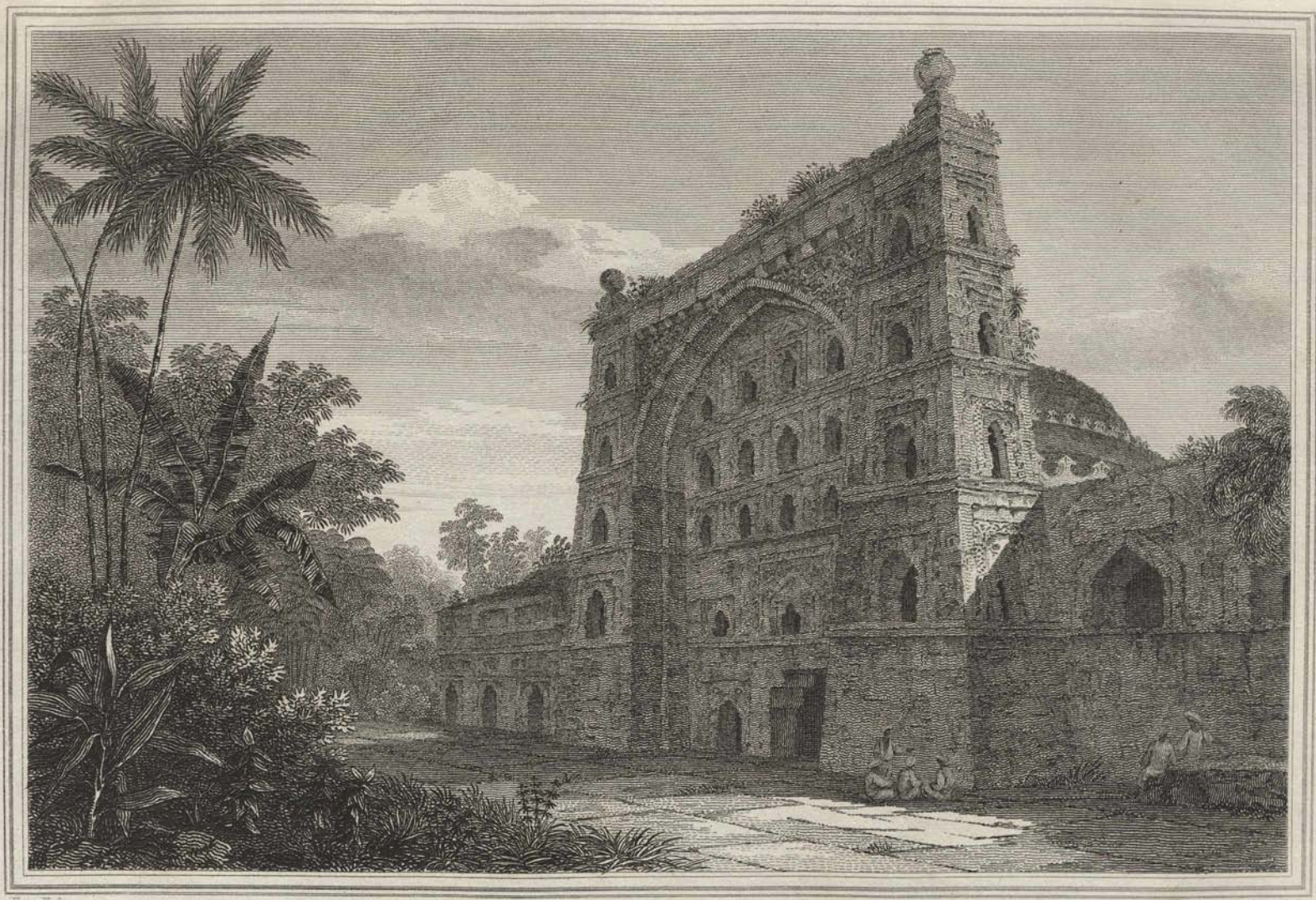
29. Gualeor. The chief city bears the ſame name, where the Mogul has one of his great treaſuries, with an exceeding ſtrong caſtle, where priſoners are kept. It lies ſouth of Agra.

30. Candis. The chief city here is Brampore. It is a great kingdom, and the city one of the antient ſeats of the Kings of Decan, taken from them. It lies eaſt of Guzarat, ſouth of Chitor, weſt of Golconda, and north of Decan. It is watered by the river Tabeti, which runs weſtward into the bay of Cambaya.

31. Malva. The chief cities here are Ugen, Nar, and Seringe. It lies north-eaſt of Chandis, and ſouth-eaſt of the country of Rama, and weſt of the province of Prurop of the kingdom of Bengala.

32. Berar. The chief city is called Shakpur. It is incloſed by the provinces of Malva, Candis, Golconda, and Prurop.

33. Guzarat. A noble kingdom, incloſing the bay of Cambaya, the chief city is Amadavat. Within it is contained the city and government of Cambaya, the beauty of



From Hodges.

Engraved by George Cooke.

Tomb at Jionpoor.

W. Alexander, del. from a sketch by E.H. Locker Esq. F.S.A.

Engraved by George Cooke & Letitia Byrne.

Chouragautchy near Berhampore.

(taken July 17. 1808.)

of India. The territory and city of Surat, and that of Baroce. It is watered by many goodly rivers, as that of Cambaya, once falſely ſuppoſed to be Indus; the river of Narbadah falling into the ſea at Baroche, that of Surat, and divers others. It trades into the Red Sea to Achem and many other places.

34. Surat. The chief city called Gunagur. It lies to the north-weſt of Guzarat.

35. Narvar. The chief city of Ghehud, lies eaſt of Gualeor, and ſouth of Sambal.

36. Chitor. The antient great kingdom. The city of the ſame name, walled, and about ten Engliſh miles in compaſs, on a mighty hill. There are ſtill above one hundred churches ſtanding, the King's palace, and many fine pillars of carved ſtone. There is but one aſcent to it cut out of the rock, on which are four magnificent gates. The ruins of above one hundred thouſand houſes all of ſtone are ſtill to be ſeen, but it is not inhabited. It was doubtleſs one of the ſeats of Porus, and taken from his ſucceſſor Rama by Ezbar-Sha, father to Jehan Guire the Mogul. Rama flying into the ſtrength of his kingdom, among the mountains, ſeated himſelf at Odepore, and was brought to acknowledge the Mogul for his ſovereign lord by Sultan Corone, third ſon to the preſent Emperor, in the year 1614. This kingdom lies north-weſt from Candis, and north-eaſt from Guzarat, in the way between Agra and Surat. Rama himſelf keeps the hills to the weſt nearer Amadavat.

The Length of the Mogul's Dominions, North-Weſt and South-Eaſt.

FROM Candahor to Lahor three hundred and fifty coſſes, being about eight hundred miles.

From Lahor to Agra three hundred and twenty coſſes, about ſeven hundred and fifty miles.

From Agra to Hagipore Patna three hundred coſſes, ſix hundred and eighty miles.

From Hagipore Patna to Kirafnad three hundred coſſes, about ſix hundred and ſeventy miles.

The whole length one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy coſſes, about two thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-two miles.

The breadth in all north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt from Harduar to Duarſa ſix hundred and thirty coſſes, about one thouſand five hundred miles.

The length north and ſouth about one thouſand four hundred miles.

A Note of ſuch Things as Sir Thomas Roe would have had ſent him to beſtow as Preſents, inſerted for the Reader's Satisfaction, to ſhew what Curioſities were acceptable in India to give or ſell.

KNIVES large and fair, wrought with amber, coral, gold or ſilver, or inlaid with glaſs.

The figures of the lion, the buck, the greyhound, the bull, the horſe, the talbot, provided they be well formed, and good ſhapes, ſuch toys will pleaſe well for ordinary turns.

Pieces of velvet and ſatins, if they be good and rich, and freſh colours, blue is not eſteemed.

Fowling-pieces, if they be fair, elſe none.

Branches of poliſhed coral, of the largeſt.

Some of the faireſt amber and coral beads.

Cryſtal boxes.

Rich

Rich embroidered ſweet-bags.
Embroidered fowling-caſes.
Embroidered pillows.
Saddles rich, with capariſons and furniture.
Swords, if they be very good, and with fine hilts, inlaid with gold or ſilver, or well cut in iron.
Choice pictures, eſpecially hiſtories, or other that have many figures, as church-work, night-work, or landſcape, but good, for they underſtand them as well as we.
Hats.
Alicant wine, Malvaſy, or any that will make Hipocras, and will keep.
Cloth of gold or ſilver, ſatins or flowered ſilks of gold or ſilver, or ſilk, French ſhags; fine Engliſh Norwich ſtuffs, half ſilk, theſe of light, freſh and choice colours.
Fine light armour.
Agats well cut, eſpecially black and white, are highly eſteemed.
Emeralds of the old rock, or any other ſtones, finely ſet and enamelled.
Enamelled work.
Cloth of Arras, ſo it be good, great imagery, and freſh.
Good croſs-bows.
Fine Engliſh long-bows and quivers of fair arrows, the caſes ſhould be made of velvet.
Looking-glaſſes of two foot over, in frames of coloured wood, or covered with cloth of gold; ſmall ones are traſh.
Figures of braſs or ſtone curiouſly cut.
China ware, or large counterpoints embroidered with birds in ſilver, and coloured ſilks.
Fine cabinets, embroidered purſes, needle-work, French eſtuges, or tweezer caſes, fine table-books, perfumed gloves, girdles and belts, rich perfumed ſkins, bone-lace, cut-work, any ſort of embroidery.
Water and land-ſpaniels, Engliſh and Iriſh greyhounds, Engliſh hounds, eſpecially blood-hounds, and good maſtiffs.
Scarlet, though in ſome eſteem, is not according to its value.
Plumes of feathers, ſo they be large and of good colours, eſpecially ſome herons' feathers, pure white and whole.
Comb-caſes covered with velvet, laced or embroidered with handſome glaſſes and all neceſſary furniture.
Some paper cuts, eſpecially of kings, queens, and other great perſons.
Some burning-glaſſes.
Gold chains of curious workmanſhip.
Watches.
Caſes of bottles of ſtrong waters.
Drinking Venice glaſſes.
Proſpective-glaſſes.
Fine baſons and ewers.
In general, any thing curious for workmanſhip, rare, and not ſeen in India, or rich in value, is very acceptable; and theſe people know the beſt of all kinds, and are ſerved by the Portugueſes, Venetians, and Armenians, with all the rarities of Europe. All theſe things will ſell for ready money at the noroſe, or feaſt of the King's birth-day, at good prices.

BERNIER'S VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES:

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF THE LATE REVOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGUL;

Together with the moſt conſiderable Paſſages for Five Years following, in that Empire.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A Letter to the Lord Colbert, touching the Extent of Indoſtan, the Circulation of the Gold and Silver of the World, to diſcharge itſelf there; as alſo the Riches, Forces, and Juſtice of the ſame; and the principal Cauſe of the Decay of the States of Aſia.

With an exact Deſcription of Dehli and Agra.

TOGETHER WITH

I. Some Particulars making known the Court and Genius of the Moguls and Indians; as alſo the Doctrine and extravagant Superſtitions and Cuſtoms of the Heathens of Indoſtan.

II. The Emperor of Mogul's Voyage to the Kingdom of Kachemire, in 1664, called the Paradiſe of the Indies.

Engliſhed out of French *.

An Extract of a Letter written to Mr. H. O. from Monſieur De Monceaux, the younger, giving a Character of the Book here engliſhed, and its Author.

VIRTUE ſometimes is no leſs intereſted than affection: both, Sir, are glad to receive, from time to time, pledges mutually anſwering for thoſe that have united themſelves in a cloſe correſpondence. Yours, indeed, ſhould demand of me, ſuch as might be a ſecurity to you for the advance you have been pleaſed to make me of your friendſhip. But ſince at preſent I have nothing worth preſenting you with, and yet am unwilling to give you any leiſure to be diffident of my realneſs, or to repent for having ſo eaſily given me a ſhare in your eſteem, I here ſend you a relation of Indoſtan, in which you will find ſuch conſiderable occurrences, as will make you confeſs, I could not convey to you a more acceptable preſent, and that Monſieur Bernier, who hath written it, is a very gallant man, and of a mould I wiſh all travellers were made of. We ordinarily travel more out of unſettledneſs than curioſity, with a deſign to ſee towns and countries, rather than to know their inhabitants and productions; and we ſtay not long enough in a place to inform ourſelves well of the government, policy, intereſts, and manners of its people. Monſieur Bernier, after he had benefited himſelf for the ſpace of many years, by the converſe of the famous Gaſſendi, ſeen him expire in his arms,

* Harl. Coll. ii. 101.

 ſucceeded

ſucceeded him in his knowledge, and inherited his opinions and diſcoveries, embarked for Egypt, ſtayed above a whole year at Cairo, and then took the occaſion of ſome Indian veſſels, that trade in the ports of the Red Sea, to paſs to Surat; and after twelve years abode at the court of the Great Mogul, is at laſt come to ſeek his reſt in his native country, there to give an account of his obſervations and diſcoveries, and to pour out into the boſom of France, what he had amaſſed in India.

Sir, I ſhall ſay nothing to you of his adventures, which you will find in the relations that are to follow hereafter, which he abandons to the greedineſs of the curious, who prefer their ſatisfaction to his quiet, and do already perſecute him to have the ſequel of this hiſtory. Neither ſhall I mention to you the hazards he did run, by being in the neighbourhood of Mecca; nor of his prudent conduct, which made him merit the eſteem of his generous Fazelkhan, who ſince is become the firſt miniſter of that great empire, whom he taught the principal languages of Europe, after he had tranſlated for him the whole philoſophy of Gaſſendi in Latin, and whoſe leave he could not obtain to go home, till he had got for him a ſelect number of our beſt European books, thereby to ſupply the loſs he ſhould ſuffer of his perſon. This, at leaſt, I can aſſure you of, that never a traveller went from home more capable to obſerve, nor hath written with more knowledge, candour, and integrity; that I knew him at Conſtantinople, and in ſome towns of Greece, of ſo excellent a conduct, that I propoſed him to myſelf for a pattern in the deſign I then had, to carry my curioſity as far as the place where the ſun riſeth; that I have often drowned, in the ſweetneſs of his entertainment, the bitterneſſes, which elſe I muſt have ſwallowed all alone, in ſuch irkſome and unpleaſant paſſages as are thoſe of Aſia.

Sir, you will do me a pleaſure to let me know the ſentiment your illuſtrious ſociety hath of this piece. Their approbation begets much emulation among the intelligent, who all have no other ambition than to pleaſe them. I myſelf muſt avow to you, that if I thought I could merit ſo much, I ſhould not ſo ſtiffly oppoſe, as I do, the publication of the obſervations and notes I have made in the Levant. I ſhould ſuffer my friends to take them out of my cabinet, where, from the ſlight value I have for them, they are likely to lie impriſoned, except the King my maſter, by whoſe order I undertook thoſe voyages, ſhould abſolutely command me to ſet them at liberty, and to let them take their courſe in the world. Mean time, Sir, you will oblige me, to aſſure thoſe great men, who this day compoſe the moſt knowing company on earth, of the veneration I have for the oracles that come from their mouth, and that I prefer their Lyceum before that of Athens; and laſtly, that of all their admirers, there is none that hath a greater concern for their glory, than

DE MONCEAUX.

Paris, Julii 16, 1670.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE LATE REVOLUTION, &c.

1. *What Depth of Policy and Craft was used by Aureng-Zebe, the Heroes of this History, and the third of the four Sons of Chah-Jehan, the Great Mogul, to supplant all his Brothers, and to settle himself in the Throne; and how the first Foundation thereof was laid by the Visier of the King of Golconda, and the Sickness of Cha-Jehan, the Father of Aureng-Zebe.* — 2. *A Mixture of Love Intrigues, practised by the Princess Begum-Shaheb, one of the two Daughters of the Great Mogul, Chah-Jehan.* — 3. *How Aureng-Zebe, having overcome all his Brothers, did secure his Father, and others, whom he had Cause to be jealous of.* — 4. *How the Neighbours of the Empire of Mogul demeaned themselves towards the new Emperor, Aureng-Zebe; and what Embassies were dispatched to him first by the Usbec-Tartars (where a Description of that Country and People;) then the Dutch of Surat; as also from Mecca, from Arabia Felix, from Ethiopia and Persia; together with an Account of their respective Instructions, Receptions, Entertainments and Dismissions; particularly of that of the Hollanders, securing and improving their Trade by their Embassy.* — 5. *Aureng-Zebe's singular Prudence, and indefatigable Pains, in managing the Government himself; and how he treated him that endeavoured to persuade him to take his Ease and Pleasure, now he was established.* — 6. *Aureng-Zebe's Distaste against his favourite Sister, Rauchenara-Begum, occasioned by some Love-Cabals.* — 7. *His great Care in appointing a Governor and Tutor to his third Son Sultan-Ekbar.* — 8. *With what Wisdom and Severity Aureng-Zebe received and treated his pedantic Tutor, who expected to be made a great Lord for his former Service; together with a Model for the suitable Education of a great Prince, prescribed by Aureng-Zebe on this Occasion.* — 9. *In what Credit judiciary Astrology is over all Asia.* — 10. *How the Kings of India make themselves Heirs of all the Estate of those that die in their Service.* — 11. *Of the reciprocal Appearance of Kindness between Aureng-Zebe and his imprisoned Father and Sister.* — 12. *What passed between Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla, who had laid the first Ground-work to Aureng-Zebe's Greatness.* — 13. *What in these Revolutions was transacted about the Bay of Bengal, and the heathen Kingdom of Rakan.* — 14. *How Aureng-Zebe carried himself towards his two eldest Sons, Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Mahum: and how, for a Trial of the Obedience and Courage of the latter, he commanded him to kill a certain Lion, that did great Mischief in the Country; together with the Success thereof.* — 15. *Divers Particulars, shewing the Interest between Indostan and Persia, supposed by this Author to be unknown, or at least not well known hitherto.* — 16. *How generously Aureng-Zebe recompensed those that had faithfully served him in these Revolutions.* — 17. *Some Account of that small Kingdom of Kachemire, or Cassimere, represented as the Paradise of the Indies; concerning which the Author affirms, that he hath a particular History of it in the Persian Tongue.* — 18. *A considerable Relation of Surat's being strangely surprized and plundered by a stout Rebel of Visapour; and how the English and Dutch saved themselves and their Treasure in this bold Enterprize.* — 19. *A particular Account both of the former and present State of the whole Peninsula of Indostan; the Occasion of its Division into divers Sovereignties, and the several Arts used to maintain themselves one against another; particularly of the present Government and State of the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Visapour, and their Interests in reference to the Great Mogul.* — 20. *of the Extent of Indostan, and the Trade which the English, Portuguese, and Hollanders have in that Empire; as also the vast Quan-*

tities of Gold and Silver, circulated through the World, and conveyed into Indoſtan, and there ſwallowed up as in an Abyſs. — 21. *Of the many Nations, which in that vaſt Extent of Country cannot be well kept in Subjection by the Great Mogul.* — 22. *Of the Great Mogul's Religion, which is Mahometan, or the Turkiſh not Perſian Sect.* — 23. *Of his Militia, both in the Field and about his Perſon; and how the ſame is provided for, employed, punctually paid, and carefully diſtributed in ſeveral Places.* — 24. *Of the Omrahs, that is, the great Lords of Indoſtan; their ſeveral Qualities, Offices, Attendants.* — 25. *The Artillery of the Mogul, great and ſmall, very conſiderable.* — 26. *Of his Stables of Horſes, Elephants, Camels, Mules, &c.* — 27. *Of his Seraglio.* — 28. *Of his vaſt Revenues and Expences.* — 29. *What Prince may be ſaid to be truly rich.* — 30. *An important State Queſtion debated,* viz. *Whether it be more expedient for the Prince and People, that the Prince be the ſole Proprietor of all the Lands of the Country over which he reigns, yea or no?*

THE deſire of ſeeing the world having made me travel into Paleſtina and Egypt, would not let me ſtop there; it put me upon a reſolution to ſee the Red Sea from one end to the other. I went from Grand Cairo, after I had ſtaid there above a year; and in two and thirty hours, going the caravan pace, I arrived at Suez, where I embarked in a galley, which in ſeventeen days carried me, always in ſight of land, to the port of Gidda, which is half a day's journey from Mecca. There I was conſtrained (contrary to my hopes, and the promiſe which the Beig of the Red Sea had made me,) to go aſhore on that pretended holy land of Mahomet, where a Chriſtian, that is not a ſlave, dares not ſet his foot. I ſtaid there four and thirty days, and then I embarked in a ſmall veſſel, which in fifteen days carried me along the coaſt of Arabia the Happy to Moca, near the ſtreight of Babel Mandel. I reſolved to paſs thence to the iſle of Maſowa and Arkiko, to get as far as Gouder, the capital town of the country of Alebech, or the kingdom of Æthiopia; but I received certain information, that ſince the Portugueſe had been killed there by the intrigue of the Queen Mother, or expelled, together with the Jeſuit patriarch, whom they had brought thither from Goa, the Roman Catholics were not ſafe there, a poor capuchin having loſt his head at Suaken, for having attempted to enter into that kingdom: that indeed, by going under the name of a Greek or an Armenian, I did not run ſo great hazard, and that even the King himſelf, when he ſhould know that I could do him ſervice, would give me land to till by ſlaves, which I might buy if I had money; but that undoubtedly they would forthwith oblige me to marry, as they had lately done a certain friar, who had paſſed there under the name of a Greek phyſician; and that they would never ſuffer me to come away again.

Theſe conſiderations, among others, induced me to change my reſolution. I went aboard of an Indian veſſel, I paſſed thoſe ſtreights, and in two and twenty days I arrived at Surat in Indoſtan, the empire of the Great Mogul, in the year 1655. There I found, that he who then reigned there was called Chah-Jehan, that is to ſay, King of the world; who, according to the hiſtory of that country, was ſon of Jehan-Guyre, which ſignifieth conqueror of the world; grandchild to Ekbar, which is great; and that thus aſcending by Houmayons, or the fortunate, father of Ekbar, and his other predeceſſors, he was the tenth of thoſe that were deſcended from that Timur-Lengue, which ſignifieth the lame prince, commonly and corruptly called Tamerlane, ſo renowned for his conqueſts; who married his near kinſwoman, the only daughter of the Prince of the nations of Great Tartary, called Moguls, who have left and communicated their name to the ſtrangers that now govern Indoſtan, the country of the Indians; though thoſe that are employed in public charges and offices, and even thoſe that are liſted in the militia,

be not all of the race of the Moguls, but ſtrangers, and nations gathered out of all countries, moſt of them Perſians, ſome Arabians, and ſome Turks. For, to be eſteemed a Mogul, it is enough to be a ſtranger, white of face, and a Mahometan; in diſtinction as well to the Indians, who are brown, and Pagans, as to the Chriſtians of Europe, who are called Franguis.

I found alſo at my arrival, that this King of the world, Chah-Jehan, of above ſeventy years of age, had four ſons and two daughters; that ſome years ſince, he had made theſe four ſons vice-kings, or governors of four of his moſt conſiderable provinces or kingdoms; that it was almoſt a year that he was fallen into a great ſickneſs, whence it was believed he would never recover; which had occaſioned a great diviſion among theſe four brothers (all laying claim to the empire) and had kindled among them a war which laſted about five years, and which I deſign here to deſcribe, having been preſent at ſome of the moſt conſiderable actions, and entertained for the ſpace of eight years at that court, where fortune and the ſmall ſtock of money left me (after divers encounters with robbers, and the expences of a voyage of ſix and forty days from Surat to Agra and Dehli, the capital towns of that empire,) obliged me to take a ſalary from the Grand Mogul in the quality of a phyſician, and a little while after from Danech-mend-Kan, the moſt knowing man of Aſia, who had been Bakchis, or great maſter of the horſe, and was one of the moſt powerful and moſt conſiderable Omrahs or lords of that court.

The eldeſt of theſe four ſons of Chah-Jean was called Dara, that is Darius. The ſecond was called Sultan Sujah, that is, the valiant prince. The name of the third was Aurenge-Zebe, which ſignifies, the ornament of the throne. That of the fourth was Morad-Bakche, as if you ſhould ſay, deſire accompliſhed. Of the two daughters, the eldeſt was called Begum-Saheb, that is, the miſtreſs princeſs; and the youngeſt Rachenara-Begum, which is as much as bright princeſs, or the ſplendor of princeſſes.

It is the cuſtom of the country, to give ſuch names to their princes and princeſſes. Thus the wife of Chah-Jehan, ſo renowned for her beauty, and for having a tomb, which much more deſerved to be reckoned among the wonders of the world, than thoſe unſhapen maſſes, and thoſe heaps of ſtones in Egypt, was called Tage-Mehalle, that is to ſay, the crown of the Seraglio; and the wife of Jehan-Guyre, who hath ſo long governed the ſtate, whilſt her huſband minded nothing but drinking and divertiſements, was firſt called Nour-Mehalle, and afterwards, Nour-Jehan-Begum, the light of the ſeraglio, the light of the world. The reaſon why they give ſuch kind of names to the great ones, and not names from their land or dominion (as is uſual in Europe) is, becauſe all the land being the King's there are no marquiſates, earldoms and duchies, of which the grandees might bear their names; all conſiſts in penſions, either of land or ready money, which the King giveth, increaſeth, retrencheth, and takes away, as ſeems good unto him: and it is even for this reaſon, that the omrahs have alſo no other but ſuch names; one (for example) being called Raz Audaze-Kan, i. e. a thunderer; another, Safe Cheken Kan, a breaker of ranks; a third, Bare-Audaze-Kan, a man of lightning; others, Dianet-Khan, or Danech-mend-Kan, or Fazel-Kan, i. e. the faithful lord, the intelligent, the perfect, and the like.

Dara, the eldeſt ſon, wanted not good qualities. He was gallant in converſation, witty in repartees, exceeding civil and liberal, but entertained too good an opinion of his perſon, eſteeming himſelf alone capable of all, and thinking it ſcarce poſſible that any body was able to give him council; inſomuch that he would give reproachful names to thoſe who pretended to adviſe him in any thing; whereby it came to paſs, that even thoſe who were moſt affectionate to him, were ſhy to diſcover to him the moſt ſecret intrigues;

intrigues of his brothers. Beſides, he was apt to be tranſported with paſſion, to menace, to injure, to affront even the greateſt Omrahs or lords; but all paſſed over like a flaſh of light. Though he was a Mahometan, and publicly expreſſed in the ordinary exerciſes of religion to be ſo, yet in private, he was heathen with the heathens, and chriſtian with the Chriſtians. He had conſtantly about him of thoſe heathen doctors, to whom he gave very conſiderable penſions, and who (as was ſaid) had inſtilled into him opinions contrary to the religion of the land; of which I may touch ſomething hereafter, when I ſhall come to ſpeak of the religion of the Indians or Gentiles. He alſo hearkened of late very willingly to the reverend Father Buzee, a Jeſuit, and began very well to reliſh what he ſuggeſted. Yet there are ſome who ſay, that at the bottom he was void of all religion, and that whatever he pretended in it, was only for curioſity; or, as others ſay, out of policy, to make himſelf beloved by the Chriſtians, who are pretty numerous in his artillery; but above all, to gain the affection of the Rajas, or ſovereign Gentiles, that were tributary to the empire, and to make them of his party upon occaſion. Mean time, this hath not much furthered his affairs; on the contrary, it will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory, that the pretence uſed by Aureng-Zebe, his third brother, to cut off his head, was, that he was turned Kafer, that is to ſay, an infidel, of no religion, an idolater.

Sultan Sujah, the ſecond brother, was much of the humour of Dara, but he was more cloſe and more ſettled, and had better conduct and dexterity. He was fit to manage an intrigue well, and he made, underhand, friends by the force of preſents, which he heaped upon the great Omrahs, and principally upon the moſt powerful Rajas, as Jeſſomſeigne, and ſome others; but he did ſomewhat too much indulge his pleaſures, in entertaining an extraordinary number of women, among whom he ſpent whole days and nights in drinking, ſinging, and dancing. He made them preſents of very rich apparel, and he encreaſed or leſſened their penſions according as the fancy took him; by which kind of life his affairs did languiſh, and the affections of many of his people cooled. He caſt himſelf into the religion of the Perſians; alſo Chah-Jehan, his father, and all his brothers, were of the Turkiſh.

'Tis known that Mahometaniſm is divided into ſeveral ſects, which made that famous Check-Sady, author of the Gouliſtan, ſay in verſe, which is to this effect in proſe: "I am a dervich drinker, I ſeem to be without religion, and I am known of ſixty-two ſects." But of all thoſe ſects there are two principal ones, whoſe partizans are mortal enemies to one another. The one is that of the Turks, whom the Perſians call Oſmantous, that is, ſectators of Oſman; they believing that 'tis he that was the true and lawful ſucceſſor of Mahomet, the great caliph or ſovereign prieſt, to whom alone it did appertain to interpret the Alcoran, and to decide the controverſies to be met with in the law. The other is that of the Perſians, whom the Turks call Chias, Rafezys, Aly-Merdans, that is, ſectaries, heretics, partizans of Aly, becauſe they believe, contrary to the belief of the Turks, that this ſucceſſion and pontifical authority, which I juſt now intimated, was due only to Aly, the ſon-in-law of Mahomet. It was by reaſon of ſtate that Sultan Sujah had embraced this latter ſect, conſidering that all the Perſians being Chias, and moſt of them, or their children, having the greateſt power at the court of Mogul, and holding the moſt important places of the empire, he had moſt reaſon to hope, that, when occaſion ſerved, they would all take his part.

Aureng-Zebe, the third brother, had not that gallantry, nor ſurpriſing preſence of Dara; he appeared more ſerious and melancholy, and was indeed much more judicious, underſtanding the world very well, and knowing whom to chooſe for his ſervice and purpoſe, and where to beſtow his favour and bounty moſt for his intereſt. He was

reſerved, crafty, and exceedingly verſed in diſſembling; inſomuch that for a long while he made profeſſion to be fakire, that is, poor, derviſe, or devout, renouncing the world, and feigning not to pretend at all to the crown, but to deſire to paſs his life in prayer and other devotions. In the mean time he failed not to make a party at court, eſpecially when he was made Vice-King of Decan; but he did it with ſo much dexterity, art, and ſecrecy, that it could hardly be perceived. He alſo had the ſkill to maintain himſelf in the affection of Chah-Jehan his father, who, although he much loved Dara, could not forbear to ſhew that he eſteemed Aureng-Zebe, and judged him capable to reign; which cauſed jealouſy enough in Dara, who began to find it, inſomuch that he could not hold from ſaying ſometimes to his friends in private; "Of all my brothers, I apprehend only this Nemazi," that is, this bigot, this great praying-man.

Morad-Bakche, the youngeſt of all, was the leaſt dextrous, and the leaſt judicious. He cared for nothing but mirth and paſtime, to drink, hunt, and ſhoot: yet he had ſome good qualities, for he was very civil and liberal; he gloried in it that he kept nothing ſecret; he deſpiſed cabals, and he bragged openly, that he truſted only in his arm and ſword. In ſhort, he was very brave, and if this bravery had been accompanied with ſome conduct, he would have carried the bell from all his brothers, and been King of Indoſtan; as will appear in what is to follow.

Concerning the two daughters, the eldeſt, Begum-Sahed, was very beautiful, and a great wit, paſſionately beloved of her father. It was even rumoured, that he loved her to that degree as is hardly to be imagined, and that he alledged for his excuſe, that, according to the determination of his Mullahs, or doctors of his law, it was permitted a man to eat of the fruit of the tree he had planted. He had ſo great a confidence in her, that he had given her charge to watch over his ſafety, and to have an eye to all that came to his table; and ſhe knew perfectly to manage his humour, and even in the moſt weighty affairs to bend him as ſhe pleaſed. She was exceedingly enriched by great penſions, and by coſtly preſents, which ſhe received from all parts, for ſuch negociations as ſhe employed herſelf in about her father; and ſhe made alſo great expences, being of a very liberal and generous diſpoſition. She ſtuck entirely to Dara her eldeſt brother, eſpouſed cordially his part, and declared openly for him; which contributed not a little to make the affairs of Dara proſper, and to keep him in the affection of his father; for ſhe ſupported him in all things, and advertized him of all occurrences: yet that was not ſo much becauſe he was the eldeſt ſon, and ſhe the eldeſt daughter (as the people believed), as becauſe he had promiſed her, that as ſoon as he ſhould come to the crown he would marry her; which is altogether extraordinary, and almoſt never practiſed in Indoſtan.

I ſhall not ſcruple to relate here ſome of the amours of this Princeſs, although ſhut up in a ſeraglio, and well kept, like other women; neither ſhall I apprehend that I may be thought to prepare matter for a romancer; for they are not amours like ours, followed by gallant and comical adventures, but attended with events dreadful and tragical.

Now it is reported, that this Princeſs found means to let a young gallant enter the ſeraglio, who was of no great quality, but proper, and of a good mein; but among ſuch a number of jealous and envious perſons, ſhe could not carry on her buſineſs ſo privily but ſhe was diſcovered. Chah-Jehan, her father, was ſoon advertized of it, and reſolved to ſurprize her, under the pretence of giving her a viſit, as he uſed to do. The Princeſs ſeeing him come unexpected, had no more time than to hide this unfortunate lover in one of the great chaldrons made to bathe in; which yet could not be ſo done,

done, but that Chah-Jehan ſuſpected it. Mean time he quarrelled not with his daughter, but entertained her a pretty while, as he was wont to do; and at length told her, that he found her in a careleſs and leſs neat poſture; that it was convenient ſhe ſhould waſh herſelf, and bathe oftener, commanding preſently, with ſomewhat a ſtern countenance, that forthwith a fire ſhould be made under that chaldron, and he would not part thence before the eunuchs had brought him word that that unhappy man was diſpatched. Some time after ſhe took other meaſures; ſhe choſe for her Kaneſaman, that is, her ſteward, a certain Perſian called Nazer-kan, who was a young Omrah, the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed of the whole court, a man of courage and ambition, the darling of all; inſomuch that Cha-Heſtkan, uncle of Aureng-Zebe, propoſed to marry him to the Princeſs: but Chah-Jehan received that propoſition very ill; and beſides, when he was told of ſome of the ſecret intrigues that had been formed, he reſolved quickly to rid himſelf of Nazer-kan. He therefore preſented to him, as it were to do him honour, a betele, which he could not refuſe to chew preſently, after the cuſtom of the country. Betele is a little knot made up of very delicate leaves, and ſome other things, with a little chalk of ſea-cockles, which maketh the mouth and lips of a vermillion colour, and the breath ſweet and pleaſing. This young lord thought of nothing leſs than being poiſoned; he went away from the company very jocund and content into his Paleky, but the drug was ſo ſtrong, that before he could come to his houſe, he was no more alive.

Rauchenara-Begum never paſſed for ſo handſome and ſpiritual as Begum-Saheb, but ſhe was not leſs cheerful, and comely enough, and hated pleaſures no more than her ſiſter; but ſhe addicted herſelf wholly to Aureng-Zebe, and conſequently declared herſelf an enemy to Begum-Saheb and Dara. This was the cauſe that ſhe had no great riches, nor any conſiderable ſhare in the affairs of the ſtate. Nevertheleſs, as ſhe was in the ſeraglio, and wanted no wit and ſpies, ſhe could not but diſcover many important matters, of which ſhe gave ſecret advertiſement to Aureng-Zebe. Chah-Jehan, ſome years before the troubles, finding himſelf charged with theſe four Princes, all come of age, all married, all pretending to the crown, enemies to one another, and each of them making ſecretly a party, was perplexed enough as to what was fitteſt for him to do; fearing danger to his own perſon, and foreſeeing what afterwards befel him: for, to ſhut them up in Goualeor, which is a fortreſs where the Princes are ordinarily kept cloſe, and which is held impregnable, it being ſituated upon an inacceſſible rock, and having within itſelf good water, and proviſion enough for a garriſon; that was not ſo eaſy a thing: they were too potent already, each of them having a princely train. And again, he could not handſomely remove them far off, without giving them ſome government fit for their birth; wherein he apprehended they would cantonize themſelves, and become little independent kings, as actually they afterwards did. Nevertheleſs, fearing leſt they ſhould cut one another's throats before his eyes, if he kept them ſtill at court, he at laſt concluded to ſend them away: and ſo he ſent Sultan Sujah, his ſecond ſon, into the kingdom of Bengal; his third, Aureng-Zebe, into Decan; and the youngeſt, Morad-Bakche, to Guzarat; giving to Dara, the eldeſt, Cabal and Multan. The three firſt went away very well content with their government; and there they acted each the ſovereign, and retained all the revenues of their reſpective countries, entertaining great troops, under the pretence of bridling their ſubjects and neighbours.

As to Dara, becauſe the eldeſt, and deſigned to the crown, he ſtirred not from the court; which that he ſhould not do, ſeemed alſo to be the intention of Chah-Jehan, who entertained him in the hopes of ſucceeding him after his death. He even permitted then,

From Hodges.

Engraved by George Cooke.

Fort Gwalior.

(from the North West.)

then, that orders were iſſued out by him, and that he might ſit in a kind of throne, beneath his, among the Omrahs; ſo that it ſeemed, as if there were two kings together. But as it is very difficult for two ſovereigns to agree, Chah-Jehan, though Dara ſhewed him great obſervance and affection, always harboured ſome diffidence, fearing above all things the Morſel; and beſides, for as much as he knew the parts of Aureng-Zebe, and thought him more capable to reign than any of the reſt, he had always (as they ſay) ſome particular correſpondence with him.

This it is what I thought fit to premiſe concerning theſe four princes, and their father Chah-Jehan, becauſe it is neceſſary for the underſtanding of all that follows. I eſteemed alſo, that I was not to forget thoſe two Princeſſes, as having been the moſt conſiderable actors in the tragedy; the women in the Indies taking very often, as well as at Conſtantinople and in many other places, the beſt part in the moſt important tranſactions, though men ſeldom take notice of it, and trouble their heads of ſeeking for other cauſes.

But to deliver this hiſtory with clearneſs, we muſt riſe ſomewhat higher, and relate what paſſed ſome time before the troubles, between Aureng-Zebe, the King of Golkonda, and his viſier Emir-Jemla; becauſe this will diſcover to us the character and temper of Aureng-Zebe, who is to be the hero of this piece, and the King of the Indies. Let us then ſee after what manner Emir-Jemla proceeded to lay the firſt foundation of the royalty of Aureng-Zebe.

During the time that Aureng-Zebe was in Decan, the King of Golkonda had for his viſier and general of his armies this Emir-Jemla, who was a Perſian by nation, and very famous in the Indies. He was not a man of great extraction, but beaten in buſineſs, a perſon of excellent parts, and a great captain. He had the wit of amaſſing great treaſures, not only by the adminiſtration of the affairs of this opulent kingdom, but alſo by navigation and trade, ſending ſhips into very many parts, and cauſing the diamond mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordinary diligence. So that people diſcourſed almoſt of nothing but of the riches of Emir-Jemla, and of the plenty of his diamonds, which were not reckoned but by ſacks. He had alſo the ſkill to render himſelf very potent and conſiderable, entertaining, beſides the armies of the King, very good troops for his particular, and above all a very good artillery, with abundance of Franguys or Chriſtians to manage it. In a word, he grew ſo rich, and ſo puiſſant, eſpecially after he had found a way to enter into the kingdom of Karnates, and to pillage all the ancient churches of the idols of that country, that the King of Golkonda became jealous of it, and prepared himſelf to unſaddle him; and that the more, becauſe he could not bear what was reported of him, as if he had uſed too great familiarity with the Queen his mother, that was yet beauteous. Yet he diſcovered nothing of his deſign to any, having patience, and waiting till Emir came to the court, for he was then in the kingdom of Karnates with his army. But one day, when more particular news was brought him of what had paſſed between his mother and him, he had not power enough to diſſemble any longer, but was tranſported by choler to fall to invectives and menaces; whereof Emir was ſoon made acquainted, having at the court abundance of his wife's kindred, and all his neareſt relations and beſt friends poſſeſſing the principal offices. The King's mother alſo, who did not hate him, had ſpeedy information of the ſame; which obliged Emir, without delay, to write to his only ſon Mahmet Emir-Kan, who then was about the King, requiring him to do the beſt he could to withdraw with all ſpeed from the court, under ſome pretence of hunting or the like, and to come and join with him. Mahmet Emir-Kan failed not to attempt divers ways; but the King cauſing him to be narrowly obſerved, none of them

all would ſucceed. This very much perplexed Emir, and made him take a ſtrange reſolution, which caſt the King in great danger to loſe his crown and life; ſo true it is, that he who knows not to diſſemble, knows not how to reign. He writ to Aureng-Zebe, who was then in Dualet-Abad, the capital of Decan, about fifteen or ſixteen days' journey from Golkonda, giving him to underſtand, that the King of Golconda did intend to ruin him and his family, notwithſtanding the ſignal ſervices he had done him, as all the world knew; which was an unexampled injuſtice and ingratitude; that this neceſſitated him to take his refuge to him, and to entreat him, that he would receive him into his protection; that for the reſt, if he would follow his advice, and confide in him, he would ſo diſpoſe affairs, that he would at once put into his hands both the King and kingdom of Golkonda. This thing he made very eaſy, uſing the following diſcourſe: "You need but take four or five thouſand horſe, of the beſt of your army, and to march with expedition to Golkonda, ſpreading a rumour by the way, that it is an ambaſſador of Chah-Jehan that goes in haſte, about conſiderable matters, to ſpeak with the King at Bag-naguer." The Dabir, who is he that is firſt to be addreſſed unto, to make any thing known unto the King, is allied to me and my creature, and altogether mine; take care of nothing but to march with expedition, and I will ſo order it, that without making you known, you ſhall come to the gates of Bag-naguer; and when the King ſhall come out to receive the letters, according to cuſtom, you may eaſily ſeize on him, and afterwards of all his family, and do with him what ſhall ſeem good to you, in regard that his houſe of Bag-naguer, where he commonly reſides, is unwalled and unfortified. He added, that he would make this enterprize upon his own charges, offering him fifty thouſand rupies a day (which is about five-and-twenty thouſand crowns) during the whole time of the march.

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Dara, who ſaw the conſequence of this affair, and that the ſending of troops for thoſe parts was to give ſtrength to Aureng-Zebe, oppoſed it exceedingly, and did what he could to hinder it. Nevertheleſs, when he ſaw that Chah-Jehan was reſolute for it, he at laſt thought it beſt to conſent; but with this condition, that Aureng-Zebe ſhould keep in Daulet-Abad, as governor only of the country, without meddling at all in the war, or pretending to govern the army; that Emir ſhould be the abſolute general, who for a pledge of his fidelity, was to leave his whole family at the court. Emir ſtruggled enough within himſelf, whether he ſhould agree to this laſt condition, but when Chah-Jehan deſired him to give that ſatisfaction to Dara, and promiſed him, that after a little while he would ſend him back his wife and children, he conſented, and marched into Decan towards Aureng-Zebe with a very gallant army, and without any ſtop entered into Viſapour, where he beſieged a ſtrong place called Kaliane.

The affairs of Indoſtan were in that condition, as I have been relating, when Chah-Jehan fell dangerouſly ſick. I ſhall not ſpeak here of his ſickneſs, much leſs relate the particulars of it: I ſhall only ſay this, that it was little ſuitable to a man of above ſeventy

years of age, who ſhould rather think on preſerving his ſtrength, than to ruin it as he did. This ſickneſs did ſoon alarm and trouble all Indoſtan. Mighty armies were levied in Dehly and Agra, the capitals of the empire. Sultan Sujah did the like in Bengal; and Aureng-Zebe in Decan; and Morad-Bakche in Guzaratte: all four aſſembled to themſelves their allies and friends; all four write, promiſe, and form divers intrigues. Dara having ſurpriſed ſome of their letters, ſhewed them to Chah-Jehan, and made great noiſe about them; and his ſiſter Begum failed not to make uſe of this occaſion, to animate the King againſt them. But Chah-Jehan was diffident of Dara, and fearing to be poiſoned, gave order, that particular care ſhould be had of what was brought to his table. It was alſo ſaid, that he wrote to Aureng-Zebe, and that Dara, being advertiſed thereof, could not forbear to menace, and to break into very paſſionate expreſſions. In the mean time the diſtemper of Chah-Jehan lingered, and it was bruited every where that he was dead. Whereupon the whole court was diſordered, the whole town alarmed, the ſhops for many days ſhut up, and the four ſons of the King made openly great preparations, each for himſelf: and to ſay truth, it was not without reaſon, that they all made ready for war; for they all very well knew, that there was no hopes of quarter, that there was no other way than to vanquiſh or die, to be King or undone, and that he that ſhould be conqueror would rid himſelf of all the reſt, as formerly Chah-Jehan had done of his brothers.

Sultan Sujah, who had heaped up great treaſures in that rich kingdom of Bengal, ruining ſome of the Rajas or petty kings that are in thoſe parts, and drawing great ſums from others, took the field firſt of all with a puiſſant army, and in the confidence he had of all the Perſian Omrahs, for the ſect of whom he had declared himſelf, he boldly marched towards Agra, giving out openly that Chah-Jehan was dead, that Dara had poiſoned him, that he would revenge the death of his father, and, in a word, that he would be King. Dara deſired Chah-Jehan to write himſelf to him, and to forbid him to advance farther; which he did, aſſuring him that his ſickneſs was not at all dangerous, and that he was already much better. But he having friends at court, who aſſured him that the ſickneſs of Chah-Jehan was mortal, he diſſembled and ceaſed not to advance, ſaying ſtill, that he knew very well Chah-Jehan was dead; and if he ſhould be alive, he was deſirous to come and kiſs his feet, and to receive his commands.

Aureng-Zebe immediately after, if not at the ſame time, taketh the field alſo in Decan, maketh a great noiſe, and prepareth to march towards Agra. The ſame prohibition was made to him alſo, as well from Chah-Jehan, as from Dara, who threatened him. But he diſſembled for the ſame reaſon that Sultan Sujah had done, and giveth the like anſwer. Mean time, finding that his treaſure was low, and his ſoldiery very inconſiderable, he deviſed two artifices, which ſucceeded admirably well; the one, in regard of Morad-Bakche; the other, in reſpect of Emir-Jemla. To Morad-Bakche he writes with ſpeed a very fair letter, importing, that he had always been his true and intimate friend; that as for himſelf, he laid no claim at all to the crown; that he might remember, he had all his life time made profeſſion of a Fakire, but that Dara was a perſon incapable to govern a kingdom; that he was a Kafer, an idolater, and hated of all the greateſt Omrahs; that Sultan Sujah was a Rafezy, an heretic, and by conſequence an enemy to Indoſtan, and unworthy of the crown: ſo that, in a word, there was none but he (Morad-Bakche) that could reaſonably pretend to the ſucceſſion; that the crown did expect him; that the whole court, which was not ignorant of his valour, would be for him; and that for his particular, if he would promiſe him, that being King, he would give him leave to live quietly in ſome corner or other of his empire, there

to ſerve God the remainder of his days, he was ready to make a conjunction with him, to aſſiſt him with his council and friends, and to put into his hands his whole army, to fight Dara and Sultan Sujah; that in the mean time he ſent him an hundred thouſand rupies (which make about fifty thouſand crowns of our * money) and prayed him to accept thereof as a pledge of his friendſhip; and that he would adviſe him to come with all poſſible ſpeed to ſeize on the caſtle of Surat, where he knew to be the treaſure of the land.

Morad-Bakche, who was neither too rich nor too powerful, received with much joy this propoſition of Aureng-Zebe, and the hundred thouſand rupies ſent by him; and ſhewed Aureng-Zebe's letter to every body, thereby to oblige the flower of that country to take up arms for him, and the ſubſtantial merchants to lend him the more willingly, ſuch ſums of money as he demanded of them. He began in good earneſt to act the King, made large promiſes to all; and, in ſhort, did ſo well, that he ſet a good army on foot; of whom he ſingled out ſome three thouſand, who, under the conduct of Chah-Abas, one of his eunuchs, but a valiant man, ſhould go to beſiege Surat.

Aureng-Zebe ſent his eldeſt ſon, Sultan Mahmoud, (him whom he had married to the daughter of the King of Golkonda,) to Emir-Jemla, who was yet employed in the ſiege of Kaliane, to perſuade him to come to him to Daulet-Abad, pretending to have matter of the greateſt importance to communicate to him. Emir, who ſoon ſuſpected his intentions, excuſed himſelf, ſaying openly, that Chah-Jehan was not dead, that he had freſh news of his being alive, and that beſides, all his family being at Agra in the hands of Dara, he could by no means aſſiſt Aureng-Zebe, nor declare himſelf for him. Whereupon Sultan Mahmoud returned to Daulet-Abad, without effecting any thing, and very much diſſatisfied with Emir. But Aureng-Zebe loſt no courage for all that, but ſent the ſecond time to Emir; yet not Sultan Mahmoud, but Sultan Mazum, his ſecond ſon, who preſented to him his father's letter, and handled him with that dexterity, ſweetneſs, and proteſtation of friendſhip, that it was not poſſible to reſiſt him. Emir therefore preſſed the ſiege of Kaliane, forced the beſieged to ſurrender upon compoſition, took the choice of his army, and with all diligence went away with Sultan Mazum. At his arrival, Aureng-Zebe courted him in the higheſt degree, treating him no otherwiſe than with the name of Baba and Babagy, that is, father, lord-father; and after an hundred embraces, he took him aſide, and told him (according to what I could learn from perſons who knew of it) that it was not juſt, that having his family at court, he ſhould adventure to do any thing in his behalf that might come to be known; but that after all, there was nothing ſo difficult but an expedient might be found. Give me leave therefore (ſaid he) to propoſe to you a deſign, which at firſt will poſſibly ſurprize you; but ſince you apprehend the danger of your wife and children that are in hoſtage, the beſt way of providing for their ſecurity would be, to ſuffer me to ſeize on your perſon, and to put you in priſon. It is out of doubt that all the world will believe it done in earneſt: for who would imagine that ſuch a perſon as you would be content to let yourſelf be laid in priſon? In the interim, I could make uſe of part of your army and of your artillery, as you ſhall judge moſt proper and convenient: you alſo could furniſh me with a ſum of money, as you have frequently offered it; and beſides, methinks I might tempt fortune farther, and we might together take our meaſures, to ſee in what manner I had beſt to demean myſelf; if you would alſo permit that I might cauſe you to be tranſported into the fortreſs of Doulet-Abad, where you ſhould be maſter;

* French.

and

and that there I might have you kept by my own ſon, Sultan Mazum, or Sultan Mahmoud; this would yet better palliate the matter, and I ſee not what Dara could juſtly ſay of it, nor how he could reaſonably treat your wife and children ill.

Emir, whether it were by reaſon of the friendſhip he had ſworn to Aureng-Zebe, or for the great promiſes made to him, or the apprehenſion he had, of ſeeing near him Sultan Mazum, who ſtood by very penſive and well armed, and Sultan Mahmoud, who looked grim upon him for his coming away at the ſolicitation of his brother, not at that of his, and had at his very entrance lift up his foot as if he would have hit him; whatever of theſe conſiderations might induce him, he conſented to all that Aureng-Zebe deſired, and approved of the expedient to ſuffer himſelf to be impriſoned, ſo that Aureng-Zebe was no ſooner gone, but the great maſter of the artillery was ſeen to approach with ſome fierceneſs to Emir, and to command him in the name of Aureng-Zebe to follow him, locking him up in a chamber, and there giving him very good words, whilſt all the ſoldiery that Aureng-Zebe had thereabout, went to their arms. The report of the detention of Emir-Jemla was no ſooner ſpread, but a great tumult aroſe; and thoſe whom he had brought along with him, although aſtoniſhed, yet put themſelves into a poſture of reſcuing him, and with their ſwords drawn, ran to force the guards, and the gate of his priſon, which was eaſy for them to do; for Aureng-Zebe had not with him ſufficient troops to make good ſo bold an enterprize; the only name of Emir-Jemla made all tremble. But the whole matter being altogether counterfeited, all theſe commotions were preſently calmed by the intimations that were given to the chief officers of Emir's army, and by the preſence of Aureng-Zebe, who there appeared very reſolute with his two ſons, and ſpoke now to one, then to another; and at laſt by promiſes and preſents, liberally beſtowed on thoſe that were concerned. So that all the troops of Emir, and even moſt of thoſe of Chah-Jehan, ſeeing things troubled, and being without their general, and believing Chah-Jehan to be dead, or at beſt deſperately ſick; conſidering alſo the ample promiſes made to them of augmenting their ſtipend, and of giving them at that very time three months advance, ſoon liſted themſelves under Aureng-Zebe; who having ſeized on all the equipage of Emir, even his very camels and tents, took the field, reſolved to march to the ſiege of Surat, and to haſten the taking it; where Morad-Bakche was exceedingly embarraſſed, becauſe that his beſt troops were employed there, and that he found more reſiſtance in that place than he imagined. But Aureng-Zebe, after ſome days march, was informed, that the governor had ſurrendered the place; for which he ſent congratulations to Morad-Bakche, acquainting him withal of his tranſactions with Emir-Jemla, and aſſuring him that he had forces and money enough, and very good intelligence at the court; that nothing was wanting; that he was directly going to Brampour and Agra; that he had expected him on the way, and therefore deſired him to join with him.

It is true, that Morad-Bakche found not ſo much money in the fortreſs of Surat as he imagined, whether it were that really there was not ſo much as was reported, or whether the governor had diverted a part of it, as ſome believed: yet notwithſtanding that little he found there was uſeful to him, to pay the ſoldiers that had liſted themſelves in hopes of the advantages they ſhould make of the imagined vaſt treaſure of Surat. It is not leſs true, that he had no greater reaſon to boaſt of the taking of this place, in regard there was not any regular fortification about it; and yet his army had lain before it above a month, and would never have reduced it without the Hollanders, who furniſhed them with the invention of ſpringing a mine, which, ruining a great ſide of the wall, caſt the beſieged into ſuch a conſternation, that it made them immediately ſurrender. The reduction of this town did much advance his deſign, fame proclaiming immediately throughout

throughout theſe countries, that Morad-Bakche had taken Surat; that he had ſprung a mine, which ſounded very big among the Indians, who as yet do little underſtand that practice; and that there he had found a vaſt treaſure. Nothwithſtanding this great noiſe, and all the firſt advantages, joined to all thoſe frequent letters and great promiſes of Aurenge-Zebe, the eunuch Chah-Abas, a man of good ſenſe, of a great heart, and exceedingly affectionate to the ſervice of his maſter, was not of opinion that Morad-Bakche ſhould ſo much tie himſelf in intereſt to Aureng-Zebe, or precipitate his conjunction with him, but adviſed, that he ſhould amuſe him with words, and let him advance alone towards Agra; that in the mean time there would come certain news of the ſickneſs of Chan-Jehan; that he ſhould firſt ſee what channel affairs would run in; that he ſhould fortify Surat, as a very good poſt, able to render him maſter of a very large and rich country; and that perhaps in time he might ſeize Brampour, which is a very conſiderable paſſage of a river, and as it were a bar of Decan. But the continual letters and proteſtations of Aureng-Zebe, joined to the ſmall forces, artillery, and treaſure of Morad-Bakche, blinded with an exceſſive ambition to reign, made him regardleſs of all other conſiderations; ſo that he went away from Amadevad, abandoned Guzaratte, and took his way through the woods and mountains, with all expedition, to be at the rendezvous, where Aureng-Zebe had looked for him theſe two or three days.

Great ſolemnities of joy were made at the conjunction of the two armies, the Princes viſited one another, Aureng-Zebe made a hundred proteſtations and no leſs promiſes to Morad-Bakche, aſſured him afreſh, and ſolemnly, of his not caring for the crown, as alſo of his being there for no other end than to aſſiſt him againſt Dara, their common enemy, and to place him in the throne, which expected him.

Upon this interview, and confirmation of friendſhip, both armies marched together, Aureng-Zebe continuing always, during the march, in the proteſtations of friendſhip, and in his courtſhip to Morad-Bakche, treating him never otherwiſe, whether in public or private, but with the title of Hazaret, that is, king and majeſty: ſo that Morad-Bakche was fully perſuaded that Aureng-Zebe meant ſincerely, from an exceſs of affection towards him; whence he even willingly, and without ceremony, ſuffered the ſubmiſſions and reſpects he ſhewed him; inſtead of remembering what had lately paſſed at Golkonda, and of conſidering, that he, who had thus hazarded himſelf with ſo much boldneſs to uſurp a kingdom, was not of a temper to live and die a Fakire.

Theſe two armies thus joined made a body conſiderable enough, which begot a great noiſe at court, and gave cauſe of thoughtfulneſs, not only to Dara, but to Chah-Jehan himſelf, who knew the great parts and ſubtle conduct of Aureng-Zebe, and the courage of Morad-Bakche; and who foreſaw very well, that a fire was kindling, which would be very hard to quench. It was to no purpoſe to write letters upon letters, ſignifying that he was well, and giving order that they ſhould turn back to their reſpective governments, and expreſſing alſo, that he would forget all that had paſſed hitherto. All his letters were not able to hinder their advance; and as the ſickneſs of Chah-Jehan did ſtill paſs for mortal, there being no perſons wanting to bring and ſpread ſuch news, they ſtill continued to diſſemble, giving out, that they were letters counterfeited by Dara, that Chah-Jehan was dead indeed; but that in caſe he were alive, they would go to kiſs his feet, and deliver him from the hands of Dara.

What then ſhould Chah-Jehan this unfortunate king do, who ſeeth that his ſons have no regard to his orders; who is informed at all hours, that they march apace towards Agra, at the head of their armies, and who, in this conjuncture, finds himſelf ſick to boot in the hands of Dara, that is, of a man who breatheth nothing but war; who prepareth

pareth for it with all imaginable earneſtneſs, and with all the marks of an enraged reſentment againſt his brothers? But what could he do in this extremity? He is conſtrained to abandon to them his treaſures, and to leave them to their diſpoſal. He is forced to ſend for his old and moſt truſty captains, whom he knows for the moſt part to be not very affectionate to Dara; he muſt command them to fight for Dara, againſt his own blood, his own children, and thoſe for whom he hath more eſteem than for Dara; he is obliged forthwith to ſend an army againſt Sultan Sujah, becauſe it is he that is moſt advanced; and he is to ſend another againſt Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, who no leſs are marching towards him.

Soliman Chekouh, the eldeſt ſon of Dara, a young Prince of about five and twenty years of age, very proper of body, and of good parts and conduct, generous, liberal, and univerſally beloved, eſpecially of Chah-Jehan, who had already enriched him, and who conſidered him rather for his ſucceſſor than Dara, was he that was made general of this army againſt Sujah. Nevertheleſs Chan-Jehan, who wiſhed much rather that Sujah were returned to Bengal, than that the matter ſhould be tried by a bloody combat, which could not but be very tragical, and wherein he run the hazard of loſing one or other of his ſons, gave him for companion an ancient Raja, called Jeſſeigne, who is at preſent one of the powerfuleſt and richeſt Rajas of all Indoſtan, and one of the ableſt in the whole kingdom, with a ſecret order not to fight, except it were altogether unavoidable; as alſo to endeavour by all means to induce Sujah to retire, and to reſerve his forces for a better occaſion; that is to ſay, after they ſhould have ſeen the event of the ſickneſs of Chah-Jehan, and the ſucceſs of Aureng-Zebe, and of Morad-Bakche. But this young Prince, Soliman Chekouh, full of heat and courage, breathing after nothing but to ſignalize himſelf by ſome great action; and Sultan Sujah fearing leſt Aureng-Zebe gaining a battle ſhould firſt make himſelf maſter of the capital towns of the empire, Agra and Dehly; it was impoſſible for the Raja Jeſſeigne to keep them from a combat. The two armies are no ſooner in ſight of one another, but they prepare to fall on, and they were not long from giving ſome vollies of cannon. I ſhall not relate the particulars of this fight; for beſides that the narration of it would be too long and tedious, in the ſequel of this hiſtory we ſhall be obliged to deſcribe more conſiderable ones, by which the reader will be able to judge of this. It is ſufficient to know in general, that the firſt onſet was very ſharp and obſtinate on both ſides, but that at length Soliman Chekouh did urge Sujah with that force and vigour, that he diſordered him, and made him fly: ſo that if Jeſſeigne, and the Patan Delil-kan, who was one of the firſt captains and a valiant man, but an intimate friend of the Raja, and did not act but being moved by him, had ſeconded him in good earneſt, it is thought the whole army of Sujah would have been defeated, and himſelf in danger of being taken: but that was not the deſign of the Raja to deſtroy him, no more than it was that of Chah-Jehan, who had given him orders to the contrary. Thus then had Sujah time to retreat, and that without loſing any conſiderable number of his men; yet becauſe Soliman Chekouh kept the field, and brought away ſome pieces of artillery, it was preſently bruited at court, that Sujah had been totally overthrown. This defeat purchaſed great reputation to Soliman Chekouh, leſſened much the eſteem of Sultan Sujah, and cooled exceedingly all the Perſians that had an inclination for him.

After ſome days were ſpent in the purſuit of Sujah, the Prince Soliman Chekouh, who every day received news from the court, and who learned that Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche did approach with great reſolution, well knowing that his father Dara had no great ſtock of prudence, but good ſtore of ſecret enemies, reſolved to quit the purſuit of Sultan Sujah, and with all ſpeed to return to Agra, where, in all appearance, Dara was

to

to give battle againſt Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche. This was the beſt counſel he could take, for no man doubts, that if he could have been there in good time, Aureng-Zebe would not have had the advantage; and it is even believed, he would never have hazarded the combat, the party being too unequal; but the bad fortune of Dara did not permit it.

Whilſt all that was thus tranſacted towards Elabas, which is the place where the Gemna is joined to the Ganges, the ſcene was very different on the ſide of Agra. At the court they were much ſurprized to hear that Aureng-Zebe had paſſed the river of Brampour, and all the other paſſages that were moſt difficult between the mountains; ſo that with all haſte they ſent away ſome troops to diſpute with him the paſſage of the river Eugenes, whilſt the whole army was making ready. For which purpoſe there were choſen two of the moſt conſiderable and the moſt powerful of the kingdom to command it; the one was Kaſem-Kan, a renowned captain, and very affectionate to Chah-Jehan, but one that had no great inclination to Dara, and who went not but to oblige Chah-Jehan, whom he ſaw in the hands of Dara: the other was Jeſſomſeigne, a potent Raja, not inferior to Jeſſeigne, and ſon-in-law to that Raja Rana, who was at the time of Ekbar ſo puiſſant, as if he had been the Emperor of the Rajas. Dara at their farewel expreſſed to them great kindneſs, and preſented them nobly; but Chah-Jehan took his time, before their departure, to charge them in ſecret, as he had done the Raja Jeſſeigne, when he went away in the expedition againſt Sultan Sujah with Soliman Chekouh. Neither were they wanting, in their march, to ſend ſeveral times to Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, to perſuade them to turn back: but this was in vain, their envoys came not again, and the army advanced with that diligence, that they ſaw it much ſooner than they thought upon a riſing ground, not far remote from the river.

It being then ſummer, and the ſeaſon of the greateſt heats, the river was fordable; which was the cauſe, that at the ſame time Kaſem-Kan and the Raja prepared themſelves to give battle; beſides that, they ſoon knew the reſolution of Aureng-Zebe, that he would force them, ſince that, although his army was not all come up, he gave them ſome vollies of cannon; his deſign being to amuſe them, fearing leſt they themſelves ſhould paſs the river, not only to prevent his paſſage, but alſo to hinder his army from repoſing, and from taking an advantageous poſt; which was indeed in great diſorder, and ſo tired by their march, and ſo faint by the heat, that if at the very firſt it had been aſſaulted, and kept from paſſing the water, it would doubtleſs have been routed without much reſiſtance. I was not by in this firſt encounter, but thus it was generally diſcourſed of, and it agreeth with the after-relation of many of our Frenchmen, who ſerved Aureng-Zebe in the artillery. But they were content to ſtay at the river ſide, to keep Aureng-Zebe from paſſing it, according to the order they had received.

After that Aureng-Zebe had let his army reſt two or three days, and by amuſing the enemy, had fitted it to paſs the river, he made his whole artillery play, which was very well placed; and he commanded, that under the favour of the cannon they ſhould paſs the river. Kaſem-Kan and the Raja, on their part, diſcharged theirs alſo, and did what they could to repulſe the enemy, and to keep him from paſſing. The combat was ſharp enough at firſt, and very obſtinately maintained by the extraordinary valour of Jeſſomſeigne. For as to Kaſem-Kan, although a great captain, and a ſtout man, he gave no great proof of his valour on this occaſion; yea, ſome accuſe him of treachery, charging him that he had in the night cauſed the bullets and powder to be hid under the ſand, there being no more of them to be found after two or three

diſcharges. However it be, the combat, for all that, was, as I ſaid, very reſolutely carried on, and the paſſage long diſputed. There were rocks in the bed of the river, which did much embarraſs, and the banks in many places were very high and difficult to climb up; but at laſt, Morad-Bakche caſt himſelf into the water with ſo much reſolution and force, and ſhewed ſo much valour and boldneſs, that there was no reſiſting of him. He paſſed over, and with him a good part of the army, which made Kaſem-Kan to give back, and caſt Jeſſomſeigne into great danger of his perſon. For by and by he found the whole body of the enemy upon him, and without the extraordinary reſolution of his Rajipous, who almoſt all were killed about him, he had been a dead man. One may judge of the great danger he was in upon this occaſion, by this, that after he had diſengaged himſelf as well as he could, and was come back to his own, not daring to return to Agra, becauſe of the great loſs he had ſuffered, of ſeven or eight thouſand Rajipous, he had but five or ſix hundred of them remaining.

Theſe Rajipous, who take their name from the Rajas, that is to ſay, the children of the Rajas, are from father to ſon ſuch men as make the ſword their profeſſion. The Rajas, whoſe ſubjects they are, do aſſign them lands for their ſubſiſtence, on condition to be always ready to go to war when ſummoned. So that one might ſay, that they were a ſort of pagan nobles, if the Rajas gave them their lands in propriety for them and their children. They are great takers of opium; and I have ſometimes wondered at the quantity I have ſeen them take: they accuſtom themſelves to it from their youth. On the day of battle they double the doſe, this drug animating, or rather inebriating them, and making them inſenſible of danger; inſomuch that they caſt themſelves into the combat like ſo many furious beaſts, not knowing what it is to run away, but dying at the feet of the Raja, when he ſtands to it. They want nothing but order; reſolution they have enough. It is a pleaſure thus to ſee them, with the fume of opium in their head, to embrace one another, when the battle is to begin, and to give their mutual farewels, as men reſolved to die. And that they do for this reaſon; that the Great Mogul, though a Mahometan, and by conſequence an enemy of the heathen, yet for all that entertains always a good number of Rajas in his ſervice, whom he conſiders as his other Omrahs, and employs in his armies as if they were Mahometans.

I cannot forbear to relate here the fierce reception which the daughter of the Rana gave to her huſband Jeſſomſeigne, after his defeat and flight. When ſhe heard that he was nigh, and had underſtood what had paſſed in the battle; that he had fought with all poſſible courage; that he had but four or five hundred men left; and that at laſt, not being able to reſiſt any longer the enemy, he had been obliged to retreat: ſhe, inſtead of ſending one to receive him, and to conſole him in his misfortunes, commanded in a dry mood to ſhut the gates of the caſtle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her huſband; that ſhe would never ſee him; that the ſon-in-law of the great Rana could not have ſo low a ſoul; that he was to remember, that being grafted into ſo illuſtrious an houſe, he was to imitate the virtue of it; and in a word, that he was either to vanquiſh or die. A moment after ſhe was of another humour; ſhe commands a pile of wood to be laid, that ſhe might burn herſelf; that they abuſed her; ſaying, that her huſband muſt needs be dead; that it could not be otherwiſe. And a little while after this, ſhe was ſeen to change her countenance, to fall into paſſion, and to break out into a thouſand reproaches againſt him. In ſhort, ſhe remained thus tranſported eight or nine days, without being able to reſolve to ſee her huſband, till at laſt her mother coming in, brought her in ſome degree to herſelf, and comforted her, aſſuring her, that as ſoon as the Raja had but a little refreſhed himſelf,

himſelf, he would raiſe another army, to fight Aureng-Zebe, and repair his honour at any rate.

By which ſtory one may ſee a pattern of the courage of the women in that country; to which I could add ſomething I have ſeen ſome of them do, who burned themſelves alive after the death of their huſbands; but we muſt reſerve this diſcourſe for another place, where I ſhall alſo ſhew, that there is nothing which opinion, prepoſſeſſion, cuſtom, hope, and the point of honour, &c. may not make men do or ſuffer.

Dara having underſtood what had paſſed at Eugenes, fell into that choler againſt Kaſem-Kan, that it was thought he would have cut off his head, if he had been upon the place. He was alſo tranſported againſt Emir-Jemla, as the perſon who was the firſt and principal cauſe of the misfortune, and who had furniſhed Aureng-Zebe with men, money, and cannon. He is ready to kill his ſon Mahmet Emir-Kan, and will ſend his wife and daughter to Baſar, or the market-place of proſtituted women; and it is paſt doubt, that he would have done ſome ſuch thing, if Chah-Jehan, with much art and prudence, had not moderated the exceſs of his paſſion, in remonſtrating to him, that Emir-Jemla had not ſo little conduct, nor ſo great a friendſhip for Aureng-Zebe, as to hazard, and in a manner to ſacrifice his family, for the advancing of his intereſt; that Aureng-Zebe muſt needs have gulled and enſnared him, by his uſual artifice and cunning.

As for Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, the happy ſucceſs of this firſt encounter did ſo ſwell their hearts, and gave ſuch courage to their whole army, that henceforth they believed themſelves invincible, and capable to compaſs any thing. Beſides, Aureng-Zebe, the more to animate his ſoldiers, bragged openly, that he had thirty thouſand Moguls at his devotion in the army of Dara; and there was ſomething in it, as appeared by the ſequel. Morad-Bakche was for nothing but fighting, and would march with all diligence: but Aureng-Zebe repreſented to him, that it was neceſſary the army ſhould refreſh themſelves for ſome time upon the banks of this ſweet river; that in the mean time he would write to all his friends, and get a full and certain information of the ſtate of the court, and of the condition of all affairs. So that he marched not towards Agra till he had reſted ſome days, and after that he marched but ſlowly, to inform himſelf of all, and to take his time and meaſures.

Concerning Chah-Jehan, when he plainly ſaw the reſolution of Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, and that there was no hope left to make him turn back, he was in ſuch a perplexity, that he knew not what to reſolve, and foreſeeing ſome great calamity, he would fain have hindered the laſt deciſive battle, for which he ſaw Dara preparing himſelf with great eagerneſs. But what could he do to oppoſe it? He was yet too weak of his ſickneſs, and ſaw himſelf ſtill in the hands of Dara, whom, as I have ſaid, he truſted not much: ſo that he found himſelf obliged to acquieſce in his will, and to commit to him all the forces of the empire, and to command all captains to obey him. Immediately all was in arms. I know not whether there was ever a more gallant army ſeen in Indoſtan. It is ſaid that there were little leſs than an hundred thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot, with four thouſand pieces of cannon, without reckoning the incredible number of ſervants, followers, victuallers, whom hiſtorians, methinks, do often put into the number of the combatants, when they ſpeak of thoſe formidable armies of three or four hundred thouſand men, of which their books are full. Though this army was very brave, and ſtrong enough to cut in pieces two or three of ſuch as Aureng-Zebe had, in which there were no more than thirty-five or forty thouſand men in all, and theſe tired and haraſſed by a very long and irkſome march, during the height of the heats; and but a ſmall number of

cannon, in reſpect of that of Dara. Mean time (which ſeems hard to believe) there was ſcarce any body that preſaged well for Dara, all knowing, that moſt of the chief Omrahs had no affection for him, and that all the good ſoldiers that were for him, and whom he might confide in, were in the army of Soliman Chekouh, his ſon. And it was for this reaſon, that the moſt prudent and the moſt faithful of his friends, and Chah-Jehan himſelf, counſelled him not to hazard a battle: Chah-Jehan offering, as infirm as he was, that he would go into the field himſelf, and be carried before Aureng-Zebe to interpoſe; which was looked upon as a very good expedient for peace, and for accommodating the affairs of Chah-Jehan. For it is certain, that Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche would never have had the boldneſs to fight againſt their own father; and if they ſhould have attempted it, they would have ſmarted for it, becauſe, beſides that the match was not equal, and all the great Omrahs were ſo affectionate to Chah-Jehan, that they would not have failed to fight reſolutely, if they had ſeen him in the head of the army; beſides this, I ſay, the captains themſelves of Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, bore great affection and reſpect to this Prince, whoſe creatures they moſt were; and the whole army, in a manner, was his. So that in all appearance, not one of them would have preſumed to draw his ſword againſt him, nor he been at the pains of drawing his.

Then they adviſed Dara, that if he would not hearken to this expedient, he ſhould at leaſt not precipitate the buſineſs, but delay till Soliman Chekouh, who made all haſte to join, were come in. Which was alſo very good counſel, in regard that that Prince was beloved of all, and was lately come home victorious, and had the moſt faithful and the braveſt ſoldiers with him. But Dara would never hearken to any propoſition that could be made to him, and he thought on nothing elſe but to give battle preſently, and to go againſt Aureng-Zebe in perſon. And poſſibly he did not amiſs, as to his own honour and particular intereſt, if he could have commanded fortune, and made things ſucceed as he contrived them. For the conſiderations he had (as he could not forbear now and then to diſcover) were ſome ſuch as theſe.

He looked upon himſelf as maſter of the perſon of Chah-Jehan; that he could diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed; that he was alſo poſſeſſor of all the treaſures and forces of the empire; that Sultan Sujah was half ruined; that his two other brothers, with a weak and tired army, were come to caſt themſelves into his hands; that if he gained the battle, they could not eſcape him; that he ſhould all at once be abſolute maſter, and at the end of all his troubles, and at the height of his wiſhes, ſo as nobody could contradict him in any thing, or diſpute the crown with him. Whereas, if Chah-Jehan ſhould take the field, all affairs would be accommodated, his brothers would return to their government, Chah Jehan, who began to recover his health, would reſume the government as before, and all things would return into their firſt channel; that if he ſhould ſtay for Soliman Chekouh, his ſon, Chah-Jehan might take ſome deſign to his diſadvantage, or contrive ſomething with Aureng-Zebe; that whatever he could do for gaining the victory, the reputation which Soliman Chekouh had purchaſed, would ſtill give him all the honour of it. And after that, what would not he be capable to undertake, ſwelled with ſo much glory and ſucceſs, and eſpecially being ſupported, as he was, by the favour and affection of Chah-Jehan, and of the greateſt part of the Omrahs? What did he know, whether he would keep any modeſty, or any reſpect for him, and whither his ambition might not carry him?

Theſe conſiderations made Dara reſolve to ſtand out againſt the counſel of all, and to purſue his point. And for that purpoſe, he commanded immediately the whole army to take the field, and thereupon came to take leave of Chah-Jehan, who was in

the fortreſs of Agra. This good old man was ready to melt in tears, when he embraced him; but withal failed not to repreſent to him, with a very grave countenance: Well, Dara, ſince thou art reſolved to follow thine own will, go, God bleſs thee, but remember well theſe few words, If thou loſeſt the battle, take heed of ever coming into my preſence. But this made no great impreſſion upon him; he goeth forth briſkly, taketh horſe, and ſeizeth on the paſſage of the river Tchembel, which is about twenty miles from Agra; where he fortified himſelf, expecting his enemy. But the ſubtle and crafty Fakire *, who wanted no good ſpies, and people that gave him intelligence of all, and who knew that the paſſage was there very difficult, took good heed to attempt the forcing it. He came to encamp himſelf near it, ſo that from the camp of Dara one might diſcover his tents. But what doth he in the mean time? He inveigles a certain rebel of Raja, called Chempet, preſents him richly, and promiſeth him a thouſand fine things, if he would let him paſs through his territories, that ſo he might go with ſpeed to gain a certain place, where he knew that the river might be paſſed on foot with eaſe. Chempet agreeth, and offers of his own accord, that he would himſelf attend him, and ſhew him the way through the woods and hills of his country. Aureng-Zebe raiſed his camp the ſame night, without any noiſe, leaving ſome of his tents to amuſe Dara, and marching night and day, made ſuch haſte, that he was almoſt as ſoon on the other ſide of the river, as Dara could have notice of it. Which obliged Dara to abandon the river there, and to leave all his fortifications, and to follow his enemy, who, he was told, did advance with great diligence towards Agra, to gain the river of Gemna, and there without trouble, and at his eaſe, to enjoy the water, to fortify, and to fix himſelf well, and ſo to expect Dara. The place where he encamped is but five leagues from Agra, it was formerly called Samonguer, and now Fate-abad, which is to ſay, Place of Victory. A little while after, Dara alſo came to encamp there, nigh the bank of the ſame river, between Agra and the army of Aureng-Zebe.

The two armies were there between three and four days in ſight of one another, without fighting. Meantime Chah-Jehan wrote ſeveral letters to Dara, that Soliman Chekouh was not far off; that he ſhould not precipitate; that he ſhould come near Agra, and chuſe an advantageous place to fortify himſelf till he came. But Dara anſwered, that before three days were paſſed, he would bring to him Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, tied hand and foot, to do with them what he ſhould think fit. And without expecting any longer, he began at that very hour to put his army in battle array.

He placed in the front all his cannon, cauſing them to be tied the one to the other with chains, to ſhut the paſſage of the cavalry. Behind theſe pieces of cannon, he placed alſo front-ways a great number of light camels, on the forepart of the bodies whereof they faſten a ſmall piece, of the bigneſs of a double muſket; a man ſitting on the hind part of the camel, being able to charge and diſcharge without lighting. Behind theſe camels ſtood the greateſt part of the muſqueteers. Of the reſt of the army, which chiefly conſiſted in cavalry, furniſhed with bows and arrows, (as ordinarily are the Moguls, that is, at preſent, white men, Mahometans, ſtrangers, as Perſians, Turks, Arabians, and Uſbecks;) or with a ſword, and a kind of half-pike, as commonly are the Rajipous. Of all theſe, I ſay, there were made three different bodies. The right wing was committed to Calil-ullah-Kan, with thirty thouſand Moguls under his command; for he was made great bakhis, that is, great maſter of the cavalry,

* Aureng Zebe.

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in the place of Danechmend-Kan, that was afterwards made Aga, who voluntarily reſigned this office, ſeeing that he was not well beloved of Dara, for having always highly maintained againſt him the intereſt and authority of Chah-Jehan. The left wing was given to Ruſtam-Kan-Dakny, a very renowned and very valiant captain, together with the Raja Chatreſale, and the Raja Ramſeigne Routlé.

On the other ſide, Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche put alſo their army almoſt into the ſame order; except that in the midſt of the troops of ſome Omrahs, they had hid ſome ſmall field pieces, which was, as was ſaid, after the way and art of Emir-Jemla, and with no ill effect.

They hardly made uſe of any more art, than what hath been now related; only they placed here and there ſome men caſting bannes, which is a kind of granado faſtened to a ſtick, that may be caſt very far through the cavalry, and which extremely terrifieth horſes, and even hurts and kills ſometimes.

All this cavalry turns about very eaſily, and they draw their arrows with marvellous ſwiftneſs; one man being able to draw ſix of them, before a muſqueteer can twice diſcharge his muſket. The ſame cavalry keeps alſo very cloſe in ſeveral troops under their reſpective officers, eſpecially when they are going to fight hand to hand. But after all, I ſee not that this way of putting an army in array is any great matter, in compariſon of our armies, when in good order.

All things being thus diſpoſed, the artillery began to play on both ſides; for it is always the cannon that makes a prelude amongſt them; and the arrows were now ſeen to fly through the air, when unexpectedly there happened to fall a ſtorm of rain, ſo violent, that it interrupted the combat. The rain ceaſing, the cannon began afreſh to roar; and then it was that Dara appeared, who being mounted upon a proud elephant of Ceilau, commanded that an onſet ſhould be made on all ſides; and himſelf advanced into the midſt of the body of the cavalry, directly towards the enemies artillery, who received him warmly, killed ſtore of his men about him, and put into diſorder, not only the main body which he commanded, but alſo the other bodies of the cavalry that followed him. Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe he was ſeen to keep firm upon his elephant, without any appearance of giving back, and was obſerved to look every where about him with an undaunted look, and to make ſigns with his hands to advance and to follow him, this diſorder ſoon ceaſed, every one reſuming his rank, and advancing in the ſame pace with Dara. But he could not reach the enemy, without receiving another volley of cannon ſhot, which cauſed a ſecond and great diſorder in his men, and made a good part of them recoil; yet he, without any change in his countenance, ſtood to it, encouraging his troops, and gave ſtill ſigns that they ſhould follow him, and advance with ſpeed, without any loſs of time. Thus preſſing vigorouſly forward, he forced the enemy's artillery, broke the chains, entered into their camp, and made a rout in their camels and infantry, and in every thing he met with on that ſide; opening alſo a good paſſage to the cavalry that followed him. Then it was that the enemy's cavalry facing him, a ſore combat began. A ſhower of arrows filled the air from both ſides, Dara himſelf putting his hand to that work: but to ſay truth, theſe arrows do but little execution, more of them are loſt in the air, or broken on the ground, than hit. The firſt diſcharge of arrows being made, they fought hand to hand with their ſabres, pell-mell, and the combat was ſtoutly maintained on both ſides. Dara is ſtill ſeen to continue firm on his elephant, encouraging, making a noiſe, and giving ſigns on all ſides; and at laſt advancing with ſo much reſolution and force, againſt all that oppoſed him in his march, that he overthrew the cavalry, and made them to retire and run away.

Aureng-

Aureng-Zebe, who was not far from thence, and mounted alſo on an elephant, ſeeing this great diſorder, was in great trouble, and laboured with all his might to remedy it, but to no purpoſe. He made the main body of his beſt cavalry advance, to try whether he could make head againſt Dara; but it was not long before this body alſo was forced to give back, and to retreat in great diſorder, whatever Aureng-Zebe could ſay or do to hinder it. Meantime let us take notice of his courage and reſolution. He ſaw that almoſt the whole body of his army was diſordered, and in a flying poſture, inſomuch that he had not a thouſand men about him that kept their ſtanding (ſome told me, that there were ſcarce five hundred). He ſaw that Dara, notwithſtanding the difficulty of the way, which was uneven, and full of holes in divers places, made as if he would ruſh in upon him; yet, for all this, he loſt no courage, and was ſo far from being ſtruck with fear, or from retreating, that he ſtood firmly to it, and called by name moſt of his captains that were about him, crying out to them, *Delirane Kodahe* (theſe are his own words), that is, "Courage my old friends, God is. What hope is there in flying? Know you not, where is our Decan? *Kodahe*, *Kodahe*; God is, God is." And that none might doubt of his being undaunted, and that he thought on nothing leſs than running away, he commanded before them all (oh ſtrange extremity!), that forthwith chains ſhould be faſtened to the feet of his elephant; and was going to faſten them in good earneſt, but that they all declare their courage and reſolution to live and die with him.

Dara in the interim endeavoured to advance upon Aureng-Zebe, though he was yet at a good diſtance from him; and though the difficulty of the way embarraſſed and retarded him much, he meeting alſo with ſome reſiſtance, even from thoſe diſordered horſe of the enemy that covered all high and low places where he was to march. And this encounter with Aureng-Zebe was looked upon as the thing that was to aſſure Dara of the victory, and to decide the battle. And doubtleſs he would have overcome all theſe difficulties, and Aureng-Zebe, with the ſmall number left him, would not have been able to bid head to this victorious army, if Dara had known how to profit of the prize he had in his hands. But here he failed, of which I ſhall now ſhew the occaſion, and how thereby the ſcale was turned to Aureng-Zebe's advantage.

Dara perceived that his left wing was in great diſorder, and he was informed, that Ruſtam-Kan and Chatrefale were killed; that Ramſeigne Routlé had too far advanced, that he had indeed forced the enemy, and made way through the midſt of them; but that now he was ſurrounded every way, and in very great danger. This it was which made Dara deſiſt from his deſign of making directly towards Aureng-Zebe, that he might go to ſuccour his left wing. There at firſt the battle was alſo very ſharp, but Dara at laſt carried it, forcing and routing all, yet ſo as that there ſtill remained ſomething that reſiſted and ſtopped him. Meantime, Ramſeigne Routlé fought with ſo much courage and vigour as was poſſible. He wounded Morad-Bakche, and came ſo near him, that he began to cut the girdles of his elephant, to make him fall down; but the valour and good fortune of Morad-Bakche gave not time enough for it. In ſhort, never any man fought and defended himſelf more bravely than Morad-Bakche did on this occaſion. All wounded as he was, and preſſed by the Rajipous of Ramſeigne Routlé, who were round about him, he was not daunted, nor gave way in the leaſt, but knew ſo well to take his time, that although he was, beſides defending himſelf, to cover with his ſhield a ſon of his, but of ſeven or eight years of age, who was ſitting on his ſide, he made an arrow-ſhot ſo luckily at Ramſeigne Routlé, that it made him fall dead to the ground.

Dara ſoon heard the ſad news of this accident; but at the ſame time he underſtood alſo, that Morad-Bakche was in very great danger, the Rajipous fighting furiouſly, and like lions, to revenge the death of their maſter. And though he ſaw on that ſide the way was very difficult, and that he ſtill found ſome ſmall body oppoſing and retarding him; yet he was determined to ruſh through to Morad-Bakche. And doubtleſs this was the beſt he could do, and that which was capable to repair the fault he had committed in not doing his buſineſs thoroughly with Aureng-Zebe. But his bad fortune kept him from it, or rather one of the blackeſt treacheries that ever was imagined, and the greateſt overſight that was ever committed, did cauſe the entire loſs and ruin of Dara.

Calil-ullah-Kan (he that commanded the thirty thouſand Moguls which made the right wing, and were alone able to defeat the whole army of Aureng-Zebe) did, whilſt Dara and his left wing fought with ſo much courage and ſucceſs, keep off, as idle as if he were not concerned in the fray, nor permitting any one of his horſemen to ſhoot an arrow, with a pretence, that they were for a reſerve, and that he had expreſs order not to fight but in the laſt extremity. But the true cauſe was, that he reſerved in his breaſt the rancour of an old affront done him by Dara, when he commanded him to be ſtruck. But after all, this treachery would have done no great miſchief, if this infamous man had contented himſelf with this firſt effect of his reſentment. Behold how far he carried his rage and revengefulneſs! He cut himſelf off from his main body, and taking only a few men with him, rid with all poſſible ſpeed towards Dara, at the ſame time when he was turning to fall on Morad-Bakche; and being come ſo near as to make himſelf to be heard, cried out with all his force, *Mohbareckbad*, *Hazaret*, *Salamet*, *Elhamd-ul-ellah*; "God ſave Your Majeſty, you have obtained the victory; what will you do any longer upon your elephant? Is it not enough that you have expoſed yourſelf ſo long? If the leaſt of thoſe ſhots that have been made into your Dais had reached your perſon, what would have become of us? Are there traitors wanting in this army? In the name of God come down quickly and take horſe. What remains now to be done, than to purſue thoſe run-aways. Let us do ſo, nor let us ſuffer that they ſhould eſcape our hands."

If Dara had had wit enough to diſcover the cheat, and to conſider upon a ſudden the conſequences of his not appearing any more upon the elephant, and being no more ſeen by the whole army, always eyeing him, or rather, if he had preſently commanded to cut off the head of this paraſitical traitor, he had been maſter of all. But the good Prince ſuffered himſelf to be blinded by theſe ſweet words: he hearkened to this advice, as if it had been very true and very ſincere; he deſcended from his elephant and took horſe. But I know not whether there paſſed one quarter of an hour, but he perceived the treachery of Calil-ullah-Kan, and repented himſelf extremely of the great fault he had committed. He looks about him, he ſeeketh, he aſketh where he is; he ſaith he is a traitor, he will kill him. But the perfidious villain is by this time at a good diſtance; the occaſion is loſt. Would it be believed, that as ſoon as the army perceived Dara to be no more upon the elephant, they imagined that there was treaſon, that Dara was killed; and all were ſtruck with ſuch a terror, that every one thought on nothing but how to eſcape the hands of Aureng-Zebe, and to ſave himſelf. What ſhall I ſay? All the army diſbands and flieth. A ſudden and ſtrange revolution! He that ſaw himſelf juſt now victorious, finds himſelf in a few moments vanquiſhed, abandoned, and obliged to fly himſelf to ſave his life. Aureng-Zebe, by holding out firm a quarter of an hour upon his elephant, ſeeth the crown of Indoſtan upon his head; and Dara, for having

come

come down a little too ſoon, ſeeth himſelf precipitated from the throne, and the moſt unfortunate Prince of the world. Thus fortune taketh pleaſure to make the gain or loſs of a battle, and the deciſion of a great empire, depend upon a nothing.

Theſe great and prodigious armies, it is true, do ſometimes great things; but when once terror ſeizeth, and diſorder comes among them, what means of ſtopping the commotion? It is like a great river broke through its dams; it muſt over-run all, without a remedy. Whence it is, that as often as I conſider the condition of ſuch armies, deſtitute of good order, and marching like flocks of ſheep, I perſuade myſelf, that, if in theſe parts one might ſee an army of five-and-twenty thouſand men, of thoſe old troops of Flanders, under the conduct of Monſieur le Prince, or of Monſieur de Turenne, I doubt not at all but they would trample under foot all thoſe armies, how numerous ſoever they were. And this it is that now maketh me not find it any longer ſtrange or incredible, what we are told of ten thouſand Greeks; and of fifty thouſand men of Alexander, overcoming ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand men of Darius (if it be true that there were ſo many, and that the hiſtorian did not reckon the ſervants, and all thoſe number of men which were to follow the army, to furniſh it with forage, cattle, corn, and all other neceſſaries). Bear only the firſt brunt, which would be no very difficult thing for us to do, and behold, they are all aſtoniſhed. Or do like Alexander, ſet vigorouſly upon one place, if that hold not out (which will be very hard of them to do), you may be ſure the work is done; all the reſt preſently take fright and flight together.

Aureng-Zebe, encouraged by ſuch a wonderful ſucceſs, is not wanting to turn every ſtone, to employ ſkill, dexterity, ſubtilty, craft, courage, to profit by all the advantages which ſo favourable an occaſion put into his hands. Calil-ullah-Kan is preſently with him, offering him his ſervice, and all the troops he could be maſter of. He, on his ſide, wants not words of thanks and acknowledgements, nor a thouſand fair promiſes; but he was very cautious to receive him in his own name; he carried him preſently and preſented him to Morad-Bakche, who, as we may eaſily think, received him with open arms; Aureng-Zebe in the mean time congratulating and praiſing Morad-Bakche, for having fought ſo valiantly, and aſcribing to him all the honour of the victory; treating him with the title of King and Majeſty before Calil-ullah-Kan, giving him uncommon reſpect, and doing ſubmiſſions to him becoming a ſubject and ſervant. In the interim, he labours night and day for himſelf; he writeth round about to all the Omrahs, making ſure to-day of one, and the next day of another. Chah-heſt-Kan, his uncle, the great and old enemy of Dara, by reaſon of an affront he had received from him, did the ſame for him on his part; and as he is the perſon who writeth beſt and ſubtileſt of the empire of Indoſtan, ſo he contributed not a little by his cabals to the advancement of the affairs of Aureng-Zebe, making ſtrong parties every where againſt Dara.

In the mean time, let us ſtill obſerve the artifice and diſſimulation of Aureng-Zebe. Nothing of what he doth, treateth, promiſeth, is for himſelf, or in his own name; he hath ſtill (forſooth) the deſign of living as a fakire. All is for Morad-Bakche, it is he that commands, Aureng-Zebe doth nothing; it is Morad-Bakche that doth all, it is he that is deſigned to be king.

As for the unhappy Dara, he comes with all ſpeed to Agra, in a deſperate condition, and not daring to go ſee Chah-Jehan, remembring, doubtleſs, thoſe ſevere words which he let fall, when he took leave of him before the battle, viz. That he ſhould remember not to come before him if he were overcome. Yet for all that, the good old father ſent ſecretly a truſty eunuch to him, to comfort him, to aſſure him of the continuance of

his affection, to declare to him his trouble for his misfortune, and to remonſtrate to him, that the caſe was not yet deſperate, conſidering that there was a good army with Soliman Chekouh, his ſon, that he ſhould go to Dehli, where he ſhould find a thouſand horſe in the royal ſtables; and that the governor of the fortreſs had order to furniſh him with money and elephants; for the reſt, that he ſhould not go farther than he needs muſt; that he would often write to him; and laſtly, that he very well knew how to find out and chaſtiſe Aureng-Zebe.

I have been informed, that Dara was then in ſuch a confuſion, and ſunk ſo low, that he had not the power to anſwer a word to the eunuch, nor the courage to ſend any one to Chah-Jehan; but that, after having ſent ſeveral times to Begum-Saheb, his ſiſter, he went away at midnight, taking with him his wife, his daughters, and his grandchild Sepe-Chekouh; and that (which is almoſt incredible) he was attended with not above three or four hundred perſons. Let us leave him in his voyage to Dehli, and ſtay at Agra, to conſider the dexterity and craft wherewith Aureng-Zebe proceeded to manage affairs.

He well knew that Dara, and thoſe of his party, could yet place ſome hopes in the victorious army of Soliman Chekouh, and therefore he reſolved to take it from him, or to make it uſeleſs to him. To this end, he wrote letters upon letters to the Raja Jeſſeigne and to Delil-Kan, who were the chief heads of the army of Soliman Chekouh, telling them, that there was no hope left for Dara and his party; that he had loſt the battle; that his whole army had ſubmitted to him; that all had abandoned him; that he was fled alone towards Dehli; that he could never eſcape him, and that orders were diſtributed every where to ſeize on him. And as for Chah-Jehan, that he was in a condition hopeleſs of recovery; that they ſhould take good care of what they had to do; and if they were men of underſtanding, and would follow his fortune, and be his friends, they ſhould ſeize on Soliman Chekouh, and bring him to him.

Jeſſeigne found himſelf perplexed enough what he ſhould do, ſtill much apprehending Chah-Jehan and Dara, and more to lay hands upon a royal perſon, well knowing that ſome miſchief might therefore fall on him, ſooner or later, even from Aureng-Zebe himſelf. Beſides, he knew that Soliman Chekouh had too much courage to let himſelf be taken after that manner, and that he would rather die in defending himſelf. Behold, therefore, what he at laſt reſolved. After having taken council with Delil-Kan, his great friend, and after they had renewed to one another the oath of mutual fidelity, he went directly to the tent of Soliman Chekouh, who with great impatience expected him (for he alſo had heard the news of the defeat of Dara his father), and had already divers times ſent for him. To him he frankly diſcovered all things, ſhewed him the letter of Aureng-Zebe, told him what courſe was for him to take, repreſented to him the danger he was in; that there was no reaſon he ſhould truſt in Delil-Kan, or in Daoud-Kan, or in the reſt of his army; but that as ſoon as he could, he ſhould gain the mountains of Serenaguer; that that was the beſt expedient he could take; that the Raja of that country, being in unacceſſible places, and not apprehending Aureng-Zebe, would doubtleſs receive him gladly; and for the reſt, he would ſoon ſee how things would go, and be always in a condition to come down from the mountains, when he ſhould think good.

The young Prince underſtood well enough by this kind of diſcourſe, that there was no ground to truſt henceforth in this Raja, and that there was no more ſafety for his perſon; and that the rather, becauſe he knew that Delil-Khan was altogether devoted to him; and he ſaw well enough, that there was a neceſſity to take this courſe ſuggeſted.

Whereupon he ſoon commanded, that his baggage ſhould be put up to march towards the mountains. Some of his moſt affectionate friends, as a good number of Manſeb-Dars, of Sajeds, and others, put themſelves in order to attend him; the reſt of the army, altogether aſtoniſhed, remained with the Raja. But that which was very mean for a great Raja, and a very ſordid barbarouſneſs, was, that he and Delil-Kan, ſent under hand, ſome to fall upon his baggage, who alſo took other things, and among them an elephant laden with rupies of gold, which cauſed a great diſorder among thoſe ſmall troops that followed him; and which was an occaſion that many of them returned and abandoned him, and invited alſo the country people to ſet upon his men, pillaging them, and even killing ſome of them: yet he made a ſhift to gain the mountains, with his wife and children, where the Raja of Serenaguer received him with all the honour and civilities he could deſire, aſſuring him, that he was in ſafety, as much as if he were king of that country, and that he would protect and aſſiſt him with all his forces. In the mean time, behold what happened on Agra's ſide.

Three or four days after the battle of Samonguer, the victorious Aureng-Zebe, together with Morad-Bakche, came directly to the gate of the town into a garden, which may be a little league diſtant from the fortreſs, and ſent from thence an able eunuch, and one of thoſe whom he moſt confided in, to Chah-Jehan, to ſalute him with a thouſand fair proteſtations of his affection and ſubmiſſion; that he was exceedingly ſorry for what had paſſed, and for having been obliged, by reaſon of the ambition and evil deſigns of Dara, to proceed to all thoſe extremities; that for the reſt, he rejoiced extremely to hear that he began to find himſelf better, and that he was come thither for no other end than to receive his commands.

Chah-Jehan was not wanting to expreſs to the eunuch much ſatisfaction, as to the proceedings of Aureng-Zebe, and to receive the ſubmiſſions of this ſon with all poſſible appearances of joy; though he ſaw very well that matters had been carried too far, and ſufficiently knew the reſerved and crafty humour of Aureng-Zebe, and his ſecret paſſion for reigning, and that therefore he was not much to be truſted, for all his fair words. And yet notwithſtanding he ſuffers himſelf to be circumvented, and inſtead of playing the ſureſt chart, by uſing his utmoſt power, by ſtirring, by appearing, by cauſing himſelf to be carried through the town, and by aſſembling all his Omrahs, (for it was yet time to do all this) he goes about to outwit Aureng-Zebe, him that was his craft's-maſter, and attempts to draw him into a ſnare, wherein he will be found taken himſelf. He then ſends alſo an eunuch to this ſon to let him know, that he well underſtood the ill conduct and even the incapacity of Dara, that he could not but call to mind the particular inclination he always had expreſſed towards him, that he could not doubt of his affection; and laſtly, that he ſhould come to ſee him, and to adviſe with him, what was fit to be done in theſe diſorders; and that he paſſionately wiſhed to embrace him.

Aureng-Zebe, on his ſide, ſaw alſo well enough, that he was not to truſt too much to the words of Chah-Jehan, knowing eſpecially, that Begum-Saheb, his enemy as well as ſiſter, was night and day about him, and that it was very probable he acted nothing but by her motion. And he apprehended, that if he ſhould come into the fortreſs, he might be ſeized on, and ill treated; as it was ſaid, that the reſolution was indeed taken to do ſo, and ſeveral of thoſe luſty Tartarian women, which ſerve in the ſeraglio, were armed to ſet upon him as ſoon as he ſhould enter. Whatever it be, he would never hazard himſelf, and yet ſpread a rumour abroad, that the next day he would go to ſee his father Chah-Jehan. But when the day was come, he put it off till another, and ſo delayed it from day to day without ever making the viſit. In the mean time he con-

tinued his ſecret negociations and cabals, and ſounded the mind of all the greateſt Omrahs ſo far, that at laſt, after he had well and cloſely laid his deſign, and politicly diſpoſed all things for the ſucceſs thereof, all were amazed to ſee, that one day, when he had ſent Sultan Mahmoud, his eldeſt ſon, to the fortreſs, under a pretence of ſeeing Chah-Jehan in his name; this young Prince, bold and undertaking, falls preſently upon the guards that were at the gate, and vigorouſly driveth all before him, whilſt a great number of men appointed, who were there all ready, did enter with fury, and made themſelves maſters of the walls.

If ever a man was aſtoniſhed, Chah-Jehan was, ſeeing that he was fallen into the ſnare which he had prepared for others, that himſelf was impriſoned, and Aureng-Zebe maſter of the fortreſs. It is ſaid, that he ſent preſently to ſound the mind of Sultan Mahmoud, promiſing him upon his crown and upon the Alcoran, that if he would be faithful to him, and ſerve him in this conjuncture, he would make him king; that he ſhould come preſently to ſee him within, and not loſe this occaſion; beſides, that it would be an action that would accumulate on him the bleſſings of Heaven, and an immortal glory; in regard it would be ſaid for ever, that Sultan Mahmoud had delivered Chah-Jehan his grandfather out of priſon.

And certainly, if Sultan Mahmoud had been reſolute enough to give this ſtroke, and Chah-Jehan could have come abroad to ſhew himſelf to the town, and to take the field, no man doubts but that all his great Omrahs would have followed him; nor would Aureng-Zebe himſelf have had the boldneſs nor the ſavageneſs to fight againſt his own father in perſon, eſpecially ſince he muſt have apprehended, that all the world would have abandoned him, and poſſibly Morad-Bakche himſelf. And it is the great fault which Chah-Jehan is obſerved to have committed after the battle, and the flight of Dara, not to have come out of the fortreſs. But yet I have converſed with many, who maintained, that Chah-Jehan did prudently in it. For this hath been a queſtion much agitated among the politicians, and there are no reaſons wanting to countenance the ſentiment of the latter ſort; who alſo add, that men almoſt always judge of things by the event; that often very fooliſh enterprizes have been obſerved to ſucceed, and which therefore are approved by all; that if Chah-Jehan had proſpered in his deſign, he would have been eſteemed the moſt prudent and the moſt able man in the world; but now being taken, he was nothing but a good old man, that ſuffered himſelf to be led by a woman, his daughter Begum, who was blinded by her paſſion, and had the vanity to believe, that Aureng-Zebe would come to ſee her, that the bird of itſelf would fly into the cage, or at leaſt that he would never be ſo bold as to attempt the ſeizure of the fortreſs, nor have the power to do ſo. Theſe ſame reaſoners maintain alſo ſtiffly, that the greateſt fault that Sultan Mahmoud could poſſibly commit, was, that he knew not how to take the occaſion to aſſure himſelf of the crown, by the rareſt and the moſt generous action that ever was, to put his grandfather at liberty, and thus to do himſelf right and juſtice, as the ſovereign umpire of affairs; whereas, as things now ſtand, he muſt one day go and die in Goualeor. But Sultan Mahmoud (whether it was that he feared his grandfather would not keep his word with him, or that he ſhould be himſelf detained within, or that he durſt not play tricks with his father Aureng-Zebe) would never hearken to any thing, nor enter into the apartment of Chah-Jehan, anſwering very cloſely, that he had no order from his father to go and ſee him, but that he was by him commanded not to return, without bringing him the keys of all the gates of the fortreſs, that ſo he might come with all ſafety to kiſs the feet of His Majeſty. There paſſed almoſt two whole days before he could reſolve to ſurrender the keys; during which time, Sultan-Mahmoud ſtaid there unalterable in his reſolutions, keeping himſelf upon his guard night and day, with all

his troops about him; till at length Chah-Jehan, ſeeing that all his people that were upon the guard at the little gate, little by little diſbanded, and that there was no more ſafety on his ſide, gave him the keys, with an order to tell Aureng-Zebe, that he ſhould come preſently if he were wiſe, and that he had moſt importunate things to diſcourſe with him about. But Aureng-Zebe was too cunning to commit ſo groſs a fault: on the contrary, he made his eunuch Etbar-Khan, governor of the fortreſs, who preſently ſhut up Chah-Jehan, together with Begum-Saheb, and all his women; cauſing divers gates to be walled up, that ſo he might not be able to write or ſpeak to any body, nor go forth out of his apartment without permiſſion.

Aureng-Zebe in the mean time writ to him a little note, which he ſhewed to every body before he ſealed it; in which, among other things, he told him with dry expreſſions, that he knew from good hands, that notwithſtanding thoſe great proteſtations of eſteem and affection he made to him, and of contempt he made of Dara, he had, for all that, ſent to Dara, two elephants charged with rupies of gold, to raiſe him again, and to re-commence the war; and that therefore, in truth, it was not he that impriſoned him, but Dara, and that he might thank him for it, as the cauſe of all theſe misfortunes; and if it had not been for him, he would have come the very firſt day to him, and paid him all the moſt dutiful reſpects he could have looked for from a good ſon: that for the reſt, he begged his pardon, and a little patience; as ſoon as he ſhould have diſabled Dara from executing his evil deſigns, he would come himſelf and open the gates to him.

I have heard it ſaid concerning this note, that Chah-Jehan in very deed, the ſame night that Dara departed, had ſent to him theſe elephants laden with rupies of gold, and that it was Rauchnara-Begum that found a way to diſcover it to Aureng-Zebe; as ſhe alſo had detected to him that plot which was laid againſt him with thoſe Tartarian women; and that Aureng-Zebe himſelf had intercepted ſome letters of Chah-Jehan to Dara.

I have converſed with others, that maintain there is no ſuch thing, and that this writing which Aureng-Zebe ſhewed to all, was only to caſt ſand into the eyes of the people, and to labour, in ſome degree, to juſtify himſelf in ſo ſtrange an action, and to devolve the cauſe of it upon Chah-Jehan and Dara, as if he had been forced to ſuch proceedings. They are things, which are difficult enough well to diſcover. However it be, as ſoon as Chah-Jehan was ſhut up, almoſt all the Omrahs were in a manner neceſſitated to go and make their court to Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche; and (which is almoſt incredible) there was not one that had the courage to ſtir, or to attempt the leaſt in the behalf of his King, and for him that had made them what they were, and raiſed them from the duſt, and perhaps from ſlavery itſelf (which is ordinary enough in that court), to advance them to riches and honour. Yet ſome few there are, as Danechmend-Kan, and ſome others, that took no ſide; but all the reſt declared for Aureng-Zebe.

It is notwithſtanding to be noted what I ſaid, that they were neceſſitated to do what they did. For it is not in the Indies, as in France, or other ſtates of Chriſtendom, where the grandees and nobles have large poſſeſſions of land, and great revenues, which enables them for a while to ſubſiſt of themſelves. There they have nothing but penſions (as I have already touched above), which the King can take away from them at all hours, and thus ruin them in an inſtant; ſo that they ſhall be conſidered no more than if they never had been, nor have any credit to borrow a farthing.

Aureng-Zebe therefore having thus aſſured himſelf of Chah-Jehan, and of all the Omrahs, took what ſums of money he thought fit out of the treaſury; and then having left

left Chah-heſt-Khan, his uncle, governor of the town, he went away with Morad-Bakche, to purſue Dara.

The day that the army was to march out of Agra, the particular friends of Morad-Bakche, eſpecially his eunuch Chah-Abas, who knew, that the exceſs of civility and reſpect is ordinarily a ſign of impoſture, counſelled him, that ſince he was King, and every body treated him with the title of majeſty, and Aureng-Zebe himſelf acknowledged him for ſuch, he ſhould let him go to purſue Dara, and ſtay himſelf with his troops about Agra and Delhi. If he had followed this counſel, it is certain, that he would have embarraſſed Aureng-Zebe not a little; but it was fatal, that he ſhould neglect ſo good advice: Aureng-Zebe is too fortunate; Morad-Bakche entirely confideth in his promiſes, and in the oaths of fidelity they had ſworn to one another upon the Alcoran. They went away together, and went with the ſame pace towards Delhi.

When they were come to Maturas, three or four ſmall days journey from Agra, the friends of Morad-Bakche, who perceived ſomething, endeavoured again to perſuade him that he ſhould beware, aſſuring him that Aureng-Zebe had evil deſigns, and that beyond all doubt ſome miſchief was upon the anvil; that they had notice of it from all parts, and that by no means, for that day at leaſt, he ſhould go to ſee him; that it would be much better to prevent the ſtroke the ſooneſt it might be; that he was only to forbear going to viſit him that day, excuſing himſelf with ſome indiſpoſition. But whatſoever could be ſaid to him, he believed nothing of it, his ears were ſtopped to all the good advice that was given him, and as if he had been enchanted by the friendſhip of Aureng-Zebe, he could not hold to go to him that very night, and to ſtay at ſupper with him. As ſoon as he was come, Aureng-Zebe, who expected him, and had already prepared all things with Mirkan, and three or four of his moſt intimate captains, who not wanting in embracements, and in redoubling his courtſhip, civilities and ſubmiſſions, in ſo much as gently to paſs his handkerchief over his face, and to wipe off his ſweat and duſt, treating him ſtill with the title of king and majeſty. In the mean time, the table is ſerved, they ſup, the converſation grows warm, they diſcourſe of various things as they uſe to do; and at laſt there is brought a huge bottle of excellent Chiras wine, and ſome other bottles of Caboul wine, for a debauch. Then Aureng-Zebe, as a grave ſerious man, and one that would appear a great Mahometan, and very regular, nimbly riſeth from table, and having with much kindneſs invited Morad-Bakche, who loved a glaſs of wine very well, and who reliſhed the wine that was ſerved, ſcrupled not to drink of it to exceſs. In a word, he made himſelf drunk, and fell aſleep. This was the thing that was wiſhed; for preſently ſome ſervants of his that were there were commanded away, under a pretence, to let him ſleep without making any noiſe; and then his zable and poynard were taken from about him; but Aureng-Zebe was not long, but came himſelf and wakened him. He entered into the chamber, and roughly hit him with his foot, and when he began to open a little his eyes, he made to him this ſhort and ſurprizing reprimand: What means this? (ſaid he) What ſhame and what ignominy is this, that ſuch a king as you are, ſhould have ſo little temper, as thus to make himſelf drunk! What will be ſaid both of you and me? Take this infamous man, this drunkard, tie him hand and foot, and throw him into that room to ſleep out his wine. No ſooner ſaid but it was executed; notwithſtanding all his appeal and out-cry, five or ſix perſons fall upon him, and fetter his hands and feet. Theſe things could not be done, but ſome of his men that were thereabout had news of it, they made ſome noiſe, and would enter forcibly; but Allah-Couly, one of his chief officers, and the maſter of his artillery, that had been gained long before, threatened them, and made them draw back. Without any delay, men were ſent through the whole army to calm this firſt commotion,

tion, which alſo might have proved dangerous; they made them believe it was nothing, they having been preſent; that Morad-Bakche was only drunk; that in that condition he had railed at every body, and Aureng-Zebe himſelf, in ſo much that there had been a neceſſity, ſeeing him drunk and furious, to keep him apart; that the next day they would ſee him abroad, after he had digeſted his wine. In the mean time, the preſents walked about all night among the chief officers of the army, their pay was forthwith increaſed, they had great promiſes made them; and as there was none, that had long ſince had not apprehended ſome ſuch thing, there was no great wonder to ſee almoſt all things quieted the next morning; ſo that the very next night this poor Prince was ſhut up in a little cloſe houſe, ſuch an one as is wont to be placed on elephants to carry women, and he was carried directly to Dehli into Slimager, which is a little old fortreſs in the midſt of the river.

After that all was thus appeaſed, except the eunuch Chah-Abas, who cauſed difficulty enough, Aureng-Zebe received the whole army of Morad-Bakche into his ſervice, and went after Dara, who marched apace towards Lahor, with an intention well to fortify himſelf in that place, and thither to draw his friends. But Aureng-Zebe followed him with ſo much ſpeed, that he had not time to do any great matter, finding himſelf neceſſitated to retreat, and to take the way of Multan, where alſo he could do nothing conſiderable, becauſe that Aureng-Zebe, notwithſtanding the great heat, marched night and day; inſomuch, that to encourage all to make haſte, he ſometimes advanced, almoſt all alone, two or three leagues before the whole army, finding himſelf often obliged to drink ill water like others, to be content with a cruſt of dry bread, and to ſleep under a tree, ſtaying for his army in the midſt of the highway, laying his head on his ſhield like a common ſoldier. So that Dara found himſelf conſtrained to abandon Multan alſo, that he might avoid being near Aureng-Zebe, whom he was not able to encounter. Here it is that the ſtateſmen of this country have reaſoned very diverſly: for it is ſaid, that if Dara, when he went out of Lahor, had caſt himſelf into the kingdom of Caboul, as he was adviſed, he would there have found above ten thouſand warlike men, deſigned againſt the Augans, the Perſians and the Uſbecs, and for a guard to that country, the governor whereof was Mohabet-Khan, one of the moſt potent and moſt ancient of Indoſtan, and that had never been Aureng-Zebe's friend; that, beſides, he would have been there at the gate of Perſia and Uſbec; that it was likely, that there being no want of money, all that militia, and Mohabet-Khan himſelf, would have embraced his party, and that further he might have drawn aſſiſtance, not only from Uſbec, but alſo from Perſia, as well as from Houmayon; whom thePerſians had reſtored to his country againſt Zaher-Khan, King of the Patans, who had driven him thence. But Dara was too unfortunate to follow ſo good advice. Inſtead of that, he went towards Scimdy, to caſt himſelf into the fortreſs of Tatabakar, that ſtrong and famous place, ſeated in the midſt of the river Indus.

Aureng-Zebe ſeeing him take this way, found it not fit to follow him further off, being extremely glad that he had not taken the way to Caboul. He contented himſelf to ſend after him ſeven or eight thouſand men, under the conduct of Mir-baba, his foſter-brother, and turned back with the ſame expedition to the place whence he was come, much apprehending leſt any thing ſhould fall out about Agra; leſt ſome or other of thoſe potent Rajas as Jeſſeigne, or Jeſſomſeigne, ſhould make an attempt in his abſence, to free Chah-Jehan out of priſon; or leſt Soliman Chekouh, together with the Raja of Serenaguer, ſhould deſcend from the hills; or leſt alſo Sultan Sujah ſhould approach too near Agra. Behold a little accident, which one day befel him, for too great precipitation.

When

When he thus returned from Multan towards Lahor, and marched his ordinary ſwift pace, he ſaw the Raja Jeſſeigne come againſt him, accompanied with four or five thouſand of his Rajipous, in a very good equipage. Aureng-Zebe who had left his army behind, and who alſo knew that this Raja was very affectionate to Chah-Jehan, was ſufficiently ſurprized, as may eaſily be imagined, fearing leſt this Raja ſhould make uſe of this occaſion, and do a maſter-piece of ſtate, by ſeizing on him to draw Chah-Jehan, out of priſon, which at that time was very eaſy to do. Neither is it known, whether this Raja had not ſome ſuch deſign; for he had marched with extraordinary ſpeed, in ſo much that Aureng-Zebe had no news of it, believing him yet to be at Dehli. But what may not reſolution and preſence of mind do? Aureng-Zebe, without any alteration of his countenance, marched directly towards the Raja, and as far off as he could ſee him, maketh ſigns to him with his hands, importing that he ſhould make haſte to a nearer approach, crying out to him with a loud voice, Salamed Bached Rajagi, Salamed Bached Babagi, treating him with the titles of Lord Raja and Lord Father. When the Raja was come to him, I expected you, ſaid he, with great impatience; the work is done, Dara is loſt, he is all alone; I have ſent Mir-baba after him, from whom he cannot eſcape: and for an exceſs of kindneſs to him, he took off his neck-lace of pearls, and put it about the neck of this Raja: and the ſooner to rid himſelf handſomely of him, (for he wiſhed him far enough) Go, ſaith he, with all the expedition you can to Lahor, my army is ſomewhat tired; go quickly to attend me there; I apprehend that elſe ſomething ſiniſter might fall out there; I make you governor of that place, and put all things into your hands. For the reſt, I am exceedingly obliged to you for what you have done with Soliman Chekouh: where have you left Delil-Kan? I ſhall find my revenge of him. Make all poſſible diſpatch, Salamed Bached, farewel.

Dara being arrived at Tata-bakar, made governor of that place a very underſtanding, gallant, and generous eunuch, with a very good garriſon of Patans and Sayeds; and for cannoneers, a good number of Franguis, Portugals, Engliſh, French, and Germans, who had followed him out of great hopes he had given them (for, if his affairs had proſpered, and he were become King, we muſt all have reſolved to be Omrahs, as many Franguis as we were). He there left alſo the greateſt part of his treaſure; he wanted as yet no gold nor ſilver, and ſtaying there but a very few days he marched away with two or three thouſand men only, deſcending along the river Indus towards Scindy, and from thence croſſing with an incredible celerity all thoſe territories of the Raja Katche, he arrived in Guzaratte, and came to the gates of Amadevat. The father-in-law of Aureng-Zebe called Chah-Navaze-Kan was governor there, with a very good garriſon, able to reſiſt. Yet notwithſtanding, whether it was that he was ſurprized, or that he wanted courage, (for although that he was of thoſe antient princes of Machate, yet he was no great ſoldier, though a man of a very obliging and civil converſation) he did not oppoſe Dara, but rather received him very honourably, and even managed him afterwards with ſo much dexterity, that Dara was ſo ſimple as to truſt himſelf with him, and to communicate to him his deſigns; inſomuch that he ſhewed him the letters which he received from the Raja Jeſſomſeigne, and of many other of his friends, which prepared themſelves to come to him; although it proved too true, what every body told him, and his friends confirmed by letters, that certainly this Chah-Navaze-Kan would betray him.

Never was any man more ſurpriſed than Aureng-Zebe, when he heard that Dara was in Amadevat: for he well knew that he wanted no money, and that all his friends, and all the diſcontented party, which was numerous, would not fail to betake themſelves by

by little and little to him: and on the other ſide, he found it not ſafe to go and find him out himſelf in that place, by removing himſelf ſo far from Agra and Chah-Jehan, to go and embarraſs himſelf in all thoſe countries of the Rajas Jeſſeigne, Jeſſomſeigne, and others that are in thoſe provinces. Beſides he apprehended, leſt Sultan Sujah ſhould advance with a ſtrong army, which was already about Elebas, and leſt the Raja of Serenaguer ſhould deſcend from the hills with Soloman Chekouh; ſo that he was ſufficiently perplexed and troubled, not knowing what way to turn. At laſt he believed it beſt to leave Dara for a time quiet where he was, and to go thither where his preſence and army was moſt neceſſary, which was towards Sultan Sujah, who had already paſſed the river Ganges at Elabas.

This Sultan Sujah was come to incamp in a little village called Kadjoue, and had conveniently ſeized himſelf of a great Talob, or reſervatory of water, which is there in the way; and Aureng-Zebe came to place himſelf on the ſide of a ſmall torrent, at the diſtance of a mile and an half from thence on Agra's ſide. Between both was a very fair campaign, very proper for a battle. Aureng-Zebe was no ſooner arrived, but being impatient to end this war, at break of day he went to face Sujah, leaving his baggage on the other ſide of the torrent. He fell upon Sujah with an effort unimaginable. Emir-Jemla, priſoner of Decan, and who arrived juſt on the day of the combat, fearing Dara no more, becauſe his family was more in ſafety, did there alſo lay out all his force, courage and dexterity. But ſeeing that Sultan Sujah had well fortified himſelf, and was accompanied with a very good artillery, advantageouſly placed, it was not poſſible for Aureng-Zebe to force him, nor to make him retreat from thence, ſo as to make him loſe thoſe waters. On the contrary, he was obliged himſelf to draw back ſeveral times, ſo vigorouſly was he repulſed, in ſo much that he found himſelf in great perplexity. Sultan Sujah not being willing to advance too far into the campaign, nor to remove from that advantageous place where he was, pretending only to defend himſelf; which was very prudently done. For he foreſaw, that Aureng-Zebe could not ſtay there long, and that in that hot ſeaſon he would be abſolutely obliged to turn back towards the torrent for the water; and that, when he ſhould do ſo, he would fall upon his rear. Aureng-Zebe alſo foreſaw well enough the ſame thing, and that was the reaſon why he was ſo forward and preſſing; but behold another more troubleſome accident.

In this very time he receiveth intelligence, that the Raja Jeſſomſeigne, who in appearance had accommodated himſelf with him, was fallen upon his rear, and plundered his baggage and treaſure. This news aſtoniſhed him much, and the more, becauſe he perceived that his army which had heard of it was thereby frighted, and fallen into diſorder. Yet he loſes not his judgment for all this; and being well aware, that to turn back was to hazard all, he reſolved, as in the battle of Dara, to bear up the beſt he could, and to expect with a ſteady foot all events. In the mean time, the diſorder grew worſe and worſe in his army: Sujah, who was reſolved to profit of the occaſion, taketh his time, and preſſeth him vigorouſly. He that led Aureng-Zebe's elephant is killed with the ſhot of an arrow; he leads the beaſt as well as he can himſelf till another could be had in that leader's place. Arrows rain upon him; he returns many himſelf, his elephant begins to be frighted, and to go back. Behold him now in great extremity, and brought to that point, that one foot of his was out of the ſeat, as if he meant to caſt himſelf to the ground; and no man knows what in that trouble he had not done, if Emir Jemla, being nigh, and performing like a great man as he was, beyond imagination, called to him, in holding up his hand, Decan-kou, Decan-cou, where is Decan? This ſeems to have been the greateſt extremity, to which Aureng-

Zebe could be reduced. One would have ſaid, it was now and here that fortune had abandoned him, and there is almoſt no appearance of a poſſibility to eſcape. But his good fortune is ſtronger than all that: Sultan Sujah muſt be routed, and take flight like Dara to ſave his life: Aureng-Zebe muſt remain victorious, carry away the bell, and be king of the Indies.

We are to remember the battle of Samonguer, and that, in appearance, ſlight accident which ruined Dara; it is the ſame over ſight, or rather the ſame treaſon, which is now deſtroying Sultan Sujah. One of his chief captains, Allah-verdi-Kan, who, as ſome ſay, had been gained, uſeth the ſame artifice that Calil-ullah-Kan had employed towards Dara; though there are ſome who believed, that there was no malice in the caſe, and that it was a mere piece of flattery. For ſeeing that the whole army of Aureng-Zebe was in diſorder, he run towards Sultan Sujah, telling him the ſame thing that Calil-ullah-Kan did to Dara, and begging of him with folded hands, that he would ſtay no longer in ſo great danger upon his elephant. Come down, ſaid he, in the name of God, mount on horſe-back, God hath made you ſovereign of the Indies, let us purſue thoſe fugitives, let not Aureng-Zebe eſcape us.

But not to ſtay long from declaring the ſtrange fortune of Aureng-Zebe, and the incredible conjuncture that recovers his deſperate condition; Sultan Sujah, not more conſiderate than Dara, commits the ſame fault; and he was no ſooner come down from his elephant, but his army ſeeing him no more, was ſtruck with a terror, believing there was treaſon, and that he was either taken or ſlain. Whereupon they diſbanded without any more ado, as Dara's army did in the battle of Samonguer; and the defeat was ſo great, that the Sultan was fortunate in that he could ſave himſelf.

Jeſſomſeigne hearing this unexpected news, and perceiving it was not very ſafe for him to tarry there, contented himſelf with the ſpoil he had got, and with all diligence marched ſtraight to Agra, thence to paſs to his country. The noiſe was already in Agra, that Aureng-Zebe had loſt the battle, that he was taken together with Emir-Jemla, and that Sultan Sujah brought them both priſoners. Inſomuch that Chah-heſt-Kan, who was governor of the town, and uncle to Aureng-Zebe, ſeeing Jeſſomſeigne, whoſe treachery he had heard of, at the gates, and deſpairing of his life, had taken into his hand a cup of poiſon to make himſelf away, and had, as they ſay, in very deed ſwallowed it, if his women had not fallen upon him and hindered him: ſo that it is thought, if Jeſſomſeigne had had the wit and courage to ſtay longer in Agra, if he had threatened boldly, and promiſed and acted vigorouſly for the freedom of Chah-Jehan, he might have drawn him out of priſon; ſo much the more eaſily, becauſe all Agra was for two whole days in that belief, that Aureng-Zebe was overcome. But Jeſſomſeigne, who knew how all things went, and who durſt not long ſtay there, nor attempt any thing, did nothing but paſs, returning with all ſpeed homewards.

Aureng-Zebe, who apprehended miſchief from Agra, and feared leſt Jeſſomſeigne ſhould undertake ſomething for Chah-Jehan, was not long in the purſuit after Sultan-Sujah; he turned ſhort for Agra with his whole army, where he ſtaid a good while giving order for all things. Meantime he received intelligence, that Sultan Sujah had not loſt many men in his being routed, for want of farther purſuit; that alſo from the lands of the Rajas, which are in thoſe quarters, on the right and left of Ganges, he raiſed great forces upon the ſcore of the reputation he had of being very rich, and very liberal, and that he fortified himſelf in Elabas, that important and famous paſſage of Ganges, which with its fortreſs is the firſt inlet into Bengal. And then he conſidered alſo, that he had about him two perſons, which indeed were very capable to ſerve him, Sultan Mahmoud his eldeſt ſon, and Emir-Jemla; but he well knew, that thoſe who have

have done good ſervice to their prince, grow often inſolent, in the belief that all is due to them, and that they cannot be recompenſed enough. He perceived already, that the former of them began very much to emancipate himſelf, and that every day he became more arrogant for having ſeized on the fortreſs of Agra, and by that means had broken all the deſigns which Chah-Jehan could have formed, and as to the latter he knew indeed the force of his underſtanding, his conduct, and valour; but that was the very thing which made him apprehend him the more: for knowing that he was very rich, that his reputation was great, that he paſſed for the firſt mover in affairs, and for the ableſt man in all the Indies, he doubted not, but that after the example of Sultan Mahmoud, he entertained himſelf with big hopes. All this certainly would have been able to perplex an ordinary ſpirit, but Aureng-Zebe found a remedy to all. He knew to remove them both with ſo much prudence, and even with ſo much handſomneſs, that neither of them found any cauſe to complain of it. He ſent them both againſt Sultan Sujah with a puiſſant army, letting Emir ſecretly know, that the government of Bengal, which is the beſt quarter of Indoſtan, was deſigned for him to hold it during his life, and for his ſon after his deceaſe; and that thereby he would begin to expreſs to him his acknowledgements for the great ſervices he had done him; and that therefore it belonged only to him to defeat Sujah, and that as ſoon as he ſhould have compaſſed it, he would make him Mir-ul Omrahs, which is the firſt and moſt honourable place of Indoſtan, and no leſs than the Prince of the Omrahs.

To Sultan Mahmoud, his ſon, he ſaid only theſe few words: Remember that thou art the eldeſt of my children, that it is for thyſelf that thou goeſt forth to fight; that thou haſt done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomeſt not Sujah, who is our greateſt and powerfuleſt enemy; I hope, God aſſiſting me, to be ſoon maſter of the reſt.

With theſe words he diſmiſſed them both, with ordinary honours, that is, with rich veſts, ſome horſes and elephants gallantly harneſſed, making in the meantime Emir-Jemla to conſent that his only ſon, Mahmet-Emir-Kan, ſhould ſtay with him for a good education, or rather for a pledge of his fidelity; and Sultan Mahmoud, that his wife ſhould remain in Agra (which was the daughter of the above-mentioned King of Golkonda) as too troubleſome a thing in an army, and in ſuch an expedition.

Sultan Sujah, who was always in the apprehenſion leſt the Rajas of the lower Bengal, which he had ill treated, ſhould be raiſed againſt him, and who feared nothing more than to have to do with Emir-Jemla, had no ſooner received this news, but apprehending that the paſſage to Bengal would be obſtructed, and that Emir would paſs in ſome other place of the river Ganges, either lower or higher than Elabas, raiſed his camp, and went down to Benares and Patna, whence he betook himſelf to Mogiere, a ſmall town ſeated upon the Ganges, a place commonly called the key of the kingdom of Bengal, being a kind of ſtreight between the mountains and the woods, which are not far from thence. He thought fit to ſtay in that place, and there to fortify himſelf; and for greater ſafety, he cauſed a great trench to be made, which I have ſeen, paſſing that way ſome years after, from the town and river unto the mountain, being well reſolved there to attend Emir-Jemla, and to diſpute that paſſage with him. But he was ſufficiently aſtoniſhed, when he was told that the troops of Emir, which ſlowly deſcended along the river Ganges, were certainly for nothing but to amuſe him; that himſelf was not there; that he had gained the Rajas of thoſe mountains which are on the right hand of the river; and that he and Sultan Mahmoud marched apace over their lands with all the flower of the army, drawing ſtraight to Rage-Mehalle to intercept him, ſo that he was conſtrained to quit, as ſoon as he could, his fortifications; yet not-

withſtanding he made ſo much haſte, that though he was obliged to follow thoſe windings, which the river Ganges on that ſide maketh toward the left hand, he prevented Emir by ſome days, and arrived firſt at Rage-Mehalle, where he had time to fortify himſelf; becauſe Emir having heard this news, took his march to the left-hand towards Ganges, through very ill ways, there to expect his troops, which came down with the body of the artillery and the baggage along the river. As ſoon as all was come, he went to attack Sultan Sujah, who defended himſelf very well for five or ſix days; but ſeeing that the artillery of Emir, which played inceſſantly, ruined all his fortifications which were made but of ſandy earth and faggots, and that he could not but with much difficulty make reſiſtance in that place, beſides that the ſeaſon of the rain began, he retired himſelf, at the favour of the night, leaving behind two great pieces of cannon. Emir durſt not follow him in the night for fear of ſome ambuſh, putting off the purſuit till the next morning: but Sujah had the good luck, that at the break of day there began to fall a rain, which laſted above three days; ſo that Emir could not only not ſtir out of Rage-Mehalle, but ſaw himſelf obliged to paſs the winter there, by reaſon of the exceſſive rains in that country, which render the ways troubleſome for more than four months, viz July, Auguſt, September, and October, that the armies cannot poſſibly march. And hereby Sultan Sujah had the means to retire himſelf, and to chuſe what place he would, having time enough to fortify his army, and to ſend out of the inferior Bengal for many pieces of cannon and a good number of Portugueſe that were retired thither becauſe of the great fertility of the country: for he much courted all thoſe Portugal fathers, miſſionaries that are in that province, promiſing them no leſs than that he would make them all rich, and build churches for them whereſoever they would. And they were indeed capable to ſerve him, it being certain, that in the kingdom of Bengal, there are to be found no leſs than eight or nine thouſand families of Franguize, Portugueſe, and theſe either natives or meſticks.

But Sultan Mahmoud, who for the reaſon above-mentioned was grown fierce, and aſpired perhaps to greater things than at that time he ought, did pretend to command the army abſolutely, and that Emir-Jemla ſhould follow his orders, letting alſo from time to time fall inſolent words in reference to his father Aureng-Zebe, as if he were obliged to him for the crown, and uttering expreſſions of contempt againſt Emir-Jemla; which cauſed great coldneſs betwixt them two, which laſted a pretty while, until Sultan Mahmoud underſtood that his father was very much diſſatisfied with his conduct; and apprehending leſt Emir had order to ſeize on his perſon, he went away to Sultan Sujah, accompanied with a very ſmall number, and to him he made great promiſes, and ſwore fidelity. But Sujah, who feared Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla's ſnares, could not truſt him, having always an eye upon his actions, without giving him any conſiderable command; which he ſo diſguſted, that ſome months after, not knowing what would become of him, he left Sultan Sujah, and returned to Emir, who received him well enough, aſſuring him, that he would write in his behalf to Aureng-Zebe, and do his utmoſt to make him forget that fault.

I think fit here to take notice, by the bye, of what many have told me, viz. that this eſcape of Sultan Mahmoud was altogether made by the artifices of Aureng-Zebe, who cared not much to hazard this ſon of his to try to deſtroy Sujah, and who was glad enough, that whatever the event were, he might have a ſpecious pretence to put him in a place of ſurety. However it be, he afterwards ſhewed himſelf much diſſatisfied with him, and wrote to him a ſevere letter, in which he enjoined him to return to Dehli, but giving order in the mean time that he ſhould not come ſo far: for he no

ſooner had paſſed the river Ganges, but he met with troops that ſtopped him, and put him up in a ſmall chair, (as was done to Morad-Bakche) and carried him to Goualeor, whence it is thought he will never be ſet at liberty: Aureng-Zebe by this means freeing himſelf from great perplexity; who then alſo let his ſecond ſon, Sultan-Mazum, know that the point of reigning is ſo delicate a thing, that kings muſt be jealous even of their own ſhadow; adding, that if he be not diſcreet, the like may befal him which had befallen his brother, and that he ought to think Aureng-Zebe was not a man that would ſuffer that to be done to himſelf, what Chah-Jehan did to his father Jehan-Guyre, and what he had alſo lately ſeen done to Chah-Jehan.

And indeed we may on this occaſion ſay, that if this ſon continue to behave himſelf as he hath done hitherto, Aureng-Zebe will have no cauſe to ſuſpect him, and to be diſſatisfied with him: for no ſlave can be more tractable, and Aureng-Zebe himſelf never appeared more careleſs of greatneſs, nor more given to devotion than he: yet I have known men of parts who believed that he is not ſo in good earneſt, but by ſuperlative policy and craft, like that of his father, which we may have the proof of in time.

Whilſt all theſe things were thus tranſacted in Bengal, and that Sultan Sujah reſiſted, the beſt he could, the forces of Emir-Jemla, paſſing now on one ſide of the river Ganges, of a channel, or ſome other river, (for that country is full of them,) then on the other; Aureng-Zebe kept himſelf about Agra, going to and fro, and at length, after he had alſo ſent Morad-Bakche to Goualeor, he came to Dehli, where in good earneſt he took upon him publicly to act the King, giving order for all affairs of the kingdom, and eſpecially thinking on means to catch Dara, and to get him out of Guzaratte, which was a very hard thing, for the reaſons already mentioned. But the great good fortune, and the ſingular dexterity of Aureng-Zebe ſoon drew him thence; which now follows next to be related.

Jeſſomſeigne, who had retired himſelf to his country, and made the beſt of what he had taken in the battle of Kadjoue, raiſed a ſtrong army, and wrote to Dara, that he ſhould come to Agra as ſoon as he could, and that he would join with his forces. Dara, who had by this time ſet on foot a pretty numerous army (though it conſiſted, for the moſt part, but of gathered people,) and who hoped, that approaching to Agra, many of his old friends, ſeeing him with Jeſſomſeigne, would not fail to join with him alſo, immediately leaveth Amadevad, and marcheth with great ſpeed to Aſmire, ſeven or eight days journey from Agra. But Jeſſomſeigne kept not his word with him: the Raja Jeſſeigne interpoſed to make his peace with Aureng-Zebe, and to faſten him to his party, or at leaſt to hinder his deſign, which was capable to ruin himſelf, and to make all the Rajas riſe; and wrote to him ſeveral letters, giving him to underſtand the great danger he went to expoſe himſelf to, by eſpouſing a party in that extremity, as that of Dara's was; that he ſhould well conſider what he was going to do; that he went about wholly to deſtroy himſelf, and all his whole family; that Aureng-Zebe would never forgive him; that he was a Raja as himſelf; that he ſhould think on ſparing the blood of the Rajipous; that if he thought to draw the Rajas to his party, he would find thoſe that would hinder him from it. In a word, that it was a buſineſs which concerned all the gentry of Indoſtan, and expoſed them to danger, if way were given to kindle a fire, which would not be extinguiſhed at pleaſure. And laſtly, if he would leave Dara to himſelf, Aureng-Zebe would forget all that had paſſed, and preſent him with all he had taken, and give him that very inſtant the government of Guzaratte, which would be very convenient for him, that country being near his lands; that he could be there in liberty and ſafety, and as long as he pleaſed, and that himſelf would

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be caution for all. In a word, this Raja acted his part ſo well, that he made Jeſſomſeigne return to his land, whilſt Aureng-Zebe approached with his whole army to Aſmire, and encamped in the ſight of that of Dara.

And now what could this poor Prince Dara do? He ſeeth himſelf abandoned and fruſtrated of his hopes. He conſiders, that to turn back ſafe to Amadevad was impoſſible, in regard that it was a march of thirty and five days; that it was in the heat of ſummer; that water would fail him: that they were all the lands of Rajas, friends or allies of Jeſſeigne or Jeſſomſeigne; that the army of Aureng-Zebe, which was not haraſſed like his, would not fail to follow him. "It is as good," ſaith he, "to periſh here; and although the match be altogether unequal, let us venture all, and give battle once more." But alas! what does he mean to do? He is not only abandoned by all, but he hath yet with him Chah-Navaze-Kan, whom he truſts, and who betrays him, and diſcovers all his deſigns to Aureng-Zebe. It is true, that Chah-Navaze-Kan was puniſhed for his perfidiouſneſs, and killed in the battle; whether it was by the hands of Dara himſelf, as many told me, or (which is more probable) by ſome of Aureng-Zebe's army, who being ſecret partiſans of Dara, found means to get to him and diſpatch him, fearing leſt he ſhould diſcover them, and have ſome knowledge of the letters they had written to Dara. But what did it benefit him at that time that Chah-Navaze-Kan was dead? Dara ſhould have ſooner followed the advice of his friends, and never have confided in him.

The fight began between nine and ten of the clock in the morning: Dara's artillery, which was very well placed on a little eminency, was loud enough; but, as was ſaid, moſt of the pieces without bullets, ſo was he betrayed by all. It is needleſs to relate the other particulars of this battle; it was properly not a battle, but a rout. I ſhall only ſay, that hardly the onſet was begun, but Jeſſeigne was near and in ſight of Dara, to whom he ſent word, that he ſhould fly preſently, unleſs he would be taken. So that this poor Prince, being altogether ſurpriſed, was conſtrained to run away inſtantly, and with ſo much diſorder and precipitation, that he had not leiſure to put up his baggage. It was no ſmall matter, that he was able to get away with his wife, and the reſt of his family. And it is certain, that if the Raja Jeſſeigne would have done what he could, he could never have eſcaped; but he always had a reſpect to the royal family; or rather, he was too crafty and politic, and had too great forecaſt to venture to lay hands on a Prince of the blood.

This unfortunate Prince, deſerted by almoſt all, and finding himſelf accompanied but of two thouſand men at moſt, was forced in the hotteſt of ſummer to croſs, without tents or baggage, all thoſe countries of the Rajas, that are almoſt from Aſmire to Amadevad. Meantime the Koullis, which are the country people, and the worſt of all the Indies, and the greateſt robbers, follow him night and day, rifle and kill his ſoldiers, with ſo much cruelty that no man could ſtay two hundred paces behind the body but he was preſently ſtripped naked, or butchered upon the leaſt reſiſtance. Yet notwithſtanding Dara made ſhift to get near Amadevad, when he hoped that the next day, or ſoon after, he ſhould enter into the town to refreſh himſelf, and to try once more to gather again ſome forces: but all things fall out contrary to vanquiſhed and unfortunate men.

The governor whom he had left in the caſtle of Amadevad, had already received both menacing and promiſing letters from Aureng-Zebe, which made him loſe courage, and incline to that ſide; inſomuch that he wrote to Dara, forbidding him to come nearer, if he did, he would find the gates ſhut, and all in arms.

Three days before I met this unhappy Prince, by a ſtrange accident, when he obliged me to follow him, having no phyſician about him; and the night before that he re-

ceived this news from the governor of Amadevad, he did me the favour to make me come into the Karavan-Serrak where he was, fearing leſt the Koullis ſhould aſſaſſinate me: and (what is hard enough to believe in Indoſtan, where the grandees eſpecially are ſo jealous of their wives) I was ſo near to the wife of this Prince, that the cords of the Kanates, or wind-ſcreen, which encloſed them (for they had not ſo much as a poor tent) were faſtened to the wheels of my chariot. I relate this circumſtance by the bye only, to ſhew the extremity Dara was reduced to.

When theſe women heard this ſad news (which was at the break of day, as I well remember) they broke out upon a ſudden into ſuch ſtrange cries and lamentations that they forced tears from one's eyes. And now behold all was in an inexpreſſible confuſion: every one looks upon his neighbour, and nobody knows what to do, or what will become of him. Soon after we ſaw Dara come forth, half dead, now ſpeaking to one, then to another, even to the meaneſt ſoldiers. He ſeeth all aſtoniſhed, and ready to abandon him. What council? whither can he go? He muſt be gone inſtantly. You may judge of the extremity he muſt needs be in, by this ſmall accident I am going to mention. Of three great oxen of Guzaratte, which I had for my chariot, one died the night before, another was dying, and the third was tired out (for we had been forced to march for three days together, almoſt night and day, in an intolerable heat and duſt:) whatever Dara could ſay or command, whether he alleged it was for himſelf, or for one of his women that was hurt in the leg, or for me, he could not poſſibly procure for me, whether ox, or camel, or horſe: ſo that he was obliged, to my good fortune, to leave me there. I ſaw him march away, and that with tears in his eyes, accompanied with four or five hundred cavalries at moſt, with two elephants, that were ſaid to be laden with gold and ſilver; and I heard them ſay, that they were to take their march towards Tatabakar; for he had no other game to play, though even that ſeemed in a manner impoſſible, conſidering the ſmall number of people left him, and the great ſandy deſarts to be waded through in the hotteſt ſeaſon, moſt of them without water fit to drink. And indeed moſt of thoſe that followed him, and even divers of his women, did there periſh, either of drought, or the unwholeſome waters, or the tireſome ways and ill food, or laſtly, becauſe ſtripped by the Koullis above mentioned. Yet notwithſtanding all this, Dara made hard ſhift to get to the Raja Katche; unhappy even herein, that he periſhed not himſelf in this march.

This Raja at firſt gave him a very good reception, even ſo far as to promiſe him aſſiſtance with all his forces, provided he would give his duaghter in marriage to his ſon. But Jeſſeigne ſoon wrought as much with this Raja, as he had done with Jeſſomſeigne. So that Dara one day ſeeing the kindneſs of this barbarian cooled upon a ſudden, and that conſequently his perſon was in danger there, he betakes himſelf to the purſuit of his expedition to Tatabakar.

To relate how I got away from thoſe robbers the Koullis, in what manner I moved them to compaſſion, how I ſaved the beſt part of my ſmall treaſure, how we became good friends by the means of my profeſſion of phyſic, my ſervants (perplexed as well as myſelf) ſwearing that I was the greateſt phyſician of the world, and that the people of Dara, at their going away, had ill-treated me, and taken me from all my beſt things; how, after having kept me with them ſeven or eight days, they had ſo much kindneſs and generoſity as to lend me an ox, and to conduct me ſo far, that I was in ſight of Amadevad: and laſtly, how from thence after ſome days I returned to Delhi, having lighted on an occaſion to go with a certain Omrah, paſſing thither; in which journey I met from time to time, on the way, with carcaſes of men, elephants, oxen, horſes, and camels, the

the remainder of that unfortunate army of Dara. Theſe are things, I ſay, I muſt not inſiſt upon to deſcribe them.

Whilſt Dara advanced towards Tatabakar, the war continues in Bengal, and much longer than was believed, Sultan Sujah putting forth his utmoſt, and playing his laſt game againſt Emir-Jemla. Yet this did not much trouble Aureng-Zebe, who knew it was a great way between Bengal and Agra, and was ſufficiently convinced of the prudence and valour of Emir-Jemla. That which diſquieted him much more was, that he ſaw Soliman Chekouh ſo near (for from Agra to the mountains it is but eight days' journey) whom he could not maſter, and who perpetually alarmed him by the rumours that went continually about, as if he were coming down the mountains with the Raja. It is certainly very hard to draw him thence: but behold how he manages the matter to compaſs it.

He maketh the Rajah Jeſſeigne write one letter after another to the Raja of Serenaguer, promiſing him very great things, if he would ſurrender Soliman Chekouh to him, and menacing war at the ſame time, if he ſhould obſtinately keep him. The Raja anſwers, that he would rather loſe his eſtate, than do ſo unworthy an action. And Aureng-Zebe, ſeeing his reſolution, taketh the field, and marcheth directly to the foot of the hills, and with an infinite number of pikemen cauſeth the rocks to be cut, and the paſſage to be widened. But the Raja laughs at all that; neither hath he more cauſe to fear on that ſide. Aureng-Zebe may cut long enough, they are mountains inacceſſible to an army, and ſtones would be ſufficient to ſtop the forces of four Indoſtans; ſo that he was conſtrained to turn back again.

Dara in the mean time approacheth to the fortreſs of Tatabakar, and when he was but two or three days journey off, he received the news, that Mir-baba, who had long held it beſieged, had at length reduced it to extremity: as I afterwards learned of our French, and other Franguis that were there, a pound of rice and meat having coſt there above a crown, and ſo of other victuals in proportion: yet the governor held out; made ſallies, which extremely incommoded the enemy; and ſhewed all poſſible prudence, courage and fidelity; deriding the endeavours of the general, Mir-baba, and all the menaces and promiſes of Aureng-Zebe.

And this alſo I learned afterwards of my countrymen, the French, and of all thoſe other Franguis that were with him; who added, that when he heard that Dara was not far off, he redoubled his liberalities, and knew ſo well to gain the hearts of all his ſoldiers, and to encourage them to do bravely, that there was not one of them, that was not reſolved to ſally out upon the enemy, and to hazard all to raiſe the ſiege, and to make Dara enter; and that he alſo knew ſo well to caſt fear and terror into the camp of Mir-baba, by ſending ſpies about very cunningly to aſſure that they had ſeen Dara approach with great reſolution, and very good forces; that if he had come, as was believed he would do every moment, the army of the enemy was for diſbanding upon his appearance, and even in part go over to him. But he is ſtill too unfortunate, to undertake any thing proſperouſly. Believing therefore, that to raiſe the ſiege with ſuch an handful of men as he had was impoſſible, he did deliberate to paſs the river Indus, and to endeavour to get into Perſia; although that would alſo have had mighty difficulties and inconvenicies, byreaſon of the deſarts, and the ſmall quantity of good waters in thoſe parts; beſides, that upon thoſe frontiers there are but mean Rajas and Pautans, who acknowledge neither the Perſian nor the Mogul. But his wife did very much diſſuade him from it, for this weak reaſon, that he muſt, if he did ſo, expect to ſee his wife nd daughter ſlaves to the King of Perſia; that that was a thing altogether unworthy

worthy of the grandeur of his family, and it was better to die, than to undergo this infamy.

Dara being in great perplexity, remembered that there was thereabout a certain Patan, powerful enough, called Gion-Kan, whoſe life he had formerly ſaved twice, when Chah-Jehan had commanded he ſhould be caſt under the feet of an elephant, for having rebelled divers times; he reſolved to go to him, hoping that he could give him ſufficient ſuccours to raiſe the ſiege of Tatabakar; making account, that thence he would take his treaſure, and that going from thence, and gaining Kandahar, he could caſt himſelf into the kingdom of Caboul, having great hopes of Mohabet-Kan, who was governor of it, becauſe he was both potent and valiant, well-beloved of his country, and had obtained this government by his (Dara's) favour. But his grandchild, Sepe-Chekouh, yet but very young, ſeeing his deſign, caſt himſelf at his feet, intreating him for God's ſake not to enter into the country of that Patan. His wife and daughter did the ſame, remonſtrating to him, that he was a robber, a revolted governor, that he would infallibly betray him; that he ought not to ſtand upon raiſing of the ſiege, but rather endeavour to gain Caboul, that the thing was not impoſſible, foraſmuch as Mi-baba was not like to quit the ſiege to follow him, and to hinder him from getting thither.

Dara being carried headlong by the force of his unhappy deſtiny, rejected this council, and would hearken to nothing of what was propoſed to him, ſaying, as was true, that the march would be very difficult, and very dangerous; and maintained always, that Gion-kan would not be ſo mean as to betray him, after all the good he had done him. He departed, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid to him, and went to prove, at the price of his life, that no truſt is to be given to a wicked man.

This robber, who at firſt believed that he had numerous troops following him, gave him the faireſt reception that could be, and entertained him with very great kindneſs and civility in appearance, placing his ſoldiers here and there among his ſubjects, with a ſtrict order to treat them well, and to give them what refreſhments the country afforded: but when he found that he had not above two or three hundred men in all, he quickly ſhewed what he was. It is not known whether he had not received ſome letters from Aureng-Zebe, or whether his avarice had not been tempted by ſome mules ſaid to be laden with gold; which was all that could be ſaved hitherto, as well from the hands of robbers, as of thoſe that conveyed it. Whatever it be, on a certain morning, when nobody looked for any ſuch thing, all being taken up with the care of refreſhing themſelves, and believing all to be ſafe; behold this traitor, who had beſtirred himſelf all night to get armed men from all parts, fell upon Dara and Sepe-Chekouh, killed ſome of their men that ſtood up to defend themſelves; forgot not to ſeize on the loads of the mules, and of all the jewels of the women; made Dara to be tied faſt upon an elephant, commanding the executioner to ſit behind, and to cut off his head upon the leaſt ſign given, in caſe he ſhould be ſeen to reſiſt, or that any one ſhould attempt to deliver him. And in this ſtrange poſture he was carried to the army before Tatabakar, where he put him into the hands of Mir-baba, the general, who cauſed him to be conducted in the company of this ſame traitor to Lahor, and thence to Dehli.

When he was at the gates of Dehli, it was deliberated by Aureng-Zebe, whether he ſhould be made to paſs through the midſt of the city, or no, to carry him thence to Goualeor. Many did adviſe, that that was by no means to be done; that ſome diſorder might ariſe; that ſome might come to ſave him; and beſides, that it would be a great diſhonour to the family royal. Others maintained the contrary, viz. that it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould paſs through the town, to aſtoniſh the world, and to ſhew the abſolute power of Aureng-Zebe, and to diſabuſe the people, that might ſtill doubt,

whether it were himſelf, as indeed many Omrahs did doubt; and to take away all hopes from thoſe, who ſtill preſerved ſome affection for him. The opinion of theſe laſt was followed; he was put on an elephant, his grandchild, Sepe-Chekouh, at his ſide; and behind them was placed Bhadur-Kan, as an executioner. This was none of thoſe brave elephants of Ceilan or Pegu, which he was wont to ride on, with gilt harneſs and embroidered covers, and ſeats with canopies very handſomely painted and gilt, to defend themſelves from the ſun: it was an old caitiff animal, very dirty and naſty, with an old torn cover, and a pitiful ſeat, all open. There was no more ſeen about him, that necklace of big pearls, which thoſe princes are wont to wear, nor thoſe rich turbans and veſts embroidered. All his dreſs was a veſt of coarſe linen, all dirty, and a turban of the ſame, with a wretched ſcarf of Kachimere over his head, like a varlet; his grandſon, Sepe-Chekouh, being in the ſame equipage. In this miſerable poſture he was made to enter into the town, and to paſs through the greateſt ſtreets of merchandize, to the end that all the people might ſee him, and entertain no doubt any more whether it was he.

As for me, I fancied we went to ſee ſome ſtrange maſſacre, and was aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of making him thus paſs through the town, and that the more, becauſe I knew that he was very ill guarded, neither was I ignorant, that he was very much beloved by the lower ſort of people, who at that time exclaimed highly againſt the cruelty and tyranny of Aureng-Zebe, as one that kept his father in priſon, as alſo his own ſon Sultan-Mahmoud, and his brother Morad-Bakche. I was well prepared for it, and with a good horſe and two good men I went, together with two others of my friends, to place myſelf in the greateſt ſtreet where he was to paſs. But not one man had the boldneſs to draw his ſword, only there were ſome of the Fakires, and with them ſome poor people, who ſeeing that infamous Gion-Kan ride by his ſide, began to rail and throw ſtones at him, and to call him traitor. All the ſhops were ready to break for the crowd of ſpectators, that wept bitterly; and there was heard nothing but loud outcries and lamentations, invectives and curſes, heaped on Gion-Kan. In a word, men and women, great and ſmall (ſuch is the tenderneſs of the hearts of the Indians) were ready to melt into tears for compaſſion; but not one there was that durſt ſtir to reſcue him. Now after he had thus paſſed through the town, he was put into a garden called Heider-Abad.

There were not wanting to tell Aureng-Zebe, how the people at this ſight had lamented Dara, and curſed the Patan that had delivered him; and how the ſame was in danger to have been ſtoned to death, as alſo that there had been a great apprehenſion of ſome ſedition and miſchief. Hereupon another council was held, whether he ſhould be carried to Goualeor, as had been concluded before; or whether it were not more expedient to put him to death without more ado? Some were of opinion, that he ſhould go to Goualeor with a ſtrong guard; that that would be enough; Danechmend-Kan, though Dara's old enemy, inſiſting much upon that. But Rauchenara-Begum, in purſuance of her hatred againſt this brother of hers, puſhed Aureng-Zebe to make him away, without running the danger there was of ſending him to Goualeor; as alſo did all his old enemies, Calil-ullah-Kan, and Chah-heſt-Kan, and eſpecially a certain flatterer, a phyſician, who fled out of Perſia, firſt called Hakim-Daoud, and afterwards being become a great Omrah named Takarrub-Kan: this villain boldly roſe up in a full aſſembly, and cried out, that it was expedient for the ſafety of the ſtate, to put him to death immediately, and that the rather, becauſe he was no Muſſulman; that long ſince he was turned Kafire, idolater, without religion, and that he would charge the ſin of it upon his own head; of which imprecation he ſoon after felt the ſmart; for within a ſhort time he fell into diſgrace, and was treated like an infamous fellow, and died miſerably. But

Aureng-Zebe, carried away by theſe inſtances and motives, commanded that he ſhould be put to death, and that Sepe-Chekouh, his grandchild, ſhould be ſent to Goualeor.

The charge of this tragical execution was given to a certain ſlave called Nazer, that had been bred by Chah-Jehan, and was known to have been formerly ill treated by Dara. This executioner, accompanied with three or four parricides more, went to Dara, who was then himſelf dreſſing ſome lentils with Sepe-Chekouh his grandchild. He no ſooner ſaw Nazer, but cried out to Sepe-Chekouh, "My dear ſon, behold thoſe that come to kill us!" laying hold at the ſame time of a ſmall knife, which was all the arms that were left him. One of theſe butchers immediately fell upon Sepe-Chekouh; the others upon the arms and legs of Dara, throwing him to the ground, and holding him under, till Nazer cut his throat. His head was forthwith carried to the fortreſs to Aureng-Zebe, who preſently commanded it to be put in a diſh, and that water ſhould be fetched; which when brought, he wiped it with an handkerchief, and after he had cauſed the face to be waſhed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully ſatisfied that it was the very head of Dara, he fell a weeping, and ſaid theſe words; *Ah, Bedbakt!* "ah, unfortunate man!" Take it away, and bury it in the ſepulchre of Houmayon.

At night, the daughter of Dara was brought into the ſeraglio, but afterwards ſent to Chah-Jehan, and Begum-Saheb, who aſked her of Aureng-Zebe. Concerning Dara's wife, ſhe had ended her days before at Lahor: ſhe had poiſoned herſelf, foreſeeing the extremities ſhe was falling into, together with her huſband. Sepe-Chekouh was ſent to Goualeor. And after a few days, Gion-Kan was ſent for, to come before Aureng-Zebe in the aſſembly: to him were given ſome preſents, and ſo he was ſent away; but being near his lands, he was rewarded accorded to his deſert, being killed in a wood. This barbarous man not knowing, or not conſidering, that if kings do ſometimes permit ſuch actions for their intereſt, yet they abhor them, and ſooner or later revenge them.

In the mean time the governor of Tatabakar, by the ſame orders that had been required of Dara was obliged to ſurrender the fortreſs. It was indeed upon ſuch a compoſition as he would have, but it was alſo with an intention not to keep word with him; for the poor eunuch, arriving at Lahor, was cut in pieces, together with thoſe few men he had then with him, by Kalil-ullah-Kan, who was governor thereof. But the reaſon of the non-obſervance of the capitulation was, that there was come intelligence, that he ſecretly prepared himſelf to go directly to Soliman-Chekouh, ſparing no gold, which underhand he conveyed into the hands of our Frangueze, and to all thoſe that were come with him out of the fortreſs to follow him, under pretext of accompanying him as far as Dehli to Aureng-Zebe, who had often ſaid, that he ſhould be very glad to ſee ſo gallant a man, and who had ſo valiantly defended himſelf.

There remained therefore none of the family of Dara, but Soliman-Chekouh, who could not eaſily be drawn away from Serenaguer, if the Raja had been ſteady to his firſt declarations. But the ſecret practices of the Raja Jeſſeigne, the promiſes and threats of Aureng-Zebe, the death of Dara, and the other Rajas his neighbours that had been gained, and were prepared by the orders, and at the coſt of Aureng-Zebe, to make war againſt him, did at laſt ſhake the faith of this perfidious protector, and made him conſent to their demands. Soliman-Chekouh, who was advertiſed of it, fled through the midſt of thoſe horrid countries and fearful deſarts, towards the great Tibet. But the ſon of the Raja, ſoon purſuing and overtaking him, cauſed him to be aſſaulted with ſtones. The poor Prince was hurt, ſeized, and carried to Delhi, where he was impriſoned in Serenguer, that little fortreſs, where at firſt they had put Morad-Bakche.

Aureng-Zebe, to obſerve what he had practiſed towards Dara, and that nobody might doubt it was Soliman-Chekouh himſelf, commanded him to be brought before him in the preſence of all the grandees of the court. At the entry of the gate, the chains were taken from his feet, leaving thoſe he had about his hands, which ſeemed gilt. When this proper young man, ſo handſome and gallant, was ſeen to enter, there was a good number of Omrahs that could not hold their tears; and, as I was informed, all the great ladies of the court, that had leave to ſee him come in, fell a weeping. Aureng-Zebe, who appeared himſelf to be touched at his misfortunes, began to ſpeak very kindly to him, and to comfort him; telling him, amongſt other things, that he ſhould fear nothing, that no hurt ſhould be done to him; on the contrary, that he ſhould be well treated, and therefore be of good courage; that he had cauſed his father to be put to death for no other reaſon, than that he was turned Kafer, and a man without religion. Whereupon this young prince returned him the ſalem, and bleſſed him, abaſing his hands to the earth, and lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the cuſtom of the country; and told him with reſolution enough, that if he were to drink the pouſt, he intreated him that he might die preſently, being very willing to ſubmit to his fate. But Aureng-Zebe promiſed him publicly that he ſhould drink none of it; that he ſhould reſt ſatisfied as to that, and not entertain any ſad thoughts about it. This being ſaid, he once more repeated the ſalem; and after they had aſked him ſeveral queſtions, in the name of Aureng-Zebe, touching that elephant which was charged with roupies of gold, taken from him when he went to Serenaguer, he was ſent to Goualeor to the reſt. This pouſt is nothing elſe but poppy expreſſed, and infuſed a night in water. And it is that potion, which thoſe that are kept at Goualeor, are commonly made to drink; I mean thoſe princes whoſe heads they think not fit to cut off. This is the firſt thing that is brought them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat till they have drank a great cup full of it; they would rather let them ſtarve. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them die inſenſibly, they loſing little by little their ſtrength and underſtanding, and growing torpid and ſenſeleſs. And by this very means it is ſaid that Sepe-Chekouh, and the grand-child of Morad-Bakche, and Soliman-Chekouh, were diſpatched.

As to Morad-Bakche, he was made away by a more violent death. For Aureng-Zebe ſeeing that, though he was in priſon, yet the generality had an inclination to him, and that many verſes were ſpread in praiſe of his valour and courage, thought himſelf not ſafe enough by putting him to death in private, by giving him pouſt like others; apprehending, that his death would be ſtill doubted of, and that that might one time or other occaſion ſome commotion, and therefore deviſed the following charge againſt him.

The children of a certain Sayed, very rich, whom he had cauſed to be put to death in Amadevad, to get his eſtate, when he there made his preparations for war, and borrowed, or took by force, great ſums of money from all the rich merchants, appeared in full aſſembly, making their complaints, and demanding juſtice, and the head of Morad-Bakche, for the blood of their father. Not one of the Omrahs durſt contradict it, both becauſe he was a Sayed, that is, one of Mahomet's kindred, to whom great veneration was paid; and that every body ſufficiently underſtood the deſign of Aureng-Zebe, taking this for a pretence to rid himſelf openly of Morad-Bakche, under a ſhew of juſtice. So that the head of him, that had killed the father of the plaintiffs, was granted them without any other form of proceſs. Whereupon they went with neceſſary orders iſſued out for that purpoſe, to cut it off in Goualeor.

There remained no other thorn in the foot of Aureng-Zebe but Sultan Sujah, who kept himſelf ſtill in Bengal; but he alſo was forced to yield at laſt to the power and fortune of Aureng-Zebe. There were ſent ſo many troops of all ſorts to Emir-Jemla, that at laſt he was encompaſſed on all ſides, both on this and that ſide of the river Ganges; ſo that he was neceſſitated to fly to Dake, which is the laſt town of Bengal on the ſea ſide; and here comes the concluſion of this whole tragedy.

This prince being deſtitute of ſhips to put to ſea, and not knowing whither to fly, ſent his eldeſt ſon, Sultan Banque, to the King of Racan or Moy, a heathen or idolatrous king, to know whether he would give him leave to make his country his place of refuge only for ſome time, and do him the favour, when the monſons, or the ſeaſon winds ſhould come, to furniſh him with a veſſel for Mecha, from thence to paſs into ſome part of Turkey or Perſia; that king ſent anſwer, that he ſhould be very welcome, and have all poſſible aſſiſtance. So Sultan Banque returned to Dake with ſome galeaſſes, manned with Franguis, (I mean with thoſe fugitive Portugueze, and other ſtraggling Chriſtians, that had put themſelves in ſervice to that King, driving no other trade than to ravage all this lower Bengal;) upon which Sultan Sujah embarked, with his whole family, viz. his wife, three ſons, and daughters. They were well enough received; whatever was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, ſuch as that country would afford was provided for them, in the name of that king. Some months paſs, the ſeaſon of the favourable winds come in, but not a word of the veſſel, though he demanded it no otherwiſe than for his money; for as yet he wanted no roupies of gold, nor ſilver, nor gems; he had too great a plenty of them: his riches were, in all appearance, the cauſe of his ruin, or at leaſt contributed much to it. Thoſe barbarous kings have no true generoſity, and are not much refrained by the faith they have given, regarding nothing but their preſent intereſts, without ſo much as conſidering the miſchiefs that may befal them for their perfidiouſneſs and brutality. To get out of their hands, one muſt either be the ſtronger, or have nothing that may tempt their avarice. Sultan Sujah may long enough ſolicit for a veſſel; all is in vain, he effects nothing: on the contrary, the King begins to ſhew much coldneſs, and to complain of his not coming to ſee him. I know not, whether Sultan Sujah thought it unworthy of himſelf, and too mean a thing to give him a viſit; or rather, whether he feared, that being in the King's houſe, he might not there be ſeized on, to take away all his treaſure, and then be delivered into the hands of Emir-Jemla, who for that purpoſe promiſed, in the name of Aureng-Zebe, great ſums of money, and many other conſiderable advantages. Whatever the matter was, he would not go thither himſelf, but ſent his ſon Sultan Banque, who being near the King's houſe, began to ſhew liberality to the people, throwing out to them a good quantity of half rupies, and whole rupies, of gold and ſilver. And being come before the King, he preſented him with ſtore of embroideries, and of rare pieces of goldſmith's work, ſet with precious ſtones of great value, excuſing his father Sultan Sujah, as being indiſpoſed, and beſeeching him in his name, that he would remember the veſſel, and the promiſe made to him thereof. But all that did not advance his buſineſs; on the contrary, five or ſix days after, this king ſent to Sultan Sujah, to aſk of him one of his daughters in marriage; which he could never reſolve to grant him, whereat this barbarous prince was highly offended. What then could he do in this caſe? The ſeaſon paſſeth away. What ſhall become of him? What other reſolution can he take but to do a deſperate action? Behold a ſtrange undertaking, which may give a great example of what deſpair can do!

Although

Although this King Racan be an heathen, yet there is in his dominions ſtore of Mahometans mingled with the people, that are retired thither, or have been, for the moſt part, taken ſlaves, here and there by thoſe Franguis above mentioned. Sultan Sujah did under-hand gain theſe Mahometans; and with two or three hundred men, whom he yet had remaining of thoſe that had followed him from Bengal, he reſolved, one day to fall unexpectedly upon the houſe of this barbarian, to kill all, and to make himſelf proclaimed king of Racan. This was a very bold enterprize, and ſuch a one, as had more of a deſperado in it, than of a prudent man. Yet notwithſtanding, as I was informed, and by what I could learn from many Mahometans, and Portugueze, and Hollanders, that then were there preſent, the thing was feaſible enough. But the day before the ſtroke was to be given, the deſign was diſcovered; which did altogether overthrow the affairs of Sultan Sujah, and was ſoon after the cauſe of his ruin. For not finding hereafter any way more to recover himſelf, he attempted to fly towards Pegu; which was a thing in a manner impoſſible, by reaſon of the vaſt mountains and foreſts to be paſſed. Beſides, he was immediately purſued ſo cloſe, that he was overtaken the ſame day he fled. It may well be thought, that he defended himſelf with as much courage as poſſible. He killed ſo many of thoſe barbarians, that it will ſcarce be believed; but he was ſo overpowered by the multitude of purſuers, that he was obliged to quit the combat. Sultan Banque, who was not ſo far advanced as his father, defended himſelf alſo like a lion; but at length, being all bloody of the wounds, by ſtones poured upon him from all ſides, he was ſeized on, and carried away, with his two little brothers, his ſiſters, and mother.

As to the perſon of Sultan Sujah himſelf, all that could be learnt of it, is this: that he, with one woman, one eunuch, and two other perſons, got up to the top of the mountain; that he received a wound in his head by a ſtone, which ſtruck him down, and yet he roſe again, the eunuch having wound his head about with his turban, and that they eſcaped through the midſt of the woods.

I have heard the relation three or four other manner of ways, even by thoſe perſons that were upon the place. Some did aſſure, that he had been found among the dead, but was not well known; and I have ſeen a letter of the chief of the Dutch factory, confirming this. So that it is difficult enough to know aright what is become of him. And this it is, which hath adminiſtered ground to thoſe ſo frequent alarms, given us afterwards at Dehli: for at one time it was rumoured, that he was arrived at Maſſipatan, to join with the kings of Golkonda and Viſapour; another time it was related for certain, that he had paſſed in ſight of Suratte with two ſhips, bearing the red colours, which the King of Pegu or the King of Siam had given him; by and by, that he was in Perſia, and had been ſeen in Chiras, and ſoon after in Kandahar, ready to enter into the kingdom of Caboul itſelf. Aureng-Zebe one day ſaid ſmiling, that Sultan Sujah was at laſt become an agy or pilgrim. And at this very day there are abundance of perſons who maintain, that he is in Perſia, returned from Conſtantinople, whence he is ſaid to have brought with him much money. But that which confirms more than enough, that there is no ground for any of theſe reports, is that letter of the Hollanders; and that an eunuch of his, with whom I travelled from Bengal to Maſſipatan, as alſo the great maſter of his artillery, whom I ſaw in the ſervice of the King of Golkonda, have aſſured me, that he is no more in being, though they made difficulty to ſay any more concerning him; as alſo, that our French merchants, that lately came out of Perſia and from Hiſpahan, when I was yet at Dehli, had in thoſe parts heard no news at all of him; beſides that, I have heard that a while after his defeat

defeat, his ſword and poignard had been found: ſo that it is credible, that if he was not killed upon the place, he ſoon died afterwards, and was the prey of ſome robbers, or tigers, or elephants, of which the foreſts of that country are full. However it be, after this laſt action his whole family was put in priſon, wives and children, where they were treated rudely enough; yet ſome time after they were ſet at more liberty, and they received a milder entertainment; and then the King called for the eldeſt daughter, whom he married.

Whilſt this was doing, ſome ſervants of Sultan Banque, joined with divers of thoſe Mahometans which I have mentioned, went to plot another conſpiracy like the firſt. But the day appointed for it being come, one of the conſpirators, being half drunk, began too ſoon to break out. Concerning this alſo I have heard forty different relations, ſo that it is very hard to know the truth of it. That which is undoubted is this, that the King was at length ſo exaſperated againſt this unfortunate family of Sujah, that he commanded it ſhould be quite rooted out. Neither did there remain any one of it, that was not put to death, ſave that daughter, which the King had made his wife. Sultan Banque, and his brothers had their heads cut off with blunt axes; and the women were immured up, where they died of hunger and miſery.

And thus endeth this war, which the luſt of reigning had kindled among thoſe four brothers, after it had laſted five or ſix years, from 1655, or thereabout, to 1660 or 1661; which left Aureng-Zebe in the peaceable poſſeſſion of this puiſſant empire.

Particular Events: or the moſt conſiderable Paſſages after the War of five Years, or thereabout, in the Empire of the Great Mogul.

THE war being ended, the Tartars of Uſbec entertained thoughts of ſending ambaſſadors to Aureng-Zebe. They had ſeen him fight in their country, when he was yet a young prince; Chah-Jehan having ſent him to command the ſuccours which the Kan of Samarkand had deſired of him, againſt the Kan of Balk. They had experienced his conduct and valour on many occaſions, and they conſidered with themſelves, that he could not but remember the affront they did him, when he was juſt taking Balk, the capital town of the enemy; for the two Kans agreed together, and obliged him to retreat, alledging, that they apprehended he might render himſelf maſter of their whole ſtate, juſt as Ekbar had formerly done of the kingdom of Kachimere. Beſides, they had certain intelligence of all he had done in Indoſtan, of his battles, fortunes, and advantages; whence they might ſufficiently eſtimate, that though Chah-Jehan was yet living, yet Aureng-Zebe was maſter, and the only perſon that was to be owned King of the Indies. Whether then they feared his juſt reſentments, or whether it was that their inbred avarice and ſordidneſs made them hope for ſome conſiderable preſents, the two Kans ſent to him their ambaſſadors to offer him their ſervice, and to congratulate him upon the happy beginning of his reign. Aureng-Zebe ſaw very well, that the war being at an end, this offer was out of ſeaſon, and that it was nothing but fear or hope, as we ſaid, that had brought them. Yet for all this, he received them honourably; and, ſince I was preſent at their audience, I can relate the particulars of it with certainty.

They made their reverence at a conſiderable diſtance from him, after the Indian cuſtom, putting thrice their hands upon their heads, and as often letting them down to the ground. Then they approached ſo near, that Aureng-Zebe himſelf might very well

well have taken their letters immediately from their hands; but yet it was an Omrah that took and opened them, and gave them to him. He forthwith read them with a very grave countenance; and afterwards commanded, there ſhould be given to each of them an embroidered veſt, a turban, and a girdle of ſilk in embroidery, which is that which they call ſer-apah, that is, an habit from head to foot. After this, their preſents were called for, which conſiſted in ſome boxes of choice lapis lazulus, divers camels with long hair, ſeveral gallant horſes, ſome camel-loads of freſh fruit, as apples, pears, raiſins, and melons (for it is chiefly Uſbec that furniſhes theſe ſorts of fruit, eaten at Dehli all the winter long); and in many loads of dry fruit, as prunes of Bokara, apricots, raiſins without any ſtones that appeared, and two other ſorts of raiſins, black and white, very large and very good.

Aureng-Zebe was not wanting to declare how much he was ſatisfied with the generoſity of the Kans, and much commended the beauty and rarity of the fruit, horſes, and camels; and after he had a little entertained them of the ſtate of the academy of Samarkand, and of the fertility of their country, abounding in ſo many rare and excellent things, he deſired them to go and repoſe themſelves, intimating withal, that he ſhould be very glad to ſee them often.

They came away from their audience full of contentment and joy, not being much troubled, that they had been obliged to make their reverence after the Indian cuſtom, though it have ſomething of ſlaviſh in it; nor much reſenting it, that the King had not taken their letters from their own hands. I believe if they had been required to kiſs the ground, and even to do ſomething of a lower nature, they would have complied with it. It is true, it would have been in vain, if they had deſired to make no other ſalute but that of their own country, and to deliver to the King their letters with their own hands; for that belongs only to the ambaſſadors of Perſia, nor have theſe this favour granted them but with much difficulty.

They ſtayed above four months at Dehli, what diligence ſoever they could uſe to be diſpatched, which did incommode them very much; for they fell almoſt all ſick, and even ſome of them died, becauſe they were not accuſtomed to ſuch heats as are in Indoſtan, or rather becauſe they were ſordid, and kept a very ill diet. I know not whether there be a more avaricious and uncleanly nation than they are. They laid up the money, which the King had appointed them for their maintenance, and lived a very miſerable life, altogether unworthy of ambaſſadors. Yet they were diſmiſſed with great honour. The King, in the preſence of all the Omrahs, preſented each of them with two rich ſer-apahs, and gave order, that eight thouſand rupies ſhould be carried to their lodgings, which amounted to near two thouſand crowns each. He alſo gave them, for preſents to the Kans their maſters, very handſome ſer-apahs, ſtore of the richeſt and beſt wrought embroideries, a good quantity of fine cloth, and ſilk ſtuffs, wrought with gold and ſilver, and ſome tapeſtries, and two poniards ſet about with precious ſtones.

During their ſtay, I went thrice to ſee them, being preſented to them as a phyſician by one of my friends, that was ſon of an Uſbec, that had made his fortune in that court. I had a deſign to have learned ſomething in particular of their country, but I found them ſo ignorant, that they knew not ſo much as the confines of their ſtate, much leſs could they inform me of any thing concerning the Tartars that have conquered China of late years. In ſhort, they told me nothing that I knew not before. I had once the curioſity to dine with them, which liberty I obtained eaſily enough. They are not men of much ceremony; it was a very extraordinary meal for ſuch a one as I, it being mere horſe-fleſh; yet for all this I got my dinner with them; there was a certain ragout which

which I thought paſſable: and I was obliged to expreſs a liking of ſo exquiſite a diſh, which they ſo much luſt after. During dinner there was a ſtrange ſilence; they were very buſy in carrying in with their whole hands, for they know not what a ſpoon is; but after that this horſe-fleſh had wrought in their ſtomachs, they began to talk, and then they would perſuade me, they were the moſt dextrous at bows and arrows, and the ſtrongeſt men in the world. They called for bows, which are much bigger than thoſe of Indoſtan, and would lay a wager, to pierce an ox or my horſe through and through. Then they proceeded to commend the ſtrength and valour of their women, which they deſcribed to me quite otherwiſe than the Amazons; telling me very wonderful ſtories of them, eſpecially one which would be admirable indeed, if I could relate it with a Tartarian eloquence as they did. They told me, that at the time when Aureng-Zebe made war in their country, a party of twenty-five or thirty Indian horſemen came to fall upon a ſmall village; whilſt they plundered and tied all thoſe whom they met with to make them ſlaves, an old woman ſaid to them; "Children, be not ſo miſchievous, my daughter is not far off, ſhe will be here very ſhortly, retreat if you be wiſe, you are undone if ſhe light upon you." They laughed at the old woman and her advice, and continued to load, to tie, and to carry away herſelf; but they were not gone half a mile, but this old woman, looking often backward, made a great outcry of joy, perceiving her daughter coming after her on horſeback; and preſently this generous ſhe-Tartar, mounted on a furious horſe, her bow and arrows hanging at her ſide, called to them at a diſtance, that ſhe was yet willing to give them their lives, if they would carry to the village all they had taken, and then withdraw without any noiſe. The advice of this young woman affected them as little as that of her old mother; but they were ſoon aſtoniſhed, when they found her let fly at them in a moment three or four great arrows, which ſtruck as many of their men to the ground, which forced them to fall to their quivers alſo. But ſhe kept herſelf at that diſtance from them, that none of them could reach her. She laughed at all their effort and at all their arrows, knowing how to attack them at the length of her bow, and to take her meaſure from the ſtrength of her arm, which was of another temper than theirs; ſo that after ſhe had killed half of them with her arrows, and put them into diſorder, ſhe came and fell upon the reſt with the ſabre in her hand, and cut them all in pieces.

The ambaſſadors of Tartary were not yet gone away from Dehli, when Aureng-Zebe fell exceeding ſick; a violent and continued fever made him ſometimes loſe his underſtanding: his tongue was ſeized with ſuch a palſy, that he loſt almoſt his ſpeech, and the phyſicians deſpaired of his recovery; nothing was heard for the time, than that he was gone, and that his ſiſter Rauchenara Begum concealed his death out of deſign. It was already bruited, that the Raja Jeſſomſeigne, governor of Guzaratte, was on the way to deliver Chah-Jehan; that Mohabet-Kan (who had at length obeyed the orders of Aureng-Zebe), quitting the government of Caboul, and being already on this ſide Lahor to come back, made haſte alſo with three or four thouſand horſe for the ſame end; and that the eunuch Etbar-Kan, who kept Chah-Jehan in the fortreſs of Agra, would have the honour of his delivery. On one ſide we ſee Sultan Mazum beſtir himſelf exceedingly with bribes, endeavouring by promiſes to aſſure himſelf of the Omrahs, ſo far, as that one night he went diſguiſed to the Raja Jeſſeigne, entreating him with expreſſions of deep reſpect, that he would engage himſelf for his intereſt.

We knew from other hands, that Rauchenara-Begum, together with Teday-Kan, the great maſter of artillery, and many Omrahs, declared for the young Prince Sultan Ekbar, the third ſon of Aureng-Zebe, though he was but ſeven or eight years old; both parties in the mean time pretending, they had no other deſign than to deliver Chah-Jehan:

Jehan: ſo that the people believed, that now he was going to be ſet at liberty, though none of the grandees had any ſuch thing in their thoughts, ſpreading this rumour only to gain credit and concourſe, and becauſe they feared, leſt by the means of Ekbar-Kan, or ſome other ſecret intrigue, he ſhould one day appear in the field. And indeed of all the parties, there was not one that had reaſon to wiſh for his liberty and reſtoration to the throne, except Jeſſomſeigne, Mohabet-Kan, and ſome others, that as yet had done no great matter to his diſadvantage. The reſt had been all againſt him, at leaſt they had vilely abandoned him. They knew very well he would be like an unchained lion if he came abroad: who then could truſt him? And what could Etbar-Kan hope for, who had kept him up ſo cloſe? I know not, if by ſome adventure or other he ſhould come out of priſon, whether he would not have ſtood ſingle, and been alone of his party.

But though Aureng-Zebe was very ſick, yet for all this he gave order for all things, and particularly for the ſure cuſtody of Chah-Jehan his father; and though he had adviſed Sultan Mazum to go and open the gates to Chah-Jehan, in caſe he ſhould die, yet he omitted not to have Etbar-Kan inceſſantly writ to. And the fifth day, in the height of his ſickneſs, he cauſed himſelf to be carried into the aſſembly of the Omrahs to ſhew himſelf, and to diſabuſe thoſe who might believe him to be dead, and to obviate popular tumults, or ſuch accident as might have cauſed Chah-Jehan to be ſet at liberty. The ſeventh, ninth, and tenth day, he made himſelf to be carried again into the ſaid aſſembly for the ſame reaſon; and what is almoſt incredible, the thirteenth, after he had recollected himſelf from a fit of ſwooning, which occaſioned a rumour through the whole town of his being dead, he called for two or three of the greateſt Omrahs, and the Raja Jeſſeigne, to let them ſee that he was alive, made himſelf to be raiſed in his bed, called for ink and paper to write to Etbar-Kan, and ſent for the great ſeal, which he had truſted with Rauchenara-Begum, and commonly encloſed in a ſmall bag, ſealed with a ſeal he always wore about his arm, fearing leſt ſhe had already made uſe of it for her deſigns. I was nigh my Aga when all this news was told him; and I underſtood, that lifting up his hands to Heaven, he ſaid, "What a ſoul is this? A matchleſs fortitude and courage of ſpirit! God preſerve thee Aureng-Zebe for greater things; certainly he will not that thou ſhouldeſt yet die. And indeed after this fit he recovered by little and little.

He had no ſooner recovered his health, but he ſought to get out of the hands of Chah-Jehan and Begum Saheb, the daughter of Dara, to ſecure the marriage of Sultan-Ekbar, his third ſon, with this Princeſs, on purpoſe thereby to gain him authority, and to give him the greater right to the empire; for he it is, who is thought to be by him deſigned for it. He is yet very young, but he hath many near and powerful relations at the court, and is born of the daughter of Chah-Navazekan, and conſequently of the blood of the ancient ſovereigns of Machate; whereas Sultan Mahmoud and Sultan Mazum are only ſons of Ragipontnis, or daughters of Rajas. Theſe kings, though Mahometans, do for all that, marry of the daughters of the heathen, either for ſtate intereſt, or for extraordinary beauty. But Aureng-Zebe was diſappointed in this deſign. It will hardly be believed, with what height and fierceneſs of ſpirit Chah-Jehan and Begum rejected the propoſition, and the young Princeſs herſelf, who in the fear of being carried away, was for ſome days deſperate, and proteſted ſhe would rather kill herſelf an hundred times over, if it were poſſible, than marry the ſon of him that had murdered her father.

He had no better ſatisfaction from Chah-Jehan about certain jewels which he aſked of him, in order to finiſh a piece of work which he cauſed to be added to a famous throne,

throne, which is ſo highly eſteemed. For he fiercely anſwered, that Aureng-Zebe ſhould take no other care but to rule better than he did; that he ſhould let his throne alone; that he was weary to hear of theſe jewels, and that the hammers were ready to beat them to duſt the firſt time he ſhould be importuned again about them.

The Hollanders would not be the laſt in doing reverence to Aureng-Zebe; they had thoughts of ſending an ambaſſador to him. They pitched upon Monſieur Adrican, the commander of their factory at Surat; and being a right honeſt man, and of good ſenſe and judgment, not neglecting to take the counſel of his friends, he well acquitted himſelf of this employment. Aureng-Zebe, though he carries it very high, and affects to appear a zealous Mahometan, and conſequently to deſpiſe the Frangueze or Chriſtians, yet thought fit to receive them with much reſpect and civility. He even was deſirous, that this ambaſſador ſhould compliment him in the mode of the Frangueze, after he had been made to do it the Indian way. It is true, he received his letters by the hand of an Omrah; but that was not to be taken for any contempt, he having ſhewed no more honour to the ambaſſadors of Uſbec. After this he intimated to him, that he might produce his preſent; and at the ſame time he cauſed him, and ſome of his train, to be dreſſed with a ſer-apah embroidered. The preſent conſiſted of ſtore of very fine ſcarlet, ſome large looking-glaſſes, and divers excellent pieces of Chineſe and Japaneſe work, among which there was a Paleky, and a Tackravan, or a field throne of admirable workmanſhip.

This ambaſſador was not ſo ſoon diſpatched as he wiſhed, it being the cuſtom of the Kings of Mogul to detain ambaſſadors as long as they well can, from a belief they have, that it is the intereſt of their greatneſs to oblige ſtrangers to give long attendance at their court; yet he was not kept ſo long as the ambaſſadors of Uſbec. Meantime he had the misfortune that his ſecretary died there, and the reſt of his retinue began to grow ſick. When the King diſmiſſed him, he gave him ſuch another ſer-apah embroidered, as the firſt was, for himſelf; and another, a very rich one, for the general of Batavia, together with a poignard, ſet about with jewels, all accompanied with a very obliging letter.

The chief aim of the Hollanders in this embaſſy was, to make themſelves immediately known to the King, thereby to gain credit, and to intimidate the governors of the ſea-ports, and other places, where they have their factories; that ſo they may not attempt, when they pleaſe, to inſult over them, or to trouble them in their trade; thereby letting them know, that they had to do with a potent nation, and that hath a door open to addreſs themſelves, and to complain immediately to the King. Their end alſo was to make it appear, what intereſt the King had in their commerce; and therefore they ſhewed long rolls of commodities, bought up by them through the whole kingdom, and liſts of conſiderable ſums of gold and ſilver every year brought thither by them; but ſaying not a word of thoſe which they draw thence, from the copper, lead, cinnamon, cloves, muſcadin, pepper, wood of aloes, elephants, and other commodities which they vend there.

About this time, one of the moſt conſiderable Omrahs of Aureng-Zebe addreſſed himſelf to him, and repreſented, that this multitude and variety of perplexing affairs, and this perpetual attention of mind in him, might ſoon cauſe a great alteration in his temper, and a dangerous inconvenience in his health. But Aureng-Zebe ſeeming to take almoſt no notice of what that Omrah ſaid, turned himſelf another way, and approaching to another of the prime Omrahs of the court, a perſon of great knowledge

and judgment, ſpoke to him in this purpoſe (as I was informed by the ſon of this lord, who was my friend):

"You other ſages, are you not all of my mind, that there are times and conjunctions ſo urgent, that a king ought to hazard his life for his ſubjects, and ſacrifice himſelf for their defence with arms in his hands? And yet this effeminate man would diſſuade me from taking pains, and dehort me from watching and ſolicitude for the publick; and carrying me by pretences of health, to the thoughts of an eaſy life, by abandoning the government of my people, and the management of affairs, to ſome Viſir or other. Doth he not know, that Providence having given me a royal extraction, and raiſed me to the crown of Indoſtan, hath not made me for myſelf alone, but for the good and ſafety of the public, and for the procurement of tranquillity and happineſs to my ſubjects as far as that may be obtained by juſtice and power? He ſeeth not the conſequence of his councils, and what miſchiefs do attend viſirſhips. Doth he think it to be without reaſon that our grand Sady hath ſo generouſly pronounced; O kings, ceaſe, ceaſe to be kings, or govern your kingdoms yourſelves? Go tell thy countryman, that I ſhall well like of the care he is conſtantly to take of the faithful diſcharge of his place; but adviſe him alſo, not any more to run out himſelf ſo far as he hath done. We have natural inclination enough to a long, eaſy, and careleſs life, and there need no counſellors to ſhake off buſineſs and trouble. Our wives that lie in our boſom, do too often, beſides our own genius, incline us that way."

At the ſame time there happened an accident, that made a great noiſe at Dehli, eſpecially in the ſeraglio, and diſabuſed a great many, that could as hardly believe as myſelf, that eunuchs, though they had their genitals quite cut away, could become amorous as other men. Didar-kan, one of the chief eunuchs of the ſeraglio, who had built an houſe, where he came often to divert himſelf, fell in love with a very beautiful woman, the ſiſter of a neighbour of his, that was an heathen ſcrivener.

Theſe amours laſted a good while before any body blamed them, ſince it was but an eunuch that made them, which ſort of men have the privilege to go where they pleaſe; but the familiarity grew ſo great, and ſo extraordinary betwixt the two lovers, that the neighbours began to ſuſpect ſomething, and to rally the ſcrivener, which did ſo touch him, that he threatened both his ſiſters and the eunuch to kill them if they ſhould continue their commerce. And ſoon after, finding them in the night lying together, he ſtabbed the eunuch outright, and left his ſiſter for dead. The whole ſeraglio, women and eunuchs, made a league together againſt him to make him away; but Aureng-Zebe diſſipated all theſe machinations, and was content to have him turn Mahometan. Meantime it is thought, he cannot long avoid the malice and power of the eunuchs; for it is not, as is the common ſaying, with men as with brutes; theſe latter become gentler and more tractable when they are caſtrated; but men more vicious, and commonly very inſolent, though ſometimes it turneth to an admirable fidelity and gallantry.

It was alſo about the ſame time, that Aureng-Zebe was ſomewhat diſcontented with Rauchenara-Begum, becauſe ſhe was ſuſpected to have given acceſs to two young gallants into the ſeraglio, who were diſcovered and brought before Aureng-Zebe. Yet this being but a ſuſpicion, he expreſſed to her no great reſentment of it; nor did he make uſe of ſo great rigour and cruelty againſt thoſe poor men, as Chah-Jehan had done againſt the perſon above ſpoken of. The matter was related to me by an old Portugueſe woman (that had a long while been ſlave to the ſeraglio, and went out and in at pleaſure), as followeth: ſhe told me that Rauchenara-Begum, after ſhe had drawn from a young man, hidden by her, all his ability, delivered him to ſome women to convey

convey him away in the night through ſome gardens, and ſo to ſave him: but whether they were diſcovered, or whether they feared they ſhould be ſo, or what elſe might be the cauſe, they fled, and left him there wandering in the midſt of thoſe gardens, not knowing which way to get out: and being at laſt met with, and brought before Aureng-Zebe, who examined him ſtrictly, but could draw nothing elſe from him, than that he was come in over the walls, he was commanded to get out the ſame way by which he entered: but it ſeems the eunuchs did more than Aureng-Zebe had given order for, for they caſt him down from the top of the walls to the bottom. As for the other young gallant, this ſame woman aſſured me, that he was found wandering in the garden like the firſt; and having confeſſed that he was come in by the gate, Aureng-Zebe commanded likewiſe that he alſo ſhould paſs away again by the ſame gate; yet reſerving to himſelf a ſevere chaſtiſement for the eunuchs, ſince not only the honour of the royal houſe, but alſo the ſafety of the King's perſon, is herein concerned.

Some months after, there arrived at Dehli ſeveral ambaſſadors, almoſt at the ſame time. The firſt was Xerif of Meccha, whoſe preſent did conſiſt of ſome Arabian horſes: the ſecond and third ambaſſadors were, he of the King of Hyeman, or Happy Arabia, and he of the Prince of Baſſora, who likewiſe preſented Arabian horſes. The two remaining ambaſſadors were ſent from the King of Ethiopia. To the three firſt, no great regard was given; they appeared in ſo miſerable and confuſed an equipage, that it was perceived they came only to get ſome money by the means of their preſent, and of the many horſes and other merchandize, which under the pretence of ambaſſadors, entered without paying any duty into the kingdom, there to be ſold, and to buy for the money a quantity of Indian ſtuffs, and ſo to return without paying likewiſe any impoſt at all.

But as to the Ethiopian embaſſy, that deſerves to be otherwiſe taken notice of; the King of Ethiopia having received the news of the revolution of the Indies, had a deſign to ſpread his name in thoſe parts, and there to make known his grandeur and magnificence by a ſplendid embaſſy; or, as malice will have it, or rather as the very truth is, to reap ſome advantage by a preſent as well as the reſt. Behold therefore this great embaſſy! He choſe for his ambaſſadors two perſons, that one would think were the moſt conſiderable in his court, and the moſt capable to make ſuch a deſign proſper. And who were they? The one was a Mahometan merchant, whom I had ſeen ſome years ago at Moka, when I paſſed there coming out of Egypt over the Red Sea, where he was to ſell ſome ſlaves for that prince, and to buy of the money raiſed thence, ſome Indian commodities. And this is the fine trade of that great Chriſtian King of Africa. The other was a Chriſtian merchant of Armenia, born and married in Aleppo, known in Ethiopia by the name of Murat. I had ſeen him alſo at Moka, where he had accommodated me alſo with the half of his chamber, and aſſiſted me with very good advice, whereof I have ſpoken in the beginning of this hiſtory, as a thing taking me off from paſſing into Ethiopia, according to my firſt deſign. He alſo came every year to that place, in that king's name, for the ſame end that the Mahometan did, and brought the preſent which the king made every year, to the gentlemen of the Engliſh and Dutch company of the Eaſt-Indies, and carried away theirs. Now the King of Ethiopia, ſuitably to his deſign, and the deſire he had of making his ambaſſadors appear with great ſplendor, put himſelf to great expences for this embaſſy: he gave them thirty-two young ſlaves, of both ſexes, to ſell them at Moka, and thence to make a ſum of money to bear their charges. A wonderful largeſs! Slaves are commonly ſold there for twenty-five or thirty crowns a piece, one with another. A conſiderable ſum. Beſides, he gave them for a preſent to the Great Mogul five and twenty choice ſlaves, among which there were 9 or 10 very young, proper to make eunuchs of. A very worthy preſent for a king, and

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he a Chriſtian, to a Mahometan Prince! It ſeems the chriſtianity of the Ethiopians is very different from ours. He added to that preſent, twelve horſes, eſteemed as much as thoſe of Arabia, and a kind of little mule, of which I ſaw the ſkin, which was a very great rarity, there being no tyger ſo handſomely ſpeckled, nor ſilken ſtuff of India ſo finely, ſo variouſly, and ſo orderly ſtreaked, as that was. Moreover, there were for a part of the preſent, two elephant's teeth, ſo prodigious, that they aſſured it was all that a very able-bodied man could do to lift up one of them from the ground. Laſtly, an horn of an ox full of civet, and ſo big, that the aperture of it being meaſured by me, when it came to Dehli, it had a diameter of half a foot, and ſomewhat better. All things being thus prepared, the ambaſſadors depart from Gondez, the capital of Ethiopia, ſituated in the province of Dambea, and came through a very troubleſome country to Beiloul, which is a diſpeopled ſea-port over againſt Moka, nigh to Babel-mandel, not daring to come (for reaſons elſewhere to be alledged), the ordinary way of the Caravans, which is made with eaſe in forty days to Arkiko, and thence to paſs to the Iſle of Maſoua. During their ſtay at Beiloul, and expecting a bark to Moka, to waft over the Red Sea, there died ſome of their ſlaves, becauſe the veſſel tarried, and they found not in that place thoſe refreſhments that were neceſſary for them. When they came to Moka, they ſoon ſold their merchandize to raiſe a ſtock of money according to order: but they had this ill luck, that that year the ſlaves were very cheap; becauſe the market was glutted by many other merchants; yet they raiſed a ſum to purſue their voyage. They embarked upon an Indian veſſel to paſs to Surat: their paſſage was pretty good; they were not above five and twenty days at ſea; but whether it was that they had made no good proviſion, for want of ſtock, or what elſe the cauſe might be, many of their ſlaves and horſes, as alſo the mule, whereof they ſaved the ſkin, died. They were no ſooner arrived at Surat, but a certain rebel of Viſapour, called Seva-Gi, came and ranſacked and burned the town, and in it their houſe, ſo that they could ſave nothing but their letters, ſome ſlaves that were ſick, or which Seva-Gi could not light on, their Ethiopian habits which he cared not for, and the mule's ſkin, and the ox's horn, which was already emptied of the civet. They very much exaggerated their misfortune; but thoſe malicious Indians that had ſeen them arrive in ſuch a wretched condition, without proviſions, without habits, without money, or bills of exchange, ſaid, that they were very happy, and ſhould reckon the plunder of Surat for a piece of their beſt fortune; for as much as Seva-Gi had ſaved them the labour of bringing their miſerable preſent to Dehli, and had furniſhed them with a very ſpecious pretence for their beggarly condition, and for the ſale they had made of their civet, and of ſome of their ſlaves, and for demanding of the Governor of Surat proviſions for their ſubſiſtence, as alſo ſome money and chariots to continue their voyage to Dehli.

Monſieur Adrican, Chief of the Dutch factory, my friend, had given to the Armenian Murat a letter of recommendation to me, which he delivered himſelf at Dehli, not remembering that I had been his hoſt at Moka. It was a very pleaſant meeting when we came to know one another, after the ſpace of five or ſix years. I embraced him affectionately, and promiſed him that I would ſerve him in whatever I could; but that, though I had acquaintance at the court, it was impoſſible for me to do them any conſiderable good office there: for ſince they had not brought with them any valuable preſent, but only the mule's ſkin, and the empty ox's horn, and that they were ſeen going upon the ſtreets without any paleky or horſes, ſave that of our father miſſionary, and mine (which they had almoſt killed), cloathed like beggars, and followed with ſeven or eight ſlaves, bare-headed and bare-foot, having nothing but an ugly ſharſe tied between their legs, with a ragged cloth over their left ſhoulder, paſſing under their left arm like a ſummer cloak; ſince, I ſaid, they were in ſuch a poſture, whatever I could ſay for them

was inſignificant; they were taken for beggars, and nobody took other notice of them. Yet notwithſtanding I ſaid ſo much of the grandeur of their king to my Aga Danechmend-kan, who had cauſe to hearken to me, as managing all foreign affairs there that Aureng-Zebe gave them audience, received their letters, preſented them each with an embroidered veſt, a ſilken embroidered girdle, and a turban of the ſame, gave order for their entertainment, and diſpatched them in a little time, and that with more honour than there was ground to expect: for in diſmiſſing them, he preſented them each with another ſuch veſt, and with 6000 rupies for them all, which amounteth to about 3000 crowns, of which the Mahometan had four thouſand, and Murat, becauſe a Chriſtian, but two thouſand. He alſo gave them for a preſent to their maſter, a very rich ſer-apah or veſt, two great ſilver and gilt trumpets, two ſilver timbals, a poignard covered with jewels, and the value of about twenty thouſand francs in gold and ſilver rupies, to let their king ſee money coined, as a rarity he had not in his country: but Aureng-Zebe knew very well that theſe rupies would not go out of the kingdom, and that they were like to buy commodities for them, and it fell out ſo; for they laid them out, partly in fine cotton cloth, to make ſhirts of for their king, queen, and their only lawful ſon that is to be the ſucceſſor; partly in ſilken ſtuffs ſtreaked with gold or ſilver, to make veſts and ſummer drawers of; partly in Engliſh ſcarlet, to make two Arabian veſts of for their king alſo; and laſtly, in ſpices, and in ſtore of coarſer cloth, for divers ladies of his ſeraglio, and for the children he had by them; all without paying any duty.

For all my friendſhip with Murat, there were three things which made me almoſt repent to have ſerved them. The firſt, becauſe Murat having promiſed me to leave with me 50 rupies, a little ſon of his, that was very pretty, of a delicate black, and without ſuch a ſwelled noſe, or ſuch thick lips as commonly the Ethiopians have, broke his word with me, and let me know, that he ſhould take no leſs for him than 300 rupies. For all this, I had thoughts of buying him for rarity's ſake, and that I might ſay, a father had ſold me his ſon. The ſecond, becauſe I found that Murat, as well as the Mahometan, had obliged themſelves to Aureng-Zebe, that they would employ their intereſt with their king, that he might permit in Ethiopia to rebuild an old moſque ruined in the time of the Portugueze, and which had been built for a tomb of a great dervich, which went from Mecha into Ethiopia for the propagation of Mahometaniſm, and there made great progreſs. They received of Aureng-Zebe two thouſand rupies for this engagement. This moſque had been pulled down by the Portugueze, when they came with their ſuccours into Ethiopia, which the then king, who turned catholick, had aſked of them againſt a Mahometan Prince, invading his kingdom. The third, becauſe they deſired Aureng-Zebe, in the name of their king, to give them an alcoran, and eight other books, which I well remember were of the moſt reputed in the Mahometan religion: which proceeding ſeemed to me very unworthy of a Chriſtian ambaſſador, and Chriſtian king, and confirmed to me what I had been told at Moka, that the chriſtianity of Ethiopia muſt needs be ſome odd thing; that it favours much of Mahometaniſm, and that the Mahometans increaſe exceedingly in that empire, eſpecially ſince the Portugueze, that came in there for the reaſon lately expreſſed, were either killed, upon the death of the king, by the cabal of the queen mother, or expelled, together with the patriarch Jeſuit, whom they had brought along from Goa.

During the time that the ambaſſadors were at Delhi, my Aga, who is more than ordinary curious, made them often come to him, when I was preſent, to inform himſelf of the ſtate and government of their country, and principally to learn ſomething of the ſource of the Nile, which they call Ababile, of which they diſcourſed to us as a thing ſo well known, that nobody doubted of it. Murat himſelf, and a Mogol, who was returned

turned out of Ethiopia with him, had been there, and told us very near the ſame particulars with thoſe I had received of it at Moka, viz.: that the Nile had its origin in the country of Agaus; that it iſſued out of the earth by two ſprings bubbling up, near to one another, which did form a little lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that coming out of this like, it did make a conſiderable river: and that from ſpace to ſpace it received ſmall rivers increaſing it. They added, that it went on circling, and making as it were a great iſle; and that afterwards it tumbled down from ſteep rocks into a great lake, in which there were divers fruitful iſles, ſtore of crocodiles, and (which would be remarkable enough, if true), abundance of ſea-calves, that have no other vent for their excrements than that by which they take in their food; this lake being in the country of Dambea, three ſmall days journey from Gondar, and four or five days journey from the ſource of the Nile. And laſtly, that this river did break out of this lake, being augmented with many river-waters, and with ſeveral torrents falling into it, eſpecially in the rainy ſeaſon (which do regularly begin there, as in the Indies, about July, which is very conſiderable and convincing for the inundation of the Nile), and ſo runs away through Sonnar, the capital city of the King of Fungi, tributary to the King of Ethiopia, and from thence paſſeth to the plains of Meſre, which is Egypt.

The ambaſſadors were not wanting to ſay more than was liked, on the ſubject of their king's greatneſs, and of the ſtrength of his army; but the Mogolian did not over much agree with them in it; and in their abſence repreſented to us this army, which he had ſeen twice in the field, with the Ethiopian king at the head of it, as the moſt wretched thing in the world.

They alſo related to us divers particulars of that country, which I have put in my journal, one day perhaps to be digeſted and copied. In the mean time I ſhall inſert here three or four things which Murat told me, becauſe I eſteem them very extravagant for a Chriſtian kingdom. He ſaid then, that there were few men in Ethiopia, who beſides their lawful wife, had not many others; and himſelf owned that he had two, without reckoning her which he had left at Aleppo: that the Ethiopian women did not ſo hide themſelves as they do in the Indies among the Mahometans, nor even as among the Gentiles: that thoſe of the meaner ſort of people, maids or married women, ſlaves or free, were often together pell-mell, night and day, in the ſame chamber, without thoſe jealouſies ſo common in other countries: that the women of lords did not ſtick much to go into the houſe of a ſimple cavalier, whom they knew to be a man of execution. That if I had gone into Ethiopia, they would ſoon have obliged me to marry, as they had done, a few years ſince, a certain European who named himſelf a Greek phyſician. That an ancient man, of about fourſcore years of age, did one day preſent to the king fourſcore ſons, all of age, and able to bear arms; and that the king aſked him, Whether he had no more but them? To whom having anſwered, no, but only ſome daughters, the king ſent him away with this reproach: "Begone, thou calf, and be aſhamed for having no more children at that age, as if women were wanting in my dominions!" That the king himſelf had at leaſt fourſcore ſons and daughters running about pell-mell in the ſeraglio, for whom he had cauſed to be made a number of round varniſhed ſticks, made like a little maze; thoſe children being fond of having that in their hand like a ſcepter, diſtinguiſhing them from thoſe that were children of ſlaves, or from others living in that place.

Aureng-Zebe ſent alſo twice for theſe ambaſſadors, for the ſame reaſon that my Aga did, and eſpecially to enquire after the ſtate of Mahometaniſm in that country. He had alſo the curioſity of viewing the ſkin of the mule, which remained, I know not how, in the fortreſs among the officers, which was to me a great mortification, becauſe

they had deſigned it for me for the good ſervices I had done them. I made account to have one day preſented it to ſome very curious perſon in Europe. I urged often, that together with the mule's ſkin, they ſhould carry the great horn to Aureng-Zebe, to ſhew it him; but they feared leſt he ſhould make a queſtion, which would have perplexed them, viz. how it came to paſs that they had ſaved the horn from the plunder of Surat, and loſt the civet?

Whilſt theſe ambaſſadors of Ethiopia were at Dehli, it came to paſs that Aureng-Zebe called together his privy-council, and the moſt learned perſons of his court, to chuſe a new maſter for his third ſon, Sultan Eckbar, whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſor. In this council he ſhewed the paſſion he hath to have this young prince well educated, and to make him a great man. Aureng-Zebe is not ignorant of what importance it is, and how much it is to be wiſhed, that as much as kings ſurmount others in greatneſs, they may alſo exceed them in virtue and knowledge. He alſo well knows, that one of the principal ſources of the miſery, of the miſ-government, of the unpeopling, and the decay of the empires of Aſia proceeds from thence, that the children of the kings thereof are brought up only by women and eunuchs, which often are no other than wretched ſlaves of Ruſſia, Circaſſia, Mingrelia, Gurgiſtan and Ethiopia; mean and ſervile, ignorant and inſolent ſouls. Theſe princes become kings when they are of age, without being inſtructed, and without knowing what it is to be a king; amazed when they begin to come abroad out of the ſeraglio, as perſons coming out of another world, or let out of ſome ſubterraneous cave, where they had lived all their life time; wondering at every thing they meet, like ſo many innocents, believing all, and fearing all, like children, or nothing at all, as if they were ſtupid: and all this according to their nature, and ſuitable to the firſt images imprinted upon them; commonly high and proud, and ſeemingly grave, but of that kind of pride and gravity, which is ſo flat and diſtaſteful, and ſo unbecoming them, that one may plainly ſee it is nothing but brutality or barbarouſneſs, and the effect of ſome ill-ſtudied and ill-digeſted documents, or elſe they fall into ſome childiſh civilities, yet more unſavory; or into ſuch cruelties as are blind and brutal; or into that mean and groſs vice of drunkenneſs, or into an exceſſive and altogether unreaſonable luxury, either ruining their bodies and underſtandings with their concubines, or altogether abandoning themſelves to the pleaſures of hunting, like ſome carniverous animals, preferring a pack of dogs before the lives of ſo many poor people, whom they force to follow them in the purſuit of their game, and ſuffer to periſh of hunger, heat, cold, and miſery. In a word, they always run into ſome extreme or other, being altogether irrational and extravagant, according as they are carried by their natural temper, or by their firſt impreſſions that are given them; thus remaining, almoſt all, in a ſtrange ignorance of what concerns the ſtate of the kingdom; the reins of the government being abandoned to ſome viſir, who entertains them in their ignorance and in their paſſions, which are the two ſtrongeſt ſupports he can have to rule always according to his own mind, with moſt aſſurance, and the leaſt contradiction; and given over alſo to thoſe ſlaves their mothers, and to their eunuchs, who often know nothing but to continue plots of cruelty, whereby they ſtrangle and baniſh one another, and ſometimes the viſirs, and even the grand ſeignors themſelves, ſo that no man whatſoever, that hath any eſtate, can be in ſafety of his life.

But to return; after all theſe ambaſſadors which we have ſpoken of, there came at laſt news, that the Ambaſſador of Perſia was upon the frontiers. The Perſian Omrahs, that are at the ſervice of the Mogul, ſpread a rumour that he came for affairs of great importance, though intelligent perſons much doubted of a commiſſion of that nature, conſidering that the time of great conjunctures was paſſed, and that thoſe Omrahs, and

the other Perſians did what they did, rather to make a ſhow than for any thing elſe. Meantime, on the day of the entry, this ambaſſador was received with all poſſible reſpect. The bazars, through which he paſſed, were all new painted, and the cavalry attending on the way for above the length of a whole league. Many Omrahs accompanied him with muſic, timbals and trumpets, and when he entered in the fortreſs, or palace of the king, the guns went off. Aureng-Zebe received him with much civility, and was content he ſhould make his addreſs to him after the Perſian mode, receiving alſo, without any ſcruple, immediately from his hands the letters of his king, which, out of reſpect, he lifted up even to his head, and afterwards read them with a grave and ſerious countenance; which done, he cauſed an embroidered veſt to be brought, together with a rich turban and girdle, commanding it to be put on him in his preſence. A little after, it was intimated to him, that he might order his preſent to be brought in, which conſiſted of twenty-five as handſome horſes as ever I ſaw, led, and covered with embroidered trappings, and of twenty very ſtately and luſty camels, as big as elephants; moreover, of a good number of boxes, ſaid to be full of moſt excellent roſe-water, and of a certain diſtilled water, very precious, and eſteemed highly cordial; beſides, there were diſplayed five or ſix very rich and very large tapiſſeries, and ſome embroidered pieces exceeding noble, wrought in ſmall flowers, ſo fine and delicate, that I know not whether in all Europe any ſuch can be met with. To all this were added four damaſkined ſwords, with as many poignards, all covered with jewels; as alſo five or ſix harneſſes of horſes, which were much eſteemed, being alſo very fine and rich, the ſtuff being raiſed with rich embroidery ſet with ſmall pearls, and very fair turcoiſes of the old rock.

It was obſerved, that Aureng-Zebe beheld this preſent very attentively; that he admired the beauty and rarity of every piece, and that ſeveral times he extolled the generoſity of the King of Perſia, aſſigning to the ambaſſador a place among his chief Omrahs. And after he had entertained him awhile with a diſcourſe about the inconveniences and hardſhips of his voyage, he diſmiſſed him, and made inſtance, that he ſhould come every day to ſee him.

During the four or five months that the ambaſſador ſtaid at Dehli, he was always ſplendidly treated at Aureng-Zebe's charge; and the greateſt Omrahs preſented him one after another, and at laſt he was very honourably diſmiſſed; for Aureng-Zebe had him apparelled with another rich ſera-pah or veſt, to which he added conſiderable preſents for himſelf, reſerving thoſe he intended for his king, till he ſhould ſend an ambaſſador expreſsly, which ſome time after he did.

Notwithſtanding all theſe teſtimonies of honour and reſpect which Aureng-Zebe had ſhewed to his ambaſſador, the ſame Perſians, above ſpoken of, gave out, that their king had ſenſibly reproached him in his letters with the death of Dara, and the impriſonment of Chah-Jehan, as actions unworthy of a brother and a ſon, and a Muſſulman; and that he had alſo hit him with the word Alem-Guire, or conqueror of the world, which Aureng-Zebe had cauſed to be engraven on his coin. But it is hard to believe, that the King of Perſia ſhould do any ſuch thing to provoke ſuch a victorious prince, ſince Perſia is not in a condition to enter into a war with Indoſtan*; I am rather apt to believe, that Perſia hath work enough to keep Kandahar on the ſide of Indoſtan and the frontiers on the ſide of Turkey. Its forces and riches are known; it produceth not always ſuch great kings as the Chah-Abbas, valiant, intelligent, and politic, knowing to make uſe of every thing, and to do much with ſmall expences. If it were in a condition of undertaking any thing againſt Indoſtan, or really ſenſible of piety, and the

* Though the preſent Emperor of Perſia has conquered it.

Muſſulman

Muſſulman faith, why was it that in theſe laſt troubles and civil wars, which continued ſo long in Indoſtan, the Perſians ſat ſtill and looked on when Dara, Chah-Jehan, Sultan Sujah, and perhaps the Governor of Caboul deſired their aſſiſtance; and they might, with no very great army, nor great expences, have ſeized on the faireſt part of India, beginning from the kingdom of Caboul, unto the river Indus, and beyond it, and ſo made themſelves umpires of all things? Yet notwithſtanding there muſt needs have been ſome offenſive expreſſions in thoſe Perſian letters, or elſe the ambaſſador muſt have done or ſaid ſomething that diſpleaſed Aureng-Zebe, becauſe two or three days after he had diſmiſſed him, he made a rumour to be ſpread abroad, that the ambaſſador had cauſed the ham-ſtrings of the preſented horſes to be cut; and the ambaſſador being yet upon the frontiers, he made him return all the Indian ſlaves which he carried along with him, of which he had a prodigious number.

Meanwhile Aureng-Zebe was not ſo much concerned, nor troubled himſelf ſo much with this ambaſſador, as Chah-Jehan, upon a like occaſion, did with him that was ſent to him from the great Chah-Abbas. When the Perſians are in the humour of rallying againſt the Indians, they relate theſe three or four little ſtories of them: they ſay, that Chah-Jehan, ſeeing that the courtſhip and promiſes made to their ambaſſador were not able to prevail with him, ſo as to make him perform his ſalute after the Indian mode, he deviſed this artifice:—he commanded to ſhut the great gate of the court of the Amkas, where he was to receive them, and to leave only open the wicket, through which one man could not paſs but very difficultly, by ſtooping and holding down his head, as the faſhion is when one maketh an Indian reverence, to the end that it might be ſaid, he had made the ambaſſador put himſelf in a poſture which was ſomething lower than the Indian ſalam or ſalute; but that that ambaſſador, being aware of this trick, came in with his back foremoſt: and that Chah-Jehan, out of indignation to ſee himſelf catched, told him Ehbedbakt, 'Thou wretch, doſt thou think thou comeſt into a ſtable of aſſes, ſuch as thou art?' And that the ambaſſador, without any alteration, anſwered, 'Who would not ink ſo, ſeeing ſuch a little door?'

Another ſtory is this: that at a certain time Chah-Jehan taking ill ſome coarſe and fierce anſwers returned to him by the Perſian ambaſſador, could not hold to tell him, What, hath Chah-Abbas no other men at his court, that he muſt ſend to me ſuch a fool as thyſelf? And that the ambaſſador anſwered, He hath many better and wiſer men than me, but to ſuch a king, ſuch an ambaſſador. They add, that on a certain day Chah-Jehan, who had made the ambaſſador to dine in his preſence, and ſought ſome occaſion to affront him, ſeeing that he was buſy in picking and gnawing of bones, aſked him ſmilingly, 'Eh Eltchi-Gy, my Lord Ambaſſador, what will the dogs eat?' And that he anſwered readily, Kicherry, that is, a diſh of pulſe, which is the food of the meaner ſort of people, and which he ſaw Chah-Jehan eat, becauſe he loved it.

They ſay alſo that Chah-Jehan once aſked him, what he thought of his new Dehli (which was building), in compariſon of Hiſpahan? And that he anſwered aloud, and with an oath, 'Billah, Billah, Hiſpahan doth not come near the duſt of Dehli, which Chah-Jehan took for a high commendation, though the ambaſſador mocked him, becauſe the duſt is ſo troubleſome at Dehli.

Laſtly they relate that Chah-Jehan, one day preſſing him to tell him, what he thought of the grandeur of the kings of Indoſtan, compared to that of the kings of Perſia? He anſwered, that in his opinion, one could not better compare the kings of India than to a large moon of fifteen or ſixteen days old, and thoſe of Perſia, to a ſmall moon of two or three days. And that this anſwer did at firſt pleaſe Chah-Jehan; but that ſoon after he perceived, that that compariſon did him but little honour, the ambaſſador's

ſenſe being, that the kings of Indoſtan were decreaſing, and thoſe of Perſia increaſing.

Whether theſe points are ſo commendable, and ſuch marks of wit, every one is free to judge as he ſeeth cauſe. My opinion is, that a diſcreet and reſpectful gravity is much more becoming ambaſſadors, than raillery and roughneſs, eſpecially when they have to do with kings, who will not be rallied with, witneſs an accident that befel this very ambaſſador; for Chah-Jehan was at length ſo weary of him, and his freedom, that he called him no otherwiſe than fool; and one day gave ſecret order that when he ſhould enter into a pretty long and narrow ſtreet, that is near the fortreſs, to come to the hall of the aſſembly, they ſhould let looſe upon him an ill-conditioned and fierce elephant; and certainly if the ambaſſador had not nimbly lept out of his paleky, and, together with his dexterous attendants, ſhot ſome arrows into the trump of the elephant, which forced him to turn back, he had been utterly ſpoiled.

It was at this time, upon the departure of the Perſian ambaſſador, that Aureng-Zebe received with that admirable wiſdom his tutor Mallah-Sale, the hiſtory of which is rare and conſiderable. This old man, who long ſince had retired himſelf towards Caboul, and ſettled himſelf on ſome lands which Chah-Jehan had given him, had no ſooner heard of the great fortune of Aureng-Zebe his diſcipline, who had overcome Dara and all his other brothers, and was now King of Indoſtan, but he came in haſte to the court, ſwelled with hopes of being preſently advanced to no leſs than the dignity of an Omrah. He maketh his court, and endeavours to engage all his friends, and Rauchenara-Begum, the King's ſiſter, employs herſelf for him. But yet there was three whole months, that Aureng-Zebe does not ſo much as look upon him; till at length, wearied to have him always at his elbow, and before his face, he ſent for him to a place apart, where there was nobody but Hakim-lul-Mouluk, Danech-mend-Kan, and three or four of thoſe Omrahs, that pretend to ſcience, and then ſpoke to him to this effect, (as I was informed by my Agah):

What is it you would have of me, doctor? Can you reaſonably deſire I ſhould make you one of the chief Omrahs of my court? Let me tell you, if you had inſtructed me as you ſhould have done, nothing would be more juſt: for I am of this perſuaſion, that a child well educated and inſtructed is as much, at leaſt, obliged to his maſter as to his father: but where are thoſe good documents you have given me? In the firſt place you have taught me, that all that Frangaſtican (ſo it ſeems they call Europe) was nothing, but I know not what little iſland, of which the greateſt King was he of Portugal, and next to him he of Holland, and after him he of England; and as to the other kings, as thoſe of France and Andaluſia, you have repreſented them to me as our petty Rajas; telling me that the Kings of Indoſtan were for above them altogether, and that they were the true and only Houmajons, the Ekbars, the Jehan-Guyres, the Chah-Jehans, the fortunate ones, the great ones, the conquerors and kings of the world; and that Perſia and Uſbec, Kach-guer, Tartar and Catay, Pegu, China, and Matchina did tremble at the name of the Kings of Indoſtan. Admirable geography! You ſhould rather have taught me exactly to diſtinguiſh all thoſe different ſtates of the world, and well to underſtand their ſtrength, their way of fighting, their cuſtoms, religions, governments, and intereſts; and by the peruſal of ſolid hiſtory, to obſerve their riſe, progreſs, decay, and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors thoſe great changes and revolutions of empires and kingdoms have happened. I have ſcarce learnt of you the name of my grandfires, the famous founders of this empire; ſo far were you from having taught me the hiſtory of their life, and what courſe they took to make ſuch great conqueſts. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian tongue, to read and to

write, I am much obliged to you (forſooth) for having made me loſe ſo much time upon a language, that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection; as if the ſon of a king ſhould think it to be an honour to him, to be a grammarian or ſome doctor of the law, and to learn other languages than thoſe of his neighbours, when he cannot well be without them; he, to whom time is ſo precious for ſo many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any ſpirit that did not with ſome reluctancy, and even with a kind of debaſement, employ itſelf in ſo ſad and dry an exerciſe, ſo longſome and tedious, as is that of learning words.

Thus did Aurenge-Zebe reſent the pedantic inſtructions of his tutor: to which it is affirmed in that court, that after ſome entertainment which he had with others, he further added the following reproof:

"Know you not, that childhood well governed, being a ſtate which is ordinarily accompanied with an happy memory, is capable of thouſands of good precepts and inſtructions, which remain deeply impreſſed the whole remainder of a man's life, and keep the mind always raiſed for great actions? The law, prayers, and ſciences, may they not as well be learned in our mother-tongue, as in Arabic? You told my father Chah-Jehan, that you would teach me philoſophy. It is true, I remember very well, that you have entertained me for many years with airy queſtions, of things that afford no ſatisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no uſe to human ſociety, empty notions, and mere fancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to underſtand, and very eaſy to forget, which are only capable to tire and ſpoil a good underſtanding, and to breed an opinion that is unſupportable. I ſtill remember that after you had thus amuſed me, I know not how long, with your fine philoſophy, all I retained of it, was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder, perplex, and tire out the beſt wits, and only invented, the better to cover the vanity and ignorance of men like yourſelf, that would make us believe, that they know all, and that under thoſe obſcure and ambiguous words, are hid great myſteries, which they alone are capable to underſtand. If you had ſeaſoned me with that philoſophy, which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and inſenſibly accuſtoms it to be ſatisfied with nothing but ſolid reaſons; if you had given me thoſe excellent precepts and doctrines, which raiſe the ſoul above the aſſaults of fortune, and reduce her to an unſhakeable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by proſperity, nor debaſed by adverſity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of what we are, and what are the firſt principles of things, and had aſſiſted me in forming in my mind a fit idea of the greatneſs of the univerſe, and of the admirable order and motion of the parts thereof; if, I ſay, you had inſtilled into me this kind of philoſophy, I ſhould think myſelf incomparably more obliged to you than Alexander was to his Ariſtotle; and believe it my duty to recompence you otherwiſe, than he did him. Should not you, inſtead of your flattery, have taught me ſomewhat of that point ſo important to a king, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a ſovereign to his ſubjects, and thoſe of ſubjects to their ſovereign? And ought not you to have conſidered, that one day I ſhould be obliged with the ſword to diſpute my life and the crown with my brothers? Is not that the deſtiny almoſt of all the ſons of Indoſtan? Have you ever taken any care to make me learn what it is to beſiege a town, or to ſet an army in array? For theſe things I am obliged to others, not at all to you. Go, and retire to the village, whence you are come, and let nobody know who you are, or what is become of you."

At that time there aroſe a kind of tempeſt againſt aſtrologers, which did not diſpleaſe me. Moſt people of Aſia are ſo infatuated by judiciary aſtrology, that they believe there is nothing done here below, but it is written above (for ſo they ſpeak). In all their

their undertakings therefore they conſult aſtrologers. When two armies are ready to give battle, they beware of falling on, till the aſtrologer hath taken and determined the moment he fancies propitious for the beginning of the combat. And ſo, when the matter is about electing a captain-general of an army, of diſpatching an ambaſſador, of concluding a marriage, or beginning a voyage, and of doing any other thing, as buying a ſlave, putting on new apparel, &c. nothing of all that is done without the ſentence of Mr. Star-gazer; which is an incredible vexation, and a cuſtom drawing after it ſuch important conſequences, that I know not how it can ſubſiſt ſo long. For the aſtrologer muſt needs have knowledge of all that paſſeth, and of all that is undertaken, from the greateſt affairs to the leaſt.

But behold, it happened, that the prime aſtrologer of the King was drowned, which occaſioned a great noiſe at court, and was a great diſcredit to aſtrology: for he being the perſon that determined the moments of all enterprizes and actions for the King, and the Omrahs, every one wondered, how a man ſo experienced, and that for ſo long time had diſpenſed good adventures to others, could not foreſee his own misfortune. There were not wanting thoſe, who pretended to be wiſer than others, and ſaid, that in Frangiſtan, where ſciences did flouriſh, the grandees do ſuſpect all ſuch kind of people, and that ſome hold them even no better than mountebanks, that it is much doubted, whether this knowledge is grounded upon good and ſolid reaſons, and that it may very well be ſome fancy of aſtrologers, or rather an artifice to make themſelves neceſſary to the great ones, and to make them in ſome meaſure to depend on them.

All theſe diſcourſes very much diſpleaſed the aſtrologers; but nothing angried them ſo much as this ſtory, become very famous, viz. That the great Chah-Abas, King of Perſia, commanded to be digged and prepared a little place in his ſeraglio, to make a garden; that the young trees were all ready, and the gardener made account to plant them the next day. Meantime the aſtrologer taking upon him, ſaid, that a good nick of time was to be obſerved for planting them, to make them proſper. Chah-Abas being content it ſhould be ſo, the ſtar-gazer took his inſtruments, turned over his books, made his calculation, and concluded, that, by reaſon of ſuch and ſuch a conjunction and aſpect of the planets, it was neceſſary they ſhould be ſet preſently. The maſter gardener, who minded nothing leſs than this aſtrologer, was not then at hand; yet for all that they fell to work immediately, making holes, and planting the trees, Chah-Abas himſelf ſetting them, that it might be ſaid that they were trees ſet with Chah-Abas's own hands. The gardener returning at night, was ſufficiently amazed when he ſaw the work done; and finding that the right place and order deſigned by him was not taken; that, for example, an apricock-tree ſtood where an apple-tree ſhould ſtand, and a pear-tree where an almond-tree; being heartily angry with the aſtrologer, cauſed all the trees to be plucked up again, and laid them down, with ſome earth about them, for next morning, the time choſen by himſelf. The news hereof came ſoon to the ears of the aſtrologer, who preſently told Chah-Abas of it: he forthwith ſent for the gardener, and with ſome indignation aſked him, What had made him ſo bold as to pull up thoſe young trees he had planted with his own hand; that the time had been ſo exactly taken for them, that ſo good an one would never be had again, and that ſo he had marred all. The rude gardiner, who had a cup of Chiras wine in his head, looked aſide upon the aſtrologer, and grumbling and ſwearing, ſaid to him theſe words, Billah, Billah, that muſt needs be an admirable point of time which thou haſt taken for theſe trees; unhappy aſtrologer! they were planted this day noon, and this evening they have been plucked up again. When Chah-Abas heard this, he fell a laughing, turned his back upon the aſtrologer, and went away.

I ſhall

I ſhall here add two particulars, though they happened in the time of Chah-Jehan, becauſe ſuch things fall out often enough, and do withal give occaſion to obſerve that ancient and barbarous cuſtom, which makes the kings of India heirs of the goods of thoſe that die in their ſervice. The firſt was of Neiknam-kan, one of the moſt ancient Omrahs of the court, and who, for the ſpace of forty or fifty years, wherein he had always been employed in conſiderable offices, had heaped up great ſtore of gold and ſilver. This lord ſeeing himſelf near his end, and thinking upon this unreaſonable cuſtom, which often renders the wife of a great man, upon his deceaſe, poor and miſerable in an inſtant, and neceſſitates her to preſent a petition, begging ſome ſmall penſion for her ſubſiſtence and for that of her children, who are conſtrained to liſt themſelves for common ſoldiers under ſome Omrah; who, I ſay, conſidering this with himſelf, ſecretly diſtributed all his treaſure to indigent knights and poor widows, filled his trunks with old pieces of iron, old ſhoes, rags and bones, and locked and ſealed them, telling every body that they were goods belonging to Chah-Jehan the King. Theſe trunks, after his death, were brought before Chah-Jehan, when he was in the aſſembly, and by his command inſtantly opened in the preſence of all the Omrahs, that ſaw all this fine ſtuff, which ſo provoked and diſcompoſed Chah-Jehan, that he roſe in great fury, and went away.

The other is only a piece of gallantry. A rich Banean, or heathen merchant being a great uſurer (as moſt of them are), who had always been in employment, and in the pay of the King, came to die. Some years after his death, his ſon did extremely importune the widow, his mother, to let him have ſome money: ſhe finding him to be a prodigal and debauched youth, gave him as little as ſhe could. This young fool, by the perſuaſion of others like himſelf, made his complaints to Chah-Jehan, and was ſo ſilly as to diſcover to him all the goods his father had left, which amounted to two hundred thouſand rupies, or hundred thouſand crowns. Chah-Jehan, who ſoon got an itch for this treaſure, ſent for the widow, and commanded her in the open aſſembly to ſend him an hundred thouſand rupies, and to give fifty thouſand to her ſon, giving order at the ſame time to put her away. The old woman, though ſurpriſed at this command, and perplexed enough that ſhe was ſo ſuddenly thruſt out, without the liberty of ſpeaking, yet loſt not her judgment, but with a loud voice gave out, that ſhe had ſomething of moment to diſcover to His Majeſty: Whereupon being brought in again, ſhe ſaid, "God ſave Your Majeſty; I find that my ſon hath ſome reaſon to demand of me the goods of his father, as being of his and my fleſh and blood, and therefore our heir; but I would gladly know, what kindred Your Majeſty is to my deceaſed huſband, to be his heir. When Chah Jehan heard ſo plain a piece of raillery, and a diſcourſe of parentage of the King of the Indies with a ſhe-Banian, or idolatrous ſhe-merchant, he could not hold laughing, and commanded ſhe ſhould be gone, and that nothing ſhould be aſked of her.

But to return, I ſhall not relate all the other conſiderable things that have happened ſince the end of the war, that is, ſince 1660, unto my departure, which was above ſix years after; though doubtleſs that would tend much to the deſign I had in relating the other particulars, which is, to make known the genius and temper of the Moguls and Indians. This I may do in another place: here I ſhall only give an account of five or ſix particulars, which thoſe that ſhall have read this relation, will doubtleſs be curious of.

The firſt, that though Aureng-Zebe made Chah-Jehan, his father, to be kept in the fortreſs of Agra, with all imaginable care and caution; yet notwithſtanding he ſtill left him his old apartment with Begum-Saheb, his eldeſt daughter, his other women, ſingers,

ers, dancers, cooks, and others; nothing of that kind was wanting to him. There were alſo certain Mullahs, that were permitted to come and to read the Alcoran to him, (for he was become very devout). And when he thought fit, there were brought before him brave horſes, and tamed Gazelles, (which is a kind of goat) to make them fight with one another; as alſo divers ſorts of birds of prey, and ſeveral other rare animals, to divert him as formerly. Aureng-Zebe himſelf uſed an art to overcome at laſt his fierceneſs and obſtinacy, which he had hitherto kept, though a priſoner. And this was the effect of the obliging letters, full of reſpect and ſubmiſſion, which he often wrote to his father, conſulting him often as his oracle, and expreſſing a thouſand cares for him; ſending him alſo inceſſantly ſome pretty preſent or other; whereby Chah-Jehan was ſo much gained, that he alſo wrote very often to Aureng-Zebe touching the government and ſtate affairs, and of his own accord ſent him ſome of thoſe jewels, which before he had told him of, that hammers were ready to beat them to powder the firſt time he ſhould again aſk for them. Beſides, he conſented that the daughter of Dara, which he had ſo peremptorily denied, ſhould be delivered to him; and granted him at length that pardon and paternal bleſſing, which he had ſo often deſired without obtaining it. Yet, under all this, Aureng-Zebe did not always flatter him; on the contrary, he ſometimes returned ſharp anſwers, when he met with ſtrains in his father's letters that were pregnant, or expreſſed ſomething of his former height and authority. Of this we may judge by the letter, which I know from a very good hand was once written to him by Aurenge-Zebe, to this effect:

"Sir, You would have me indiſpenſably follow thoſe ancient cuſtoms, and make myſelf heir to all thoſe that are in my pay with the wonted rigour: an Omrah, and even a merchant can no ſooner die, and ſometimes even before his death, but we ſeal up his trunks, and ſeize on his goods, and make a ſtrict enquiry into his eſtate, impriſoning and ill-treating the officers of the houſe to diſcover to us all he hath, even to the leaſt jewels. I will believe that there is ſome policy in doing ſo, but it cannot be denied that it is very rigorous, and ſometimes very unjuſt; and to ſpeak the very truth, we may deſerve well enough, that the ſame ſhould befal us every day, what happened to you from your Neikman-kan, and from the widow of your rich Indian merchant. Moreover (ſaid he) it ſeems, I am by you reputed proud and haughty now I am King; as if you knew not by the experience of more than forty years of your reign, how heavy an ornament a crown is, and how many ſad and reſtleſs nights it paſſeth through; as if I could forget that excellent paſſage of Mir-Timur (commonly called Tamerlane) which is ſo ſeriouſly delivered to us by that great grand-father of ours, Ekbar, to the end that we might the more weigh the importance and value of it, and conſider whether we have cauſe to pride ourſelves ſo much in a crown. You well know that he ſaid, that the ſame day when Timur took Bajazet, he made him come before him, and having fixed his eyes on him, fell a laughing; at which Bajazet being highly offended, fiercely ſaid to him, Laugh not at my fortune, Timur; know that it is God that is the diſpenſer of kingdoms and empires; and that the ſame can befal you to-morrow, that hath befallen me to day. Whereupon Timur made this ſerious and brave anſwer; I know as well as you, Bajazet, that it is God that diſtributeth kingdoms and empires; I laugh not at your ill fortune, God forbid I ſhould do ſo: but beholding your face, I ſmiled, and had this thought, That certainly theſe kingdoms and empires muſt in themſelves be very little and contemptible things in the eyes of God, ſince he giveth them to perſons ſo ill made as you and I both are; a deformed one eyed man, as you; and a lame wretch as myſelf. You require alſo, that abandoning all my other employments, which I believe very neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment and happineſs of this ſtate, I ſhould think

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nothing but conqueſts, and the enlargement of the empire. I muſt confeſs that this is indeed the buſineſs of a great monarch, and of a ſoul truly royal, and that I ſhould not deſerve to be of the blood of the great Timur, if I were not of that mind, and had not ſuch inclinations. Meantime, I think I ſit not idle, and my armies are not uſeleſs in the kingdoms of Decan and Bengal: but we muſt alſo aver, that the greateſt conquerors are not always the greateſt kings; that we too often ſee a barbarian making conqueſts, and that thoſe great bodies of conqueſts do ordinarily fall of themſelves, and by their own weight. He is a great king, that knows to acquit himſelf worthily of that great and auguſt employment and charge of kings, which is to diſpenſe juſtice to their ſubjects, &c."

The reſt is not come to my hands.

The ſecond is in regard of Emir-Jemla. It were to injure this great man, to paſs by with ſilence his deportment to Aureng-Zebe after the war, and the manner of ending his days. This eminent perſon, after he had diſpatched the affair of Bengala, with Sultan Sujah (the ſecond of theſe four brothers), not like Gion-kan, that infamous Patan, with Dara, nor like the Raja of Serenaguer with Soliman-Chekouth, but like a great captain and dexterous politician, purſuing him as far as the ſea-ſide, and neceſſitating him to fly and to eſcape out of his hands; after, I ſay, he had done theſe things, he ſent an eunuch to Aureng-Zebe, intreating him, that he would give him leave to tranſport his family to Bengal; that now that the war was at an end, and he broken with age, he hoped he would grant him the advantage of ending his life in the company of his wife and children.

But Aureng-Zebe is too ſharp-ſighted, not to pierce into the deſigns of Emir. He ſeeth him triumphing over Sujah; he knows his great credit and reputation, and that he hath the eſteem of a very wiſe, undertaking, valiant and rich man; and that the kingdom of Bengal is not only the beſt of all Indoſtan, but ſtrong of itſelf; and further, that this Emir is in the head of a well diſciplined army, which both honours and fears him. Beſides, he is not ignorant of his ambition, and foreſeeth well enough, that if he ſhould have with him his ſon Mahmen-Emir-kan, he would aſpire to the crown, and at leaſt take full poſſeſſion of Bengal, if he ſhould not be able to advance things further. At the ſame time he is alſo well aware, that there is danger in refuſing him, and that he may poſſibly prove ſuch a man, as, in caſe of denial, may run into ſome dangerous extreme, as he had done in Golkonda. How then, think ye, did he carry himſelf in this conjuncture? He ſends to him his wife and daughter, and all the children of his ſon: he maketh the Emir a Mir-ul-Omrah, which is in that empire the greateſt degree of honour that a favourite can be raiſed to; and as to Mahmet-Emir-kan, he maketh him the Great Bakchis, which is a dignity and charge like that of our great maſter of the horſe, the ſecond or third office in the ſtate, but ſuch a one as abſolutely obligeth the poſſeſſor of it to be always at the court, not ſuffering him, but very difficultly, to be abſent from the perſon of the King.

The Emir ſoon perceived, that Aureng-Zebe had ſkilfully put by the ſtroke; that it would be in vain the ſecond time to aſk of him his ſon; that he could not do it without offending him; and that therefore the ſafeſt way would be to reſt contented with all the teſtimonies of friendſhip, and with all the honours, together with the government of Bengal; being in the mean time always upon his guard, and in ſuch a poſture, that ſince he could attempt nothing againſt Aureng-Zebe, Aureng-Zebe ſhould not be able to attempt any thing againſt him.

Thus have we ſeen theſe two great men carrying themſelves to one another; and in this condition did affairs remain for almoſt a year, till Aureng-Zebe, too well know-

ing that a great captain cannot be long at reſt; and that, if he be not employed in a foreign war, he will at length raiſe a domeſtic one; propoſed to him to make war upon that rich and potent Raja of Acham, whoſe territories are on the north of Dake, upon the gulf of Bengal. The Emir, who in all appearance had already deſigned this ſame thing of himſelf, and who believed, that the conqueſt of this country would make way for his immortal honour, and be an occaſion of carrying his arms as far as China, declared himſelf ready for this enterprize. He embarked at Dake with a puiſſant army, upon a river which comes from thoſe parts; upon which having gone about an hundred leagues north-eaſtward, he arrived at a caſtle called Azo, which the Raja of Acham had uſurped from the kingdom of Bengal, and poſſeſſed for many years. He attacked this place, and took it by force in leſs than fifteen days; thence marching over-land towards Chamdara, which is the inlet into the country of that Raja; he entered into it after twenty-ſix days journey, ſtill northward: there a battle was fought, in which the Raja of Acham was worſted, and obliged to retreat to Guerguon, the metropolis of his kingdom, four miles diſtant from Chamdara. The Emir purſued him ſo cloſe, that he gave him no time to fortify himſelf in Guerguon; for he arrived in ſight of that town in five days, which conſtrained the Raja, ſeeing the Emir's army, to fly towards the mountains of the kingdom of Laſſa, and to abandon Guerguon, which was pillaged, as had been Chamdara. They found there vaſt riches, it being a great, very fair and merchant-like town, and where the women are extraordinarily beautiful. Meantime the ſeaſon of the rains came in ſooner than uſually; and they being exceſſive in thoſe parts, and overflowing all the country, except ſuch villages as ſtand on raiſed ground, the Emir was much embaraſſed. For the Raja made his people of the mountains come down from all parts thereabout, and to carry away all the proviſions of the field; whereby the Emir's army (as rich as it was) before the end of the rains, fell into great ſtraits, without being able to go forward or backward. It could not advance, by reaſon of the mountains, very difficult to paſs, and continually peſtered with great rains; nor retreat, becauſe of the like rains and deep ways; the Raja alſo having cauſed the way to be digged up as far as to Chamdara: ſo that the Emir was forced to remain in that wretched condition during the whole time of the rain; after which, when he found his army diſtaſted, tired out, and half ſtarved, he was neceſſitated to give over the deſign he had of advancing, and to return the ſame way he was come. But this retreat was made with ſo much pains, and ſo great inconveniences, by reaſon of the dirt, the want of victuals, and the purſuit of the Raja falling on the rear, that every body (but he) that had not known how to remedy the diſorder of ſuch a march, nor had the patience to be ſometimes five or ſix hours at one paſſage to make the ſoldiery get over it without confuſion, would have utterly periſhed, himſelf, army and all; yet he, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties and obſtacles, made a ſhift to come back with great honour and vaſt riches. He deſigned to return thither again the next year, and to purſue his undertaking, ſuppoſing that Azo, which he had fortified, and where he left a ſtrong garriſon, would be able to hold out the reſt of the year againſt the Raja. But he was no ſooner arrived there, but fluxes began to rage in his army: neither had himſelf a body of ſteel more than the reſt; he fell ſick and died, whereby fortune ended the juſt apprehenſions of Aureng-Zebe. I ſay, the juſt apprehenſions; for there was none of thoſe that knew this great man, and the ſtate of the affairs of Indoſtan, who did not ſay, It is this day that Aureng-Zebe is King of Bengal. And himſelf could not forbear to expreſs ſome ſuch thing; for he publicly ſaid to Mahmet-Emir-kan, You have loſt your father, and I the greateſt and moſt dangerous friend I had; yet notwithſtanding he comforted his ſon, and withal aſſured

aſſured him, that he would ever be a father to him. And whereas it was thought that he would at leaſt cut off his ſalary, and make inquiſition into his treaſury, he confirmed him in his office of Bakchis, augmented his penſion to a thouſand rupies a month, and left him heir of all the eſtate of his father, although the cuſtom of the country empowered him to ſeize on all.

The third is concerning Chah-heſt-kan, whom Aureng-Zebe made firſt governor of Agra, when he went out to the battle of Kaajoue againſt Sultan Sujah; and afterward, governor and general of the army in Decan; and at laſt, after the death of Emir-Jemla, governor and general of the army in Bengal, together with the charge of Mir-ul Omrah, which Emir-Jemla had poſſeſſed. This Chah-heſt-kan is he, whom in our hiſtory we have mentioned as uncle to Aureng-Zebe, and one that hath ſo much contributed to his happineſs by his eloquent and ſkilful pen, as well as by his intrigues and counſels. It would be injurious to his renown alſo, to be ſilent of the important enterprize which he undertook preſently when he entered upon his government; and that the rather, becauſe Emir-Jemla, whether out of policy, or for another cauſe, had no mind to tempt him; as alſo, becauſe the particularities, which I am going to relate, will ſhew not only the paſſed and preſent ſtate of the kingdoms of Bengal and Rakan, which hitherto hath not been well deſcribed to us by any; but alſo ſome other things that are worth knowing.

To the end therefore that the importance of Chah-heſt-kan's attempt may be well underſtood, and a good idea be had of what paſſeth about the gulf of Bengal; we are to know, that theſe many years there have always been in the kingdom of Rakan or Moy, ſome Portugueze, and with them a great number of their Chriſtian ſlaves, and other Franguis, gathered from all parts. That was the refuge of the run-aways from Goa, Ceilan, Cochin, Malague, and all thoſe other places which the Portugueze formerly held in the Indies; and they were ſuch as had abandoned monaſteries, men that had been twice or thrice married, murderers; in a word, ſuch as had deſerved the rope, were moſt welcome and moſt eſteemed there, leading in that country a life that was very deteſtable, and altogether unworthy of Chriſtians, inſomuch that they impunely butchered and poiſoned one another, and aſſaſſinated their own prieſts, who ſometimes were not better than themſelves. The King of Rakan, in the apprehenſion he hath ever had of the Mogul, kept them for a guard of his frontiers, in a port-town called Chategon, giving them land, and liberty to live as they pleaſed. Their ordinary trade was robbery and piracy. With ſome ſmall and light gallies they did nothing but coaſt about that ſea, and entering into all rivers thereabout, and into the channels and arms of the Ganges, and between all thoſe iſles of the lower Bengal, and often penetrating even ſo far as forty or fifty leagues up into the country, ſurprized and carried away whole towns, aſſemblies, markets, feaſts, and weddings of the poor Gentiles, and others of that country, making women ſlaves, great and ſmall, with ſtrange cruelty; and burning all they could not carry away. And thence it is, that at preſent there are ſeen in the mouth of the Ganges ſo many fine iſles quite deſerted, which were formerly well peopled, and where no other inhabitants are found but wild beaſts, and eſpecially tigers.

This great number of ſlaves, which thus they took from all quarters, behold what uſe they made of. They had boldneſs and impudence enough, to come and ſell to that very country the old people, which they know not what to do with; where it ſo fell out, that thoſe who had eſcaped the danger by flight, and by hiding themſelves in the woods, laboured to redeem to-day their fathers and mothers, that had been taken yeſterday. The reſt they kept for their ſervice, to make rowers of them, and ſuch

Chriſtians as they were themſelves, bringing them up to robbing and killing; or elſe they ſold them to the Portugueze of Goa, Ceilan, St. Thomas, and others; and even to thoſe that were remaining in Bengal at Ogouli, who were come thither to ſettle themſelves there by the favour of Jehan-Guyre, the grandfather of Aureng-Zebe, who ſuffered them there upon the account of traffic, and of his having no averſion to Chriſtians, as alſo becauſe they promiſed him to keep the bay of Bengal clear from all pirates. And it was towards the iſles of Galles, near the cape of Palmes, where this fine trade was. Theſe pirates lay there in wait at the paſſage for the Portugueze, who filled their ſhips with them at a very eaſy rate; this infamous rabble impudently bragging, that they made more Chriſtians in one year, than all the miſſionaries in the Indies in ten; which would be a ſtrange way of enlarging Chriſtianity.

Theſe were the pirates that made Chah-Jehan, who was a more zealous Mahometan than his father Jehan-Guyre, to expreſs at laſt his paſſion, not only againſt the reverend fathers the Jeſuits, miſſionaries of Agra, in that he cauſed to be pulled down the beſt part of a very fair and large church that had been built, as well as that of Lahor, by the favour of Jehan-Guyre, who, as I ſaid, did not hate Chriſtianity; and upon which there ſtood a great ſteeple with a great bell in it, whoſe ſound might be heard all over the town; not only, I ſay, againſt thoſe Jeſuits, but alſo againſt the Chriſtians of Ogouli: for being impatient to ſee them connive at the pirates, to make the name of the Franguis formidable, and to fill their houſes with ſlaves that were his own ſubjects, he waſted and utterly ruined them, after he had both with fair words and menaces drawn from them as much money as he could: and becauſe they were indiſcreetly obſtinate in refuſing what he demanded of them, he beſieged them, and cauſed them all to be brought to Agra, even their very children, their prieſts and friars. This was a miſery and deſolation not to be paralelled; a kind of Babylonian tranſmigration. There they were all made ſlaves: the handſome women were ſhut up in the Seraglio; the old women and others were diſtributed among divers Omrahs. The young lads were circumciſed, and made pages; and men of age renounced for the moſt part their faith, either terrified by the threatnings they heard daily, that they ſhould be trampled upon by elephants, or drawn away by fair promiſes. It is true, that there were ſome of thoſe friars, who perſiſted, and that the miſſionaries of Agra, who, notwithſtanding all this unhappineſs, remained in their houſes, found means afterwards, partly by friends, partly by money, to get many of them away, and to have them conveyed to Goa, and to other places belonging to the Portugueze.

They were alſo the ſame pirates, who ſome time after the deſolation of Ogouli, offered to the vice-roy of Goa to put the whole kingdom of Rakan into their hands for the King of Portugal; but he refuſed, they ſay, this offer, out of arrogance and jealouſy, and would not ſend the ſuccours, which for that end was demanded of him by a certain Baſtian Conſalve, who had made himſelf head of thoſe people, and was become ſo potent and conſiderable, that he married one of the King's daughters; being unwilling that it ſhould be ſaid that a man of ſo mean extraction as this Baſtian was, had done ſuch a maſter-piece. But it may be ſaid on this occaſion, that this is not much to be wondered at, conſidering that the Portugueze in the Indies by ſuch a conduct have divers times been faulty on the like occaſions, in Japan, in Pegu, in Ethiopia, and other places; not to mention, that by this way, and that perhaps by a juſt divine chaſtiſement (as they all frankly confeſs themſelves), they are become a prey to their enemies, and fallen ſo low in the Indies, that I know not whether they will ever recover there; whereas formerly, before they were corrupted by vice, and degenerated through pleaſure, they made all others tremble in thoſe parts; foraſmuch as

then they were brave and generous men, zealous for the Chriſtian religion, conſiderable for gallant exploits and for riches; all the Indian kings ſeeking their friendſhip.

Beſides this, the ſame pirates ſeized at that time on the iſle of Sondiva, an advantageous poſt to command a part of the mouth of the Ganges: in which iſle a certain Auguſtin friar, a very famous man, acted the king for many years, having taken a courſe, God knows how, to rid himſelf of the commander of that place.

Moreover the ſame robbers took Sultan Sujah at Daka, to carry him away to their galeaſſes to Rakan, as we related above, and found means to open his coffers, and to rob him of good ſtore of jewels, which afterwards were ſecretly and at a very cheap rate ſold at Rakan, moſt of them being fallen into the hands of people that had no ſkill in them, and afterwards into the hands of the Hollanders, and others, who knew how to buy them up quickly, making thoſe fellows believe that they were ſoft diamonds, and that they would pay them according to the degrees of their hardneſs.

Laſtly, they are they that for many years have given exerciſe to the Great Mogul in Bengal; having obliged him there to keep always garriſons every where upon the paſſes, and a great militia, and a fleet alſo of galeaſſes to oppoſe their courſes, and who, notwithſtanding all this, have made ſhift to make ſtrange devaſtations, and often to enter far into the country, and to laugh at all the ſoldiery of the Moguls; in regard they were become ſo bold, and ſo dextrous at their weapons, and ſo ſkilful in piloting their galeaſſes, that four or five of them ſtuck not to ſet upon fourteen or fifteen Mogolians, which they alſo actually worſted, and took, or run a-ground. And upon theſe pirates Chah-heſt-kan caſt his eyes as ſoon as he came into Bengal, taking a reſolution to deliver the country of this plague of people, that had ſo long waſted it; and deſigning afterwards to paſs on, and attack the King of Rakan, according to the order of Aureng-Zebe, who at any price had a mind to revenge the blood of Sultan Sujah, and all his family, that had been ſo cruelly handled, and to teach that barbarian how the blood royal was to be regarded and eſteemed on any occaſion whatſoever. Behold now with what dexterity Chah-heſt-kan carrieth on his deſign!

Knowing that it is impoſſible to paſs any cavalry by land, no not ſo much as any infantry, from Bengal into Rakan, becauſe of the many channels and rivers upon the frontiers; and alſo that on the other ſide, thoſe pirates of Chatigon, whom we juſt now were ſpeaking of would be powerful enough to hinder him from tranſporting them by ſea; he thought upon this experiment, viz. to engage the Hollanders in his deſign. He therefore ſent a kind of ambaſſador to Batavia, empowering him to treat upon certain conditions, with the general of that company, jointly to ſubdue the whole kingdom of Rakan; as formerly Chah-Abba ſubdued that of Ormus in conjunction with the Engliſh. The general of Batavia ſeeing the thing to be poſſible, and that it was a means more and more to break the Portugueze in the Indies, and that it would turn to a very good account to the company, diſpatched away two men of war for Bengal, to favour the tranſportation of the Mogolian troops in ſpite of thoſe pirates. But obſerve what Chah-heſt-kan did before theſe men of war arrived: he equipped a great number of galeaſſes, and many large veſſels to tranſport the army; threatened the pirates, utterly to ſpoil and ruin them; acquainted them with the deſign of Aureng-Zebe upon Rakan; that a potent army of the Dutch was near; that they ſhould think on themſelves and their families, if they were wiſe; and in a word if they would abandon the ſervice of the King of Rakan and take that of Aureng-Zebe, he would procure very good conditions for them, diſtribute amongſt them as much land in Bengal as they deſired, and pay them the double of what they had now.

It

It is doubtful whether theſe menaces and promiſes made impreſſion upon them, or whether it was an accident that moved them; they having about that time aſſaſſinated one of the chief officers of the King of Rakan, and apprehending a puniſhment for that crime: however it be, they were caught, and they were one day ſtruck with ſuch a panic terror, that they ſhipped themſelves all at once in forty or fifty of their galeaſſes, and wafted over to Bengal to Chah-heſt-kan, and that with ſo much precipitation, that they hardly took time to embark their wives and children and what elſe was moſt precious to them. Chah-heſt-kan received them with open arms, courted them exceedingly, gave them very conſiderble pay, and without letting them cool, made them jointly with his whole army, to attack and take the iſle of Sondiva, which was fallen into the hands of the King of Rakan; and thence to paſs with all his horſe and foot to Chatigon. About this time the two Holland veſſels arrived; but Chah-heſt-kan, who thought that henceforth it would be eaſy for him to compaſs his deſign, thanked them. I ſaw theſe ſhips in Bengal, and their commanders who were but little contented with ſuch thanks and liberalities of Chah-heſt-kan. As to the pirates, ſince now he holds them faſt, and hopeleſs of ever returning to Chatigon, and hath no more need of them, he makes nothing of all thoſe large promiſes he made them, and treats them not as he ſhould, but as they deſerve, leaving them whole months without pay, and not looking upon them otherwiſe than traitors, and infamous men, unfit to be truſted, after they have ſo vilely deſerted him, whoſe ſalt they had eaten ſo many years. After this manner did Chah-heſt-kan put an end to this rabble, which, as I ſaid, have ruined and deſpoiled all the lower Bengal. Time will ſhew whether he will be as happy in the remainder of his enterprize againſt the King of Rakan.

The fourth particular is concerning the two ſons of Aureng-Zebe, viz. Sultan Mahmoud, and Sultan Mazum. He ſtill keeps the firſt of them in Goualeor, but (if one may believe the common report) without making him take the pouſt, which is the ordinary drink of thoſe that are put into that place. As to the other, though he hath always been a pattern of reſervedneſs and moderation, yet one knows not whether he was not too forward in making a party, when his father was ſo extremely ſick; or whether Aureng-Zebe has not upon other occaſions perceived ſomething that might give him cauſe of jealouſy; or whether he had not a mind to make an authentic proof of both his obedience and courage. However it be, one day he commanded him in an unconcerned manner, in a full aſſembly of the Omrahs, to go and kill a lion, that was come down the mountains, and had made great havock and waſte in the country; and this he did without giving order to furniſh him with thoſe ſtrong and large nets, which they are wont to employ in this dangerous kind of hunting in a real mood; telling the great hunting-maſter, who preſently called for thoſe nets, that when he was prince, he did not look for ſuch formalities. It was the good fortune of Sultan Mazum, that he proſpered in this attempt, not looſing any more than two or three men, and ſome horſes that were wounded, although on the other hand, the matter went off not ſo pleaſantly, the wounded lion having leaped up to the head of the Sultan's elephant. Since that time Aureng-Zebe hath not been backward to expreſs much affection to him; he hath given him even the government of Decan, though with ſo little power and treaſure, that there is no great cauſe to apprehend any thing upon that account.

The fifth thing toucheth Mohabet-Kan, the governor of Kabul, whom Aureng-Zebe took from this government, and generouſly pardoned; not willing, as he ſaid, to loſe ſo brave a captain, and that had ſtuck ſo cloſe to his benefactor Chah-Jehan. He made him even governor of Guzeratte, in the place of Jeſſomſeigne, whom he ſent to make

make war in Decan. It may very well be, that ſome conſiderable preſents he made to Rauchenara-Begum, and a good number of excellent Perſian horſe and camels, wherewith he preſented Aureng-Zebe, together with fifteen or ſixteen thouſand rupies of gold, did contribute to make his peace.

On this occaſion of mentioning the government of Kaboul, which borders on the kingdom of Kandahar, which is now in the hands of the Perſians, I ſhall here briefly add ſome particulars, that ſerve to this hiſtory, and will ſtill more diſcover that country and declare the intereſts between Indoſtan and Perſia, which no-body that I know of, hath explained hitherto.

Kandahar, that ſtrong and important place, which is the capital and the ſwaying city of this noble and rich kingdom of the ſame name, hath in theſe latter ages been the ſubject of grievous wars between the Moguls and Perſians, each of them pretending a right thereto. Ekbar, that great King of the Indies, took it by force from the Perſians, and kept it during his life. And Chah-Abbas, that famous King of Perſia, retook it from Jehan-Guyre, the ſon of Ekbar. Afterwards it returned to Chah-Jehan, ſon of Jehan-Guyre, not by the ſword, but by the means of the governor Aly-Merdan-kan, who ſurrendered it to him, and went over to live at his court, apprehending the artifices of his enemies, who had brought him into diſfavour with the King of Perſia, that ſent for him to make him give an account, and to deliver up his government. The ſame city was beſieged and retaken afterwards by the ſon of Chah-Abbas, and ſince that beſieged twice again, yet without being taken by Chah-Jehan. The firſt time it was ſaved from being taken by the ill underſtanding and jealouſy between the Perſian Omrahs, that are penſioners of the Great Mogul, and the moſt powerful of his court as alſo by the reſpect they bear to their natural king: for they all behaved themſelves very effeminately in the ſiege, and would not follow the Raga Roup, who had already planted his ſtandards upon the wall on the ſides of the mountain. The ſecond time it was ſaved by the jealouſy of Aureng-Zebe, who would not fall into the breach of the wall, that our Franguis, the Engliſh, Portugueſe, Germans, and the French had made by their cannon, though it was a large one; being unwilling to have it ſaid, that in the time of Dara, who was in a manner the firſt mover of that enterprize, and was then in the city of Caboul, with his father Chah-Jehan, the fortreſs of Kandahar was taken. Chah-Jehan, ſome years before the late trouble, was alſo ready to beſiege it the third time, had not Emir-Jemla diverted him from it, adviſing him to turn his forces towards Decan, (as hath been ſaid,) with whom Ali-Merdan-kan himſelf concurred, who was ſo earneſt in his diſſuading him from it, as to ſay to him theſe words, which I ſhall punctually relate, as having ſomething extravagant in them:

"Your majeſty will never take Kandahar, unleſs you had ſuch a traitor there as myſelf; except you were reſolved never to bring a Perſian into it, and to make the bazars or markets wholly free, that is to lay no impoſt on thoſe that furniſh the army with proviſion."

At length, Aureng-Zebe, like the others, had prepared himſelf in theſe latter years to beſiege it alſo; whether it was that he was offended at the tart letters, written to him by the King of Perſia, or by reaſon of the affronts and ill treatment which he had offered to Tabiet-kan his ambaſſador; that hearing of the King of Perſia's death he turned back, ſaying, (which yet is not very credible) that he would not meddle with a child, a new king, although Chah-Soliman, who hath ſucceeded his father, is, in my opinion, about twenty-five years of age.

The ſixth particular we purpoſed to ſpeak of, concerns thoſe that have faithfully ſerved Aureng-Zebe. Thoſe he hath almoſt all raiſed to great places. For firſt, as we have

have already related, he made Chah-heſt-kan, his uncle, governor and general of the army of Decan, and afterwards governor of Bengal. Next he made Mir-kan governor of Kaboul; then Kalil-ullah-kan of Lahor; and Mirbaba of Elabas; and Laſker-kan of Patna. The ſon of that Allah-Verdi-kan of Sultan Sujah, he appointed governor of Scindy; and Fazel-kan, who had conſiderably ſerved him both by his counſels and dexterity, he made Kane-ſaman, that is, great ſteward of the houſe royal: and Danech-mend-kan, governor of Dehli, with this particular grace and privilege, that ſince he is perpetually employed in ſtudies and foreign affairs, he ſo diſpenſeth with him for not coming twice a day (after the ancient cuſtom) to wait on the King in the aſſembly, as not to retrench any thing of his penſion for his abſence, as he doth to the other Omrahs, if they fail. He hath given to Dianet-kan the government of Kachimer (alias Caſſimere), that little and in a manner inacceſſible kingdom, which Ekbar ſeized on by craft, that earthly paradiſe of the Indies; which hath its hiſtories written in its peculiar language; whereof I have an abridgment in the Perſian tongue, made by the command of Jehan Guyre, containing a large catalogue of many very ancient kings, that often were ſo powerful, that they ſubdued the Indies as far as China.

It is true, that Aureng-Zebe diſmiſſed Nejabat-kan, who did very well in the two battles of Samonguer and Kadjoue, but then it is not fit at all that a ſubject ſhould ever reproach his King, as he did, with the ſervices done him.

As to thoſe infamous men, Gion-kan and Nazer, it is known, that the former hath been recompenſed as he deſerved; but the other no man knows what is become of him.

What concerns Jeſſomſeigne and Jeſſeigne, there is ſomething as to them that is intricate, which I ſhall endeavour to unfold. There is a certain heathen revolted from the King of Viſapour, who knew how to poſſeſs himſelf of many important fortreſſes, and of ſome ſea-ports of that King. His name is Seva-Gi, that is, Lord Seva. He is a ſtout man, valiant, bold, and undertaking in the higheſt degree, who gave Chah-heſt-kan more work and trouble in Decan, than the King of Viſapour with all his forces, and all his Rajas joined with him for their common defence. Inſomuch, that having deſigned to take away Chah-heſt-kan and his treaſures out of the midſt of his army and of the town of Aurenge-Abad, he carried on his deſign ſo far, that he had effected it if he had not been diſcovered a little too ſoon; for one night, accompanied with a number of reſolute fellows he hath about him, he was got into the very apartment of Chah-heſt-kan, where his ſon, who was forward in the defence, was killed, and himſelf grievouſly wounded; Seva-Gi, in the mean time, getting away as well as he came: who for all this was ſo far from being daunted, that he undertook another very bold and very dangerous enterprize, which ſucceeded much better. He took two or three thouſand choſen men of his army, with whom he took the field without noiſe, ſpreading a report by the way, that it was a Raja going to the court. When he was near Suratte, that famous and rich port of the Indies, inſtead of marching further (as he made the great provoſt of that country, whom he met, believe), he fell into that town, where he ſtaid about three days, cutting off the arms and legs of the inhabitants, to make them confeſs where were the treaſures; ſearching, digging, and loading away, or burning what he could not carry with him. Which done, he returned, none oppoſing his return, loaden with millions of gold, ſilver, pearls, ſilken ſtuffs, fine linen, and other rich merchandize. Jeſſomſeigne was expected to have had ſince intelligence with this Seva-Gi, which was the cauſe that Aureng-Zebe called him away from Decan; but he, inſtead of going to Dehli, went to his own territory.

I forgot

I forgot to mention, that in the plunder of Surat, that ring-leader Seva-Gi, like a ſaint, had ſo much reſpect to the houſe of the reverend Father Ambroſe, a miſſionary Capuchin, that he gave order it ſhould not be plundered; becauſe, ſaid he, I know that the fathers Franguis are good men. He had alſo regard to the houſe of the deceaſed de Lale, becauſe he underſtood that he had been great almoner. He alſo conſidered the houſes of the Engliſh and Dutch, not from devotion, as he did the former, but becauſe they were in a good poſture of defence; eſpecially the Engliſh, who having had time to ſend for aſſiſtance from ſome of their ſhips that lay near the town, behaved themſelves gallantly, and ſaved, beſides their own, ſeveral other houſes near them. But a certain Jew of Conſtantinople, who had brought rubies of a very great value, to ſell them to Aureng-Zebe, carried away the bell from all, by ſaying himſelf from the hands of Seva-Gi; for, rather than to confeſs that he had any jewels, he was brought thrice upon his knees, and the knife held up to cut his throat. But it became none ſave a Jew, hardened in avarice, to eſcape in ſuch a manner.

Touching Jeſſeigne, King Aureng-Zebe made him content to go general of the army in Decan, ſending Sultan Mazum with him, without any power. He preſently and vigorouſly beſieged the principal fortreſs of Seva-Gi, and knowing more than all the reſt in matter of negociation and treaty, he ſo ordered the buſineſs, that Seva-Gi ſurrendered before it came to extremity; and then he drew him to Aureng-Zebe's party againſt Viſapour, King Aureng-Zebe declaring him a Raja, taking him under his protection, and giving the penſion of a very conſiderable Omrah to his ſon. Some time after, Aureng-Zebe deſigning to make war againſt Perſia, wrote to Seva-Gi ſuch obliging letters touching his generoſity, ability, and conduct, that he made him reſolve, upon the faith of Jeſſeigne, to come to him to Dehli. There a kinſwoman of Aureng-Zebe, the wife of Chah-heſt-kan (who was then at court), by the influence ſhe had upon the ſpirit of Aureng-Zebe, perſuaded him to arreſt him that had murdered her ſon, wounded her huſband, and ſacked Surat; ſo that one evening Seva-Gi ſaw his pavilions beſet with three or four Omrahs; but he made ſhift to get away in the night. This eſcape made a great noiſe at court, every one accuſing the eldeſt ſon of the Raja Jeſſeigne to have aſſiſted him in it. Jeſſeigne, who preſently had news that Aureng-Zebe was very angry with him and his ſon, and was adviſed no more to go to the court, was day and night upon his guard, apprehending leſt Aureng-Zebe ſhould take this for a pretence to fall upon his lands, and poſſeſs himſelf of them. Whereupon he alſo ſoon left Decan to ſecure his eſtate; but when he was at Brampour, he died. Yet notwithſtanding Aureng-Zebe was ſo far from expreſſing any coldneſs or reſentment to the ſon of Jeſſeigne, that he ſent to condole with him for the death of his father, and continued to him his penſion; which confirms what many ſay, that it was by the conſent of Aureng-Zebe himſelf that Seva-Gi eſcaped, for as much as he could retain him no longer at court, becauſe all the women there had too great a ſpleen againſt him, and looked upon him as a man that had embroiled his hands in the blood of his kinſmen.

But to return to Decan, we are to conſider, that that is a kingdom which theſe forty years hath conſtantly been the theatre of war, and upon the ſcore whereof the Mogul hath much to do with the Kings of Golkonda, and of Viſapour, and divers little ſovereigns; which is not to be underſtood, unleſs it be known, what conſiderable things have paſſed in thoſe parts, and the condition of the princes that govern them.

All this great peninſula of Indoſtan, cutting it from the bay of Cambaja unto that of Bengal, near Jaganrate, and paſſing thence to Cape Comori, was ſcarce two hundred years ſince entirely (ſome mountainous parts excepted) under the dominion of one only

Prince, who conſequently was a very great and very potent monarch; but now it is divided among many different ſovereigns, that are alſo of different religions. The cauſe of this diviſion was, that the King Ramras, the laſt of thoſe that have poſſeſſed this mighty ſtate entirely, did imprudently raiſe three ſlaves, Gurgis, he had about him too high, ſo as to make them all three governors of places: the firſt, of the greateſt part of thoſe countries, which at preſent are poſſeſſed by the Mogul in Decan, about Daulet-Abad, from Bider, Paranda, Surat, unto Narbadar: the ſecond, of all the other lands, now comprehended under the kingdom of Viſapour: and the third, of all that is contained under the kingdom of Golkonda. Theſe three ſlaves grew very rich, and found themſelves ſupported by a good number of the Moguls that were in the ſervice of Ramras, becauſe they were all three Mahometans, of the ſect Chyas, like the Perſians. And at length they all revolted together with one accord, killed King Ramras, and returned to their government, each taking upon him the title of Chah or King. The iſſue of Ramras, not finding themſelves ſtrong enough for them, were content to keep themſelves in a corner, viz. in that country which is commonly called Karnatek, in our maps, Biſnaguer, where they are ſtill Rajas to this very day. All the reſt of the ſtate was alſo at the ſame time divided into all thoſe Rajas, Naiques, and petty kings ſuch as we ſee there. Theſe three ſlaves and their poſterity have always defended themſelves very well in their kingdoms, whilſt they kept a good mutual correſpondence, and aſſiſted one another in their grievous wars againſt the Moguls. But when they once came to think every one to defend their lands apart, they ſoon found the effects of their diviſion. For the Mogul ſo well knew to take his time on that occaſion (which is now about thirty-five or forty years ſince), that he poſſeſſed himſelf within a little time of all the country of Nejam-Chah, or King Nejam, the fifth or ſixth of the family of the firſt ſlave, and at laſt took him priſoner in Daulet-Abad, the capital, where he died.

After that time, the Kings of Golkonda have maintained themſelves well enough; not as if they could compare with the power of the Mogul, but becauſe the Mogul hath always been employed againſt the two others; from whom he was to take Amber, Paranda, Bider, and ſome other places, before he could conveniently march towards Golkonda: and becauſe they have always been ſo politic, being very opulent, as to furniſh underhand the King of Viſapour with money, and thereby to help him to maintain a war againſt the Mogul. Beſides that, they ever have a conſiderable army on foot, which is always ready, and never fails to take the field, and to approach to the frontiers, at the time when there is news that that of the Mogul marches againſt Viſapour; to let the Mogul ſee, not only that they are always ready to defend themſelves, but alſo that they could eaſily aſſiſt the King of Viſapour, in caſe he ſhould be reduced to any extremity. Next, which is very conſiderable, they know alſo how to convey money underhand to the chieftains of the Mogolian army; who thereupon adviſe the court, that it is more to purpoſe to attack Viſapour, as being nearer to Daulet-Abad. Further, they ſend every year very conſiderable preſents to the Great Mogul, by way of tribute; which conſiſt partly in ſome rare manufactures of the country; partly in elephants, which they ſend for from Pegu, Siam, and Ceilan; partly in fair ready money. Laſtly, the Mogul conſiders that kingdom as his own, not only becauſe he looks upon the King thereof as his tributary, but chiefly ſince that agreement heretofore ſpoken of, which the preſent King made with Aureng-Zebe, when he beſieged Golkonda; and there being alſo no place able to reſiſt, even from Daulet-Abad unto Golkonda, he judgeth, that when he ſhall think fit to puſh for it, he may take in the whole kingdom in one campaign; which in my opinion he would certainly have done, if he did not apprehend,

prehend, leſt ſending his forces towards Golkonda, the King of Viſapour would enter into Decan; as, no doubt, he would do, knowing it to be very important to his conſervation, that that kingdom may always ſubſiſt as now it is.

From all which, ſomething may be underſtood of the intereſts and government of the King of Golkonda with the Mogul, and what way he taketh to ſupport himſelf againſt him. Yet notwithſtanding all this, I find this ſtate much ſhaken, in regard that the King that now is, ſince that unhappy affair of Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla, ſeems to have loſt heart, and as it were abandoned the reins of the kingdom, not daring any more to go forth of this fortreſs of Golkonda, nor ſo much as appear in public to give audience to his people, and to render juſtice according to the cuſtom of the country: which diſcompoſeth things very much, and occaſions the grandees to tyrannize over the meaner ſort of people, and to loſe even their reſpect to the King, often ſlighting his commands, and conſidering him no more than a woman; and the people, weary of the injuſtice and ill-treatment, breathing after nothing but Aureng-Zeb. It is eaſy to judge of the ſtraits this poor King is in, by four or five particulars I am about to relate.

The firſt, that an. 1667, when I was at Golkonda, King Aureng-Zebe having ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to declare war to that King, unleſs he would furniſh him with ten thouſand horſe againſt Viſapour, he did extraordinary honour, and give exceſſive preſents to that ambaſſador, as well for him in particular, as for Aureng-Zebe, and made an agreement with him, to ſend him, not ten thouſand horſe, but as much money as is neceſſary to maintain ſo many; which was all that Aureng-Zebe looked for.

The ſecond is, that Aureng-Zebe's ambaſſador in ordinary that is conſtantly at Golkonda, commands, threatens, ſtriketh, gives paſſports, and ſaith and doth whatſoever he will, no man daring with the leaſt word to croſs him.

The third is, that Mahmet-Emir-Kan, the ſon of Emir-Jemla, though he be no more than a ſimple Omrah of Aureng-Zebe, is yet ſo much reſpected through that whole kingdom, and eſpecially in Maſlipatan, that the Taptata, his commiſſioner, is as it were maſter thereof, buying and ſelling, bringing in and ſending abroad his merchant ſhips, no body daring to contradict him in any thing, nor to demand any cuſtoms. So great was once the power of Emir-Jemla, his father, in this kingdom, which time hath not yet been able to root out.

The fourth is, that the Hollanders ſcruple not to threaten him ſometimes, to lay an embargo upon all the merchant ſhips of the country that are in that port, and not to let them go out until their demands be granted; as alſo to put in proteſtations againſt him; which I have ſeen actually done, upon the account of an Engliſh veſſel, which they had a mind to take by force in the port of Maſlipatan itſelf, the governor having hindered it, by arming the whole town againſt them, and threatening to put fire to their factory, and to put them all to death.

A fifth is, that the Portugueze, as poor, and miſerable, and decayed as they are in the Indies, yet ſtick not to threaten that King alſo with war; and that they will come and ſack Maſlipatan, and all that coaſt, if he will not render them that place of St. Thomas, which ſome years ago they choſe to put into his hands, rather than to be conſtrained to yield it up to the Dutch.

Yet for all this, I have been informed in Golkonda, by very intelligent perſons, that this King is a Prince of very great judgment, and that whatever he ſo does and ſuffers, is only in policy, to the end to provoke no body, and principally to remove all ſuſpicion from Aureng-Zebe, and to give him to underſtand, that he hath in a manner no ſhare

any more in the kingdom; but that in the mean time a ſon of his, that is kept hid, grows up, the father watching for a fit time to declare him King, and ſo to laugh at the agreement made with Aureng-Zebe. Of this, time will ſhews us more; in the mean time, let us conſider ſomewhat of the intereſts of Viſapour.

The kingdom of Viſapour hath alſo not been wanting to ſupport itſelf, though the Mogul do almoſt continually make war againſt it; not ſo much as if he of Viſapour were able to bid head to the Mogolian forces, but becauſe there is never any great effort uſed againſt him. For it is not very frequent there, no more than it is elſewhere, for generals of armies to deſire the end of a war; there being nothing ſo charming, as to be in the head of an army commanding like little kings, remote from the court. It is alſo grown to a proverb, that Decan is the bread and life of the ſoldiers of Indoſtan. Beſides, the country of Viſapour is, on the ſide of the Mogul's dominions, of a very difficult acceſs upon the account of the ſcarcity of good waters, forage, and victuals; and becauſe Viſapour, the capital city, is very ſtrong, and ſituate in a dry and ſteril country, there being almoſt no good water but in the town. And laſtly, becauſe there are many fortreſſes in that country ſeated on hills hard to climb.

Yet notwithſtanding all this, that ſtate is much ſhaken, if conſidering that the Mogul hath taken Paranda, the key, as it were, of that kingdom, as alſo that fair and ſtrong town Bider, and ſome other very important places: but principally, becauſe the laſt King of Viſapour died without heirs male; and he that now calls himſelf King is a youth, whom the Queen, ſiſter of the King of Golkonda, hath raiſed, and taken for her ſon (a favour for which he hath made an ill return, having ſhewed no eſteem for this Queen after her return from Mecca, under the pretext of ſome ill demeanour in her on a Dutch veſſel that carried her to Moka). Laſtly, becauſe that in the diſorders of that kingdom, the heathen rebel, Seva-Gi, above diſcourſed of, found means to ſeize on many ſtrong holds, moſtly ſeated on ſteep mountains, where he now acteth the King, laughing at the Viſapour and the Mogul, and ravaging the country every where, from Surat even to the gates of Goa. This notwithſtanding, if he wrongs Viſapour one way, he helps to ſupport it another, foraſmuch as he is reſolutely bent againſt the Mogul, preparing always ſome ambuſh, and cutting ſo much work for his army, that there is no diſcourſe, no apprehenſion but of Seva-Gi, inſomuch that he hath come and ſacked Surat, and pillaged the iſle of Burdes, which belongs to the Portugueze, and is near the gates of Goa.

The ſeventh particular, which I learned at Golkonda, when I was come away from Dehli, is the death of Chah-Jehan; and that Aureng-Zebe had been exceedingly affected therewith, having diſcovered all the marks of grief, that a ſon can expreſs for the loſs of his father; that at the very hour of receiving that news, he went towards Agra; that Begum-Saheb cauſed the moſque, and a certain place, where he was at firſt to ſtop before he entered the fortreſs, to be hung with richly embroidered tapiſſeries; that at his entering into the ſeraglio, ſhe preſented him with a great golden baſon, wherein were all her jewels, and all thoſe of Chah-Jehan; and in ſhort, that ſhe knew to receive him with ſo much magnificence, and to entertain him with that dexterity and craft, that ſhe obtained his pardon, gained his favour, and grew very confident with him.

To conclude, I doubt not but moſt of thoſe who ſhall have read my hiſtory, will judge the ways taken by Aureng-Zebe, for getting the empire, very violent and horrid. I pretend not at all to plead for him, but deſire only, that before he be altogether condemned, reflexion be made on that unhappy cuſtom of this ſtate, which, leaving the ſucceſſion of the crown undecided, for want of good laws ſettling it, as amongſt us, upon

upon the eldeſt ſon, expoſeth it to the conqueſt of the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt fortunate, ſubjecting at the ſame time all the princes born in the royal family, by the condition of their birth, to the cruel neceſſity either to overcome, or to reign, by deſtroying all the reſt, for the aſſurance of their power and life, or to periſh themſelves, for the ſecurity of that of others. For I am apt to believe, that upon this conſideration the reader will not find Aureng-Zebe's conduct ſo ſtrange as at firſt it appeared. However I am perſuaded, that thoſe who ſhall a little weigh this whole hiſtory, will not take Aureng-Zebe for a barbarian, but for a great and rare genius, a great ſtateſman, and a great king.

A Letter to the Lord Colbert, of the Extent of Indoſtan; the Circulation of Gold and Silver, coming at length to be ſwallowed up there, as in an Abyſs; the Riches, Forces, Juſtice, and the principal Cauſe of the Decay of the States of Aſia.

MY LORD,

SINCE it is the cuſtom of Aſia, never to approach very great perſons with empty hands, when I had the honour to kiſs the veſt of the Great Mogul, Aureng-Zebe, I preſented him with eight rupies* as an expreſſion of reſpect; and the illuſtrious Fazel-Kan, the prime-miniſter of ſtate, and he that was to eſtabliſh my penſion as phyſician, with a caſe of knives garniſhed with amber. My Lord, though I intend not to introduce new cuſtoms in France, yet I cannot forget this upon my return from thoſe parts; being perſuaded, that I ought not to appear before the King, for whom I have a far deeper veneration than for Aureng-Zebe, nor before you my Lord, for whom I have a much greater eſteem than for Fazel-Kan, without ſome little preſent to both, which is rare, at leaſt for its novelty, though it be not ſo upon the account of the preſenting hand. The revolution of Indoſtan, by reaſon of its extraordinary occurrences and events, hath to me ſeemed worthy of the greatneſs of our monarch, and this diſcourſe, for the quality of the matters therein contained, ſuitable to the rank you hold in his councils; to that conduct, which at my return appeared to me ſo admirable in the order, which I found ſettled in ſo many things, that I thought incapable of it; and to the paſſion you entertain to make it known to the ends of the earth, what a monarch we have, and that the French are fit to undertake, and with honour to atchieve, whatſoever you ſhall have deſigned for their honour and advantage.

It is in the Indies, my Lord, (whence I am lately returned after twelve years abſence) where I learned the felicity of France, and how much this kingdom is obliged to your cares; and where your name is ſo diffuſed, and ſo well known. This was a fair theme for me to enlarge upon; but my deſign being no other than to diſcourſe of things new, I muſt forbear to ſpeak of thoſe that are already ſo notorious to all the world. I ſhall doubtleſs pleaſe you better, by endeavouring to give you ſome idea of the ſtate of the Indies, which I have engaged myſelf to give you an account of.

My Lord, you may have ſeen before this, by the maps of Aſia, how great every way is the extent of the empire of the Great Mogul, whild is commonly called India or Indoſtan. I have not meaſured it mathematically; but to ſpeak of it according to the ordinary journies of the country, after the rate of three whole months march, traverſing from the frontiers of the kingdom of Golkonda, as far as beyond Kazni

* A rupie is about half-a-crown.

near

near Kandahar, which is the firſt town of Perſia, I cannot perſuade myſelf otherwiſe, but that it is at leaſt five times as far as from Paris to Lyons, that is, about five hundred common leagues.

Next, you may pleaſe to take notice, that of that vaſt extent of land, there are large countries that are very fertile, and ſome of them to that degree (for example, that whole great kingdom of Bengal,) that they exceed thoſe of Egypt, not only upon the account of the abundance of rice, corn, and all other things neceſſary for life, but alſo upon the ſcore of all thoſe commodities ſo conſiderable, which Egypt is deſtitute of, as ſilks, cottons, indigo, and ſo many others ſufficiently related by authors.

Moreover, that of theſe ſame countries there are many that are well enough peopled and cultivated, and where tradeſmen, though naturally very lazy there, are not wanting, either from neceſſity or other cauſes, to apply themſelves to work, as to tapiſſeries, embroideries, cloth of gold and ſilver, and to all thoſe kinds of ſilk and cotton manufactures, that are uſed in the country, or tranſported to other parts.

You may further obſerve, how that gold and ſilver, circulating as it were upon the earth, comes at laſt to be ſwallowed up in this Indoſtan. For of that which comes out of America, and is diſperſed through the ſeveral kingdoms of our Europe, we know, that one part is carried into Turkey many ways, for the commodities drawn thence; and that another part is conveyed into Perſia, by the way of Smyrna, for the ſilks afforded there; that all Turkey generally needs coffee, which comes out of Hyeman, or Happy Arabia, and is the common drink of the Turks; that the ſame Turkey as well as Hyeman and Perſia cannot be without the commodities of India; and that thus all thoſe countries are obliged to carry Moka over the Red Sea, near Babelmandel; and to Baſſora the utmoſt part of the Perſian Gulf; and to Bandar-Abbaſi, or Gomoron near to Ormus, a part of that gold and ſilver, that had been brought into their country, to be thence tranſported into Indoſtan, in veſſels that yearly, in the ſeaſon of the monſons, come purpoſely to thoſe three famous parts; that on the other hand, all thoſe ſhips of India, whether they be Indian ones, or Dutch, or Engliſh, or Portugueze, that every year tranſport merchandize out of Indoſtan to Pegu, Tanaſſeri, Siam, Ceilan, Achem, Macaſſer, the Maldives, Moſambic, and other places, bring back alſo much gold and ſilver from all thoſe countries, which meets with the ſame deſtiny, that the other doth; that of that quantity of gold and ſilver which the Hollanders draw from Japan, (which is ſtored with mines) a part alſo comes to be at length diſcharged in this Indoſtan; and that laſtly what is carried thither directly by ſea, whether from Portugal, England, or France, ſeldom comes back from thence but in merchandize, the reſt remaining there, as the former.

I very well know, that it may be ſaid, that this Indoſtan needs copper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, elephants, and ſundry other things, which the Hollanders carry thither from Japan, the Molucques, Ceilan, and Europe; as alſo that it hath occaſion for lead, which in part it is furniſhed with out of England; likewiſe for ſcarlet, which it hath from France; moreover, that it ſtands in need of a good number of horſes, it being certain, that from the ſide of Uſbec it receives yearly more than two thouſand five hundred. That out of Perſia alſo it is furniſhed with abundance of the ſame; as alſo out of Ethiopia, Arabia, the ports of Moka, Baſſora, and Bander-Abbaſi: beſides that it needs that ſtore of freſh fruit, which comes thither from Samarkan, Ballbocara, and Perſia, as melons, apples, pears, and grapes, that are ſpent at Dehli, and bought at great rates, almoſt all the winter long, as well as dry fruit, which are had there all the year long, and came from the ſame countries, as almonds, piſtaches, nuts, prunes, apricots, raiſins, and the like; and that laſtly, it wants thoſe little ſea cockles of the

Maldives

Maldives, which ſerve for common coin in Bengal, and in ſome other places; as alſo amber-greaſe, carried thither from the ſaid Maldives and Moſambic, rhinoceros', horns, elephant's teeth, muſk, China diſhes, pearls of Baharen, and Tutucoury near Ceilan; and I know not of how many other things of this kind.

But all this makes not the gold and ſilver to go out of that empire, becauſe the merchants at their return freight their ſhips with the commodities of the country, finding a better account by ſo doing, than if they ſhould bring back money; ſo that that hinders not, but that Indoſtan proves, as we have ſaid, a kind of abyſs for a great part of the gold and ſilver of the world, which finds many ways to enter there, and almoſt none to iſſue thence.

In a word, you may take notice, that this Great Mogul makes himſelf heir of the Omrahs or lords, and of the Manſeb-dars, or petty lords, that are in his pay; and (which is of very great conſequence) that all the lands of that empire are his property, excepting ſome houſes and gardens, which he giveth leave to his ſubjects to ſell, divide, or buy amongſt them, as they ſhall think fit.

Theſe are the things, which ſufficiently ſhow, both that there muſt needs be a very great ſtore of gold and ſilver in Indoſtan, though there be no mines, and alſo that the Great Mogul, the ſovereign of the ſame, at leaſt of the beſt part of it, hath immenſe revenues and riches.

But on the other hand, there are alſo many things to be obſerved, which are a poiſe to theſe riches. The firſt, that among thoſe vaſt tracts of land there is much, which is nothing but ſand and ſteril mountains, little tilled or peopled; that even of thoſe that would be fertile, there is much, that is not uſed for want of workmen, ſome of which have periſhed by the too evil treatment of the governors, who often take from them their neceſſary livelihood, and ſometimes their very children whom they make ſlaves when they are not able, or are unwilling to pay: others have abandoned the field for the ſame reaſon, and deſponding out of the conſideration that they laboured only for others, have caſt themſelves into towns or into armies, to ſerve there for porters, or waiting men, and many have fled to the lands of the Rajas, becauſe there they found leſs tyranny, and more kindneſs.

The ſecond is, that in this ſame extent of country there are ſundry nations, which the Mogul is not full maſter of, moſt of them retaining yet their particular ſovereigns and lords, that obey him not, nor pay him tribute but from conſtraint; many that do little, ſome that do nothing at all; and ſome alſo, that receive tribute from him, as we ſhall ſee anon. Such are thoſe petty ſovereigns, that are ſeated on the frontiers of Perſia, who almoſt never pay him any thing, no more than they do to the King of Perſia; as alſo the Balouches and Augans, and other mountaineers, of whom alſo the greateſt part pay him but a ſmall matter, and even care but very little for him: witneſs the affront they did him, when they ſtopped his whole army by cutting off the water, which they kept back within the mountains, when he paſſed from Atek on the river Indus to Caboul, to lay ſiege to Kandahar; not ſuffering the water to run down into the fields, where was the highway, till they had received preſents, although they aſked them by way of alms. Such alſo are the Patans, a Mahometan people, iſſued from the ſide of the river Ganges towards Bengal; who before the invaſion of the Moguls in India, had taken their time to make themſelves potent in many places, and chiefly at Dehli, and to render many Rajas thereabout their tributaries. Theſe Patans are fierce and warlike, and even the meaneſt of them, though they be waiting men and porters, are ſtill of a very high ſpirit, being often heard to ſay by way of ſwearing, Let me never be king of Dehli, if it be not ſo: a people that deſpite the Indians,

Indians, heathens, and Moguls, and mortally hate the laſt, ſtill remembering what they were formerly, before they were by them driven away from their large principalities, and conſtrained to retire hither and thither, far from Dehli and Agra, into the mountains, where now they are ſettled, and where ſome of have made themſelves petty ſovereigns, like Rajas, but of ſmall ſtrength.

Such an one alſo is the King of Viſapour, who pays to the Mogul nothing, and is always in war with him; maintaining himſelf in his country, partly by his own forces, partly becauſe he is very remote from Agra and Dehli, the ordinary places of reſidence of the Great Mogul; partly alſo becauſe his capital city Viſapour is ſtrong and of difficult acceſs to an army, by reaſon of the ill waters and the want of forage on the way; and partly becauſe many Rajas join with him for their common defence, as did the famous Seva-Gi, who not long ſince came pillaging and burning that rich ſea-port Surat, and who ſometimes will pay little or no tribute.

Such is likewiſe that potent and rich King of Golkonda, who under-hand gives money to the King of Viſapour, and hath always an army ready on the frontiers for his own defence, and for the aſſiſtance of Viſapour, in caſe he find him too much preſſed.

Of the like ſort are more than an hundred Rajas, or conſiderable heathen ſovereigns, diſperſed through the whole empire, ſome near to, others remote from Agra and Dehli; amongſt whom there are about fifteen or ſixteen that are very rich and puiſſant; ſuch as is Rana, (who formerly was, as it were, emperor of the Rajas, and who is ſaid to be of the progeny of King Porus;) Jeſſeigne, and Jeſſomſeigne, which are ſo great and powerful, that if they three alone ſhould combine, they would hold him tack; each of them being able, in a very ſhort time, to raiſe and bring into the field twenty-five thouſand horſe, better troops than the Moguls. Theſe cavaliers are called Rajipous, or the children of the Rajas. They are men, who, as I have elſewhere ſaid, carry ſwords from father to ſon, and to whom the Rajas allot land, on condition to be always ready to appear on horſeback, when the Raja commands. They can endure much hardſhip, and they want nothing to make them good ſoldiers, but good order and diſcipline.

The third thing to be noted is, that the Mogul is a Mahometan, not of the ſect called Chias, who follow Aly and his offspring (ſuch as the Perſians are, and conſequently the greateſt part of his court); but of that, which follows Oſman, and thence are called Oſmanlys, ſuch as the Turks are. Beſides, that he is a ſtranger, being of the race of Tamerlane, who was the head of thoſe Moguls, that about the year 1401, over-ran India, where they made themſelves maſters: ſo that he is in a country almoſt all hoſtile; and that the more, becauſe not only for one Mogul, but in general, for one Mahometan, there are hundreds of Gentiles, or heathens; which obligeth him, conſtantly to entertain (for his defence among ſo many domeſtic and potent enemies, and againſt the Perſians and Uſbecs, his neighbours,) very great armies, whether in time of peace or war, as well about his perſon as in the field; as well of the people of the country, (Rajahs and Patans,) as chiefly Mogolians, or at leaſt eſteemed ſuch becauſe they are white, and Mahometans; which ſufficeth at preſent, his court being no more now as it was at firſt, conſiſting altogether of true Moguls; but a mixture of all ſorts of ſtrangers, Uſbecs, Perſians, Arabians, and Turks, or their children; but with this diſtinction, that the children of the third or fourth generation, and that have taken the brown colour, and the ſoft humour of the country, are not ſo much eſteemed as the new-comers, being alſo ſeldom raiſed to public offices; but counting themſelves happy, if they may ſerve as ſimple horſemen or foot.

Of

Of theſe armies I am now going to give you ſome deſcription, that thereby knowing the great expences which the Grand Mogul is obliged to be at, you may the better judge of his true riches; let us firſt take a view of the field militia he is neceſſitated to maintain.

The chief thereof are the Rajas, ſuch as Jeſſeigne, Jeſſomſeigne, and many others, to whom he allows very great penſions to have them always ready with a certain number of Rajipous, eſteeming them like Omrahs, that is, like other ſtrangers, and Mahometan lords; both in the army, that is always about his perſon, and in thoſe alſo, that are in the field. Theſe Rajas are generally obliged to the ſame things that the Omrahs are, even to the point of keeping guard; yet with this diſtinction, that they keep not the guard within the fortreſs, as thoſe, but without, under their tents; they not liking to be ſhut up twenty-four hours in a fortreſs, nor ſo much as ever to go thither but well attended with men reſolute to be cut in pieces for their ſervice; as hath appeared, when they have been ill dealt withal.

The Mogul is obliged to keep theſe Rajas in his ſervice for ſundry reaſons. The firſt, becauſe the militia of the Rajas is very good (as was ſaid above), and becauſe there are Rajas (as was intimated alſo), one of whom can bring into the field above twenty-five thouſand men. The ſecond, the better to bridle the other Rajas, and to reduce them to reaſon, when they cantonize, or when they refuſe to pay tribute, or when out of fear or other cauſe they will not go out of their country to the army, when the Mogul requireth it. The third, the better to nouriſh jealouſies and keenneſs amongſt them, by favouring and careſſing the one more than the other, which is done to that degree, that they proceed to fight with one another very frequently.

The fourth, to employ them againſt the Patans, or againſt his own Omrahs and governors, in caſe any of them ſhould riſe.

The fifth, to employ them againſt the King of Golkonda, when he refuſeth to pay his tribute, or when he will defend the King of Viſapour, or ſome Rajas his neighbours, which the Mogul hath a mind to riſle, or to make his tributaries; the Mogul in thoſe caſes not daring to truſt his Omrahs over much, who moſt are Perſians, and not of the ſame religion with him, but Chias, like the Kings of Perſia and Golkonda.

The ſixth, and the moſt conſiderable of all is, to employ them againſt the Perſians upon occaſion; not daring then alſo to confide in his Omrahs, who for the greateſt part, as was juſt now ſaid, are Perſians, and conſequently have no ſtomach to fight againſt their natural king; and the leſs, becauſe they believe him to be their Imam, their Caliph, or high-prieſt, deſcended from Aly, and againſt whom, therefore, they believe they cannot make war without a crime or a great ſin.

The Mogul is farther obliged to entertain ſome Patans for the ſame, or ſomewhat like reaſons that he doth the Rajas.

At laſt he muſt entertain that ſtranger militia of the Moguls, that we have taken notice of; and as this is the main ſtrength of his ſtate, and which obliges him to incredible charges, methinks it will not be amiſs to deſcribe to you of what nature it is, though I ſhould be ſomewhat long in doing it.

Let us therefore conſider, if you pleaſe, this ſtranger militia, both cavalry and infantry, as divided into two; the one being always near the Mogul's perſon; the other diſperſed up and down in the ſeveral provinces. And in the cavalry that is about his perſon, let us firſt take notice of the Omrahs; then, of the Manſebdars; next, of the Rouſindars; laſt of all, of the ſimple horſemen. From thence let us proceed to the

infantry, in which we ſhall conſider the muſqueteers, and all thoſe men on foot that attend the ordnance; where ſomething will occur to be ſaid of their artillery.

It is not to be thought, that the Omrahs or lords of the Mogul's court are ſons of great families as in France: all the lands of that empire being the Mogul's property, it follows that there are neither duchies, nor marquiſats, nor any family rich in land, and ſubſiſting of its own income and patrimony. And often enough they are not ſo much as Omrah's ſons, becauſe the king being heir of all their eſtates, it is conſequent that the houſes cannot ſubſiſt long in their greatneſs; on the contrary they often fall, and that on a ſudden, inſomuch that the ſons, or at leaſt the grandſons of a potent Omrah, are frequently, after the death of their father, reduced in a manner to beggary, and obliged to liſt themſelves under ſome Omrah for ſimple horſemen. It is true, that ordinarily the Mogul leaves ſome ſmall penſion to the widow, and often alſo to the children; or if the father liveth too long, he may, by particular favour, advance them ſooner, eſpecially if they be proper men, white of face, having as yet not too much of the Indian complexion and temper, and ſo paſſing yet for true Moguls, though this advancement by favour do always proceed in a ſlow pace, it being almoſt a general cuſtom that a man muſt paſs from ſmall pays and ſmall places to great ones. Theſe Omrahs then are commonly but adventurers and ſtrangers of all ſorts of nations, ſuch as I have ſaid, which draw one another to this court; men of a mean deſcent; ſome of them ſlaves; moſt of them without inſtruction, which the Mogul thus raiſeth to dignities as he thinks good, and degrades them again as he pleaſeth.

Amongſt theſe Omrahs, ſome are Hazary, others Don Hazary, others Penge, Hecht, and Deh Hazary, and even (ſuch as was the king's eldeſt ſon), Dovazdeh Hazary, that is to ſay, lord of a thouſand horſe, of two thouſand, five thouſand, ſeven, ten, and twelve thouſand; their pay being leſs or more in proportion to the number of horſes; I ſay of horſes, becauſe they are not paid in reſpect of the horſemen, but of the horſe; the Omrahs having power to entertain horſemen of two horſes a man, to be the better able to ſerve in the hot countries, where it is a common ſaying, that the horſeman that hath but one horſe, is more than half a footman. Yet we muſt not think that they are obliged to entertain, or that the king effectively pays ſo many horſe, as theſe great names of Dovazdeh, or Hech Hazary do import, that is, 12,000 or 8,000 horſe. Theſe are ſpecious names to amuſe and attract ſtrangers; the king determines the number of horſes in actual ſervice, which they are bound to entertain, pays them according to this number, and beſides that, he pays them a certain number which they are not bound to entertain, and this is that which makes the principal part of their penſions, not to ſpeak of what they finger out of the pay of every horſeman, and the number of the horſes, which certainly amounts to very conſiderable penſions, eſpecially if they can obtain good Jah-ghirs, that is, good lands for their penſion. For I ſaw that the Lord, under whom I was, that was a Penge-hazary, or one of five thouſand horſe, and who was only obliged to entertain five hundred in effect, had, after all his cavalry was paid, remaining for his penſion near five thouſand crowns a month, though he was Nagdy, that is, paid in money drawn out of the treaſury, as all thoſe that have not lands. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe great penſions, I ſee none, but very few, that are rich, but many that are uneaſy and indebted, not that they are ruined by keeping too plentiful tables, as elſewhere great Lords frequently are; but that which exhauſteth them, are the great preſents which they are obliged to make to the king at certain feſtivals of the year, every one after the rate of his pay: next, the vaſt expences they muſt be at for entertaining their wives, ſervants, camels, and many horſes of great value, which they keep in their particular ſtables.

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The number of the Omrahs, as well of thoſe that are in the field in the provinces and armies, as of thoſe that are at the court, is very great. I never could preciſely learn it, nor is it determined: but I have never ſeen leſs of them at court than twenty-five or thirty, that are thus penſionaries according to a greater or leſſer number of horſes to be entertained by them, from 12,000 downwards to 1,000. Theſe are the Omrahs that arrive to the governments and principal offices of the court and armies, that are, as they ſpeak, the pillars of the empire, and that keep up the ſplendor of the court, never going abroad, but richly decked, ſometimes riding on elephants, ſometimes on horſeback, ſometimes carried in a paleky or chair, commonly attended by a good number of horſemen, to wit, of thoſe that have the guard at that time, as alſo by many footmen, marching before and on his ſides, to make way, to drive away the flies, to take off the duſt with peacocks' tails, to carry water for drink, and ſometimes books of accounts, or other papers.

All thoſe that are at court, are obliged, under a conſiderable penalty, to come twice every day to ſalute the king in the aſſembly, once about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he renders juſtice; and the ſecond time, about ſix hours at night. They are alſo obliged by turns to keep the guard in the caſtle once a week, during twenty-four hours. Thither they carry at that time their beds, tapiſſeries and other moveables, the king furniſhing them with nothing but proviſions of meat and drink, which they receive with great reverence, making a treble obeyſance, with their faces turned to his apartment, their hands down to the ground, and then lifted up upon their heads. Beſides, they are obliged on horſeback, to follow the king whitherſoever he marcheth, in any weather whether rainy or duſty, whether he be carried in his chair, or on an elephant, or a field throne, which laſt is done by eight men carrying him on their ſhoulders, eight others marching on his ſide, to relieve the others, himſelf being in all marches well covered from the inconveniences of the weather, whether he go to war or to hunt, or to exerciſe his ſoldiery. And this attendance thoſe Omrahs are to give; except ſome of them be exempted by the Mogul becauſe of their peculiar offices, or upon the account of ſickneſs or old age, or to avoid embarraſsment, as commonly it is practiced, when he goeth only to ſome neighbouring town to hunt, or to ſome houſe of pleaſure, or to the moſque, there being then ſeldom any about him but thoſe that keep guard that day.

Manſebdars are cavaliers of Manſeb, which is particular and honourable pay; not ſo great indeed as that of the Omrahs, but much greater than that of the others; they being eſteemed as little Omrahs, and of the rank of thoſe that are raiſed to that dignity.

Theſe acknowledge alſo none for their head but the king, and they are generally obliged to whatever we have ſaid the Omrahs are. In a word, they would be true Omrahs if they had, as divers heretofore have had, ſome horſemen under them, whereas they have ordinarily but two, four, or ſix horſes having the king's mark, and their pay goes no higher than from 200, to 600 or 700 rupies a month. Their number alſo is not fixed, but much exceeds that of the Omrahs, there being of them at the court always two or three hundred, beſides thoſe that are in the provinces and armies.

Rouzindars are alſo a ſort of cavaliers, but ſuch as have their pay by the day, (as the word itſelf imports), which yet ſometimes is greater than that of many Manſebdars, but not ſo honourable; but then they are not bound, as the Manſebdars, to take at a ſet price (which ſometimes is not too reaſonable), of thoſe tapiſſeries and other houſehold ſtuff, that hath ſerved for the king's palace. Their number is very great: they enter

into the meaner offices, many of them being clerks, under-clerks, ſignet men, and the like.

Simple cavaliers are thoſe that are under the Omrahs, amongſt whom the moſt conſiderable, and having moſt pay, are thoſe that have two horſes marked on the leg with the mark of their Omrah. Their pay is not abſolutely fixed, but depends chiefly from the generoſity of the Omrah, who may favour whom he pleaſeth. Yet the Mogul's intention is, that the pay of a ſimple cavalier, or horſeman, be no leſs than twenty-five rupies or thereabout a month, ſtating his account with the Omrahs upon that foot.

The pay of the foot is the leaſt; and their muſqueteers are pitiful men, unleſs they diſcharge when their muſquet leans on that ſmall wooden fork hanging to it; yet even then they are afraid of ſingeing their great beards, and of burning their eyes, but moſt of all, leſt ſome Dgen or evil ſpirit burſt their muſquet. Some of theſe have 20 rupies a month, ſome 15, ſome 10. But there are ſome gunners that have great pay, eſpecially thoſe of the Franguis, or Chriſtians, as Portugueze, Engliſh, Dutch, Germans, French, that retire thither from Goa, flying from Engliſh and Dutch companies. Heretofore when the Moguls did not yet know how to manage artillery, their pay was very great. And there are yet ſome of that time, who have 200 rupies a month; but now they will receive none for more than thirty-two.

Their artillery is of two ſorts; the one is the great and heavy artillery; the other the light. As for the former, I remember, that when the king, after his ſickneſs, went with his whole army abroad into the country, diverting himſelf every day in hunting, ſometimes of cranes, ſometimes of the grey oxen (a kind of elks), ſometimes of gazels, leopards and lions, and making his progreſs towards Lahor and Kachemire (that little paradiſe of India), there to paſs the ſummer; the army had ſeventy pieces of cannon, moſt of them caſt, not counting the two or three hundred camels, carrying each a ſmall field-piece of the bigneſs of a good double muſquet, faſtened to thoſe animals. The other light artillery is very brave and well ordered, conſiſting of fifty or ſixty ſmall field-pieces all of braſs, each mounted on a little chariot, very fine and well painted, with a ſmall coffer before and behind for the powder, drawn by two very fair horſes, driven by a coachman like a Caleche, adorned with a number of ſmall red ſtreamers, each having a third horſe led by the chariot for relief.

The great artillery could not always follow the king, who often left the highway, and turned ſometimes to the right, ſometimes to the left hand, croſſing the fields, to find the true places for game, and to follow the courſe of the rivers. That therefore was to keep the highway to go the more eaſily, and to avoid the embarraſsments which it would have met with in the hill paſſages, eſpecially in thoſe boat-bridges made to paſs rivers. The light artillery is inſeparable from the perſon of the king, it marcheth away in the morning, when the king comes out of his tent; and whereas he commonly goes a little aſide into the places for game, this artillery paſſeth on ſtraight with all poſſible ſpeed, to be in time at the rendezvous, and there to appear before the king's tent, which is there made ready the day before, as are alſo the tents of the great Omrahs; and this whole artillery giveth a volley juſt when the king enters into his tent, thereby to give notice to the army of his arrival.

The militia of the field is not different from that which is about the king. There are every where Omrahs, Manſebdars, Rouſindars, ſimple horſemen, and foot artillery wherever any war is made. The difference is only in the number, which is much greater in the field-army than in the other. For that army alone, which the Mogul is conſtrained perpetually to maintain in Decan, to bridle the potent king of Golkonda,

to make war upon the King of Viſapour, and upon all the Rajas that join with him, muſt conſiſt at leaſt of twenty or twenty-five thouſand horſe—ſometimes of thirty.

The kingdom of Kaboul, for its ordinary guard againſt the Perſians, Augans, Balouches, and I know not how many mountaineers, requireth at leaſt fifteen thouſand; the kingdom of Kachemire, more than four thouſand; and the kingdom of Bengal much more—not counting thoſe that are employed in the war, which muſt almoſt always be maintained on that ſide; nor thoſe which the governors of the ſeveral provinces do need for their defence, according to the particular extent and ſituation of their governments, which maketh an incredible number.

Not to mention the infantry (which is inconſiderable), I am apt to believe with many others, well informed of theſe matters, that the number of the horſe in actual ſervice about the king's perſon, comprehending the cavalry of the Rajas and Patans, amounteth to thirty-five or forty thouſand; and that this number, joined to thoſe that are abroad in the field, may make two hundred thouſand and better.

I ſay that the infantry is inconſiderable, for I can hardly believe, that in the army which is about the king, compriſing the muſqueteers, and all the gunners and their mates, and whatever ſerves in this artillery, can amount to much more than fifteen thouſand, whence you may make a near gueſs what the number of the foot muſt be in the field. So that I know not whence to take that prodigious number of foot, which ſome do reckon in the armies of the great Mogul, unleſs it be, that with this true ſoldiery they confound all the ſerving men and victuallers that follow the army; for in that ſenſe I ſhould eaſily believe, that they had reaſon to reckon two or three hundred thouſand men in that army alone which is with the king, and ſometimes more, eſpecially when it is certain that he is to be long abſent from the capital city, which will not ſeem ſo ſtrange to him, that conſiders the multitude and confuſion of tents, kitchens, baggage, women, elephants, camels, oxen, horſes, waiting-men, porters, foragers, victuallers, merchants of all ſorts that muſt follow the army; nor to him, that knows the ſtate and particular government of that country, wherein the king is the ſole proprietor of all the lands of the kingdom, whence it neceſſarily follows, that a whole metropolitan city, ſuch as Dehli and Agra, liveth almoſt of nothing but of the ſoldiery, and is conſequently obliged to follow the king when he taketh the field; thoſe towns being nothing leſs than Paris, but indeed no otherwiſe governed than a camp of armies, a little better and more conveniently lodged than in the open field.

Beſides all theſe things, you may alſo conſider, if you pleaſe, that generally all this militia, which I have been repreſenting to you, from the greateſt Omrah to the meaneſt ſoldier, is indiſpenſably paid every two months, the king's pay being its ſole refuge and relief; nor can its pay be deferred there, as it is ſometimes with us, where, when there are preſſing occaſions of the ſtate, a gentleman, an officer, and even a ſimple cavalier, can ſtay awhile, and maintain himſelf of his own ſtock, rents, and the incomes of his land. But in the Mogul's country, all muſt be paid at the time prefixed, or all diſbands and ſtarves, after they have ſold that little they have, as I ſaw in this laſt war, that many were going to do, if it had not ſoon ceaſed. And this the more, becauſe that in all this militia there is almoſt no ſoldier that hath not wife and children, ſervants and ſlaves, that look for this pay, and have no other hope of relief. And hence it is, that many wonder, conſidering the huge number of perſons living of pay, (which amounts to millions), whence ſuch vaſt revenues can be had for ſuch exceſſive charges, although this need not be ſo much wondered at, conſidering the riches of the empire, the peculiar government of the ſtate, and the ſaid univerſal property of the ſovereign.

You

You may add to all this, that the Grand Mogul keeps nigh him at Dehli and Agra, and thereabout, two or three thouſand brave horſes, to be always ready upon occaſion; as alſo eight or nine hundred elephants, and a vaſt number of mules, horſes, and porters, to carry all the great tents and their cabinets, to carry his wives, kitchens, houſhold-ſtuff, Ganges-water, and all the other neceſſaries for the field, which he hath always about him as if he were at home; things not abſolutely neceſſary in our kingdoms.

To this may be added thoſe incredible expences upon the Seraglio, more indiſpenſable than will be eaſily believed; that vaſt ſtore of fine linen, cloth of gold, embroideries, ſilks, muſk, amber, pearls, ſweet eſſences, &c. conſumed there.

All theſe charges being put together, and compared with the revenues of the Mogul may be thought to have, it will be eaſy to judge, whether he be indeed ſo very rich, as he is made to be. As for me, I very well know, that it cannot be denied, that he hath very great revenues; I believe he hath more alone than the Grand Seignior and the King of Perſia both together: but then to believe all thoſe extravagant ſtories made of the vaſtneſs of his revenues, is a thing I could never do: and if I ſhould believe the beſt part of them, yet ſhould I not believe him in effect and truly ſo rich as the world rings of him; unleſs a man would ſay, that a treaſurer, who receiveth great ſums of money from one hand at the ſame time when he is obliged to diſburſe them to another, were therefore truly rich. For my part I ſhould count that king rich indeed, who, without oppreſſing and impoveriſhing his people too much, ſhould have a revenue ſufficient to keep a great and gallant court (after the manner of that of ours, or otherwiſe) and a militia ſufficient both to guard his kingdom, and to make an important war for divers years againſt his neighbours; as alſo to ſhew liberality, to build ſome royal edifices, and to make thoſe other expences which kings are wont to make according to their particular inclinations; and who, beſides all this, ſhould be able to put up in his treaſury, for a reſerve, ſums big enough to undertake, and maintain a good war for ſome years. Now I am apt enough to believe, that the Great Mogul enjoyeth very near theſe advantages, but I cannot perſuade myſelf, that he hath them in that exceſs as is thought and pretended. Thoſe vaſt and unevitable expences that I have taken notice of, will certainly incline you to my opinion, without any other conſideration; but you will doubtleſs be altogether of my mind, when I ſhall have repreſented to you theſe two things, which I am very well informed of.

The one is, that the great Mogul, now reigning, about the end of this laſt revolution, though the kingdom was every where in peace (except in Bengal, where Sultan Sujah yet held out), was much perplexed where to find means for the ſubſiſtence of his armies, though they were not ſo well paid as at other times, and the war laſted no longer than five years or thereabout, and though alſo he had laid hold of a good part of the treaſury of his father Chah-Jehan.

The other is, that all this treaſure of Chah-Jehan, who was very frugal, and had reigned above forty years without conſiderable wars, never amounted to ſix Kourours of rupies. A rupy is about twenty-nine pence. An hundred thouſand of them make a Lecque, and an hundred Lecques make one Kourour *. It is true, I do not comprehend in this great treaſure that great abundance of goldſmith's work, ſo variouſly wrought in gold and ſilver; nor that vaſt ſtore of precious ſtones and pearls of a very high value. I doubt, whether there be any king in the world that hath more. The throne alone, covered with them, is valued at leaſt three Kourours, if I remember

* So that the ſix Kourours would make about ſeven millions and an half Engliſh money.

aright; but then it is to be considered also, that they are the spoils of those ancient princes, the Patans and Rajas, gathered and piled up from immemorial times, and still increasing from one king to another, by the presents which the Omrahs are obliged yearly at certain festival days to make him; and which are esteemed to be the jewels of the crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a King of Mogul, in case of necessity, would find it very hard to procure the least sum.

But before I conclude, I shall take notice, whence it may proceed, that though this empire of Mogul be thus an abyss of gold and silver, as hath been said, yet notwithstanding there appears no more of it amongst the people than elsewhere; yea, rather that the people is there less monied than in other places.

The first reason is, that much of it is consumed in melting over and over all those nose and ear-rings, chains, finger-rings, bracelets of hands and feet, which the women wear, but chiefly in that incredible quantity of manufactures, wherein so much is spent which is lost, as in all those embroideries, silk stuffs, interwoven with gold and silver, cloth, scarfs, turbans, &c. of the same: for generally all that militia loveth to be gilded from the Omrahs to the meanest soldiers with their wives and children, though they should starve at home.

The second, that all the lands of the kingdom being the King's property, they are given either as benefices, which they call Jah-ghirs, or, as in Turkey, Timars, to men of the militia for their pay or pension (as the word Jah-ghir imports): or else they are given to the governors for their pension, and the entertainment of their troops, on condition that the surplus of those land-revenues they give yearly a certain sum to the king, as farmers, or, lastly, the King reserveth them for himself as a particular domain of his house, which never, or very seldom, are given as Jah-ghirs, and upon which he keeps farmers, who also must give him a yearly sum; which is to say, that the Timariots, governors and farmers, have an absolute authority over the countrymen, and even a very great one over the tradesmen and merchants of the towns, boroughs, and villages depending from them; so that in those parts there are neither great lords nor parliaments, nor presidial courts, as amongst us, to keep these people in awe; nor Kadis or judges powerful enough to hinder and repress their violence: nor in a word, any person to whom a countryman, tradesman, or merchant can make his complaints to, in cases of extortion and tyranny, often practised upon them by the soldiery and governors; who every where do impunely abuse the authority royal, which they have in hand, unless it be perhaps a little in those places that are near to capital cities, as Dehli and Agra, and in great towns, and considerable sea-ports of the provinces, whence they know that the complaints can be more easily conveyed to the court. Whence it is, that all and every one stand in continual fear of these people, especially of the governors, more than any slave doth of his master: that ordinarily they affect to appear poor and moneyless, very mean in their apparel, lodging, household-stuff, and yet more in meat and drink; that often they apprehend even to meddle with trade, lest they should be thought rich, and so fall into the danger of being ruined: so that at last they find no other remedy to secure their wealth, than to dig and hide their money deep under ground, thus getting out of the ordinary commerce of men, and so dying, neither the King nor the state having any benefit by it: which is a thing not only happens among the peasants and artizans, but (which is far more considerable) amongst all sorts of merchants, whether Mahometans or Heathens, except some that are in the King's or some Omrah's pay, or that have some particular patron and support in power: but principally among the heathen, which are almost the only masters of the trade and money, infatuated with the belief that the gold and silver which they hide in their

thier life-time, ſhall ſerve them after death. And this, in my opinion, is the true reaſon, why there appears ſo little money in trade among the people.

But thence ariſeth a queſtion very conſiderable, viz. Whether it were not more expedient, not only for the ſubjects, but for the ſtate itſelf, and for the ſovereign, not to have the prince ſuch a proprietor of the lands of the kingdom, as to take away the Meum and Tuum amongſt private perſons, as it is with us? For my part, after a ſtrict comparing the ſtate of our kingdoms, where that Meum and Tuum holds, with that of thoſe other kingdoms where it is not, I am thoroughly perſuaded, that it is much better and more beneficial for the ſovereign himſelf, to have it ſo as it is in our parts. Becauſe that in thoſe parts where it is otherwiſe, the gold and ſilver is loſt, as I was juſt now obſerving: there is almoſt no perſon ſecure from the violences of thoſe timariots, governors and farmers: the kings, how well ſoever they be diſpoſed toward their people, are never almoſt in a condition (as I lately noted) to get juſtice adminiſtered to them, and to hinder tyrannies; eſpecially in thoſe great dominions, and in the provinces remote from the capital towns; which yet ought to be, as doubtleſs it is, one of the chief employments and conſiderations of a King. Beſides, this tyranny often grows to that exceſs, that it takes away what is neceſſary to the life of a peaſant or tradeſman who is ſtarved for hunger and miſery; who gets no children, or if he does, ſees them die young for want of food; or that abandons his land, and turns ſome cavalier's man, or flies whither he may to his neighbours, in hopes of finding a better condition. In a word, the land is not tilled but almoſt by force, and conſequently very ill, and much of it is quite ſpoiled and ruined, there being none to be found, that can or will be at the charge of entertaining the ditches and channels for the courſe of waters to be conveyed to neceſſary places: nor any body that care to build houſes, or to repair thoſe that are ruinous; the peaſant reaſoning thus with himſelf—Why ſhould I toil ſo much for a tyrant that may come to-morrow to take all away from me, or at leaſt all the beſt of what I have, and not leave if the fancy taketh him, ſo much as to ſuſtain my life even very poorly? And the Timariot, the governor and the farmer, will reaſon thus with himſelf—Why ſhould I beſtow money and take pains of bettering or maintaining this land, ſince I muſt every hour expect to have it taken from me, or exchanged for another? I labour neither for myſelf nor for my children; and that place which I have this year, I may perhaps have no more the next. Let us draw from it what we can, whilſt we poſſeſs it, though the peaſant ſhould break or ſtarve, though the land ſhould become a deſert, when I am gone!

And for this very reaſon it is, that we ſee thoſe vaſt eſtates in Aſia go ſo wretchedly and palpably to ruin. Thence it is, that throughout thoſe parts we ſee almoſt no other towns but made up of earth and dirt; nothing but ruined and deſerted towns and villages, or ſuch as are going to ruin. Even thence it is that we ſee (for example thoſe Meſopotamia's, Anatolia's, Paleſtina's, thoſe admirable plains of Antioch, and ſo many other lands, anciently ſo well tilled, ſo fertile, and ſo well peopled, at the preſent half deſerted, untilled and abandoned, or become peſtilent and uninhabitable bogs. Thence it is alſo, that of thoſe incomparable lands of Egypt it is obſerved, that within leſs than four-ſcore years more than the tenth part of it is loſt, no people being to be found, that will expend what is neceſſary to maintain all the channels, and to reſtrain the river Nile from violently overflowing on one hand, and ſo drowning too much the low lands, or from covering them with ſand, which cannot be removed from thence but with great pains and charges. From the ſame root it comes, that arts are languiſhing in thoſe countries, or at leaſt flouriſh much leſs than elſe they would do, or do with us. For what heart and ſpirit can an artizan have to ſtudy well, and to apply his

his mind to his work, when he ſees, that among the people, which is for the moſt part beggarly, or will appear ſo, there is none that conſiders the goodneſs and neatneſs of his work, every body looking for what is cheap? And that the grandees pay them but very ill, and when they pleaſe? The poor tradeſman often thinking himſelf happy that he can get clear of them without the Korrah, which is that terrible whip, that hangs nigh the gate of the Omrahs: further when he ſeeth that there is no help at all ever to come to any thing, as to buy an office, or ſome land for himſelf and children, and that even he dares not appear to have a penny in caſh, or to wear good cloths, or to eat a good meal, for fear he ſhould be thought rich, and indeed the beauty and exactneſs of arts had been quite loſt in thoſe parts long ago, if it were not that the kings and grandees there did give wages to certain workmen, that work in their houſes, and there teach their children, and endeavour to make themſelves able in order to be a little more conſidered, and to eſcape the Korrah; and if alſo it were not, that thoſe great and rich merchants of towns, who are protected by good and powerful patrons, payed thoſe workmen a little better: I ſay, a little better; for, what fine ſtuffs ſoever we ſee come from thoſe countries, we muſt not imagine, that the workman is there in any honour, or comes to any thing; it is nothing but mere neceſſity or the cudgel, that makes him work, he never grows rich; it is no ſmall matter, when he hath wherewith to live and to cloath himſelf narrowly. If there be any money to gain of the work, that is not for him, but for thoſe great merchants of towns I was juſt now ſpeaking of: and even theſe themſelves find it often difficult enough to maintain themſelves, and to prevent extortion.

'Tis from the ſame cauſe alſo, that a groſs and profound ignorance reigns in thoſe ſtates. For how is it poſſible there ſhould be academies and colleges well founded, where are ſuch founders to be met with? And if there were any, whence were the ſcholars to be had? Where are thoſe that have means ſufficient to maintain their children in colleges; and if there were, who would appear to be ſo rich? And if they would, where are thoſe benefices, preferments and dignities that require knowledge and abilities, and that may animate young men to ſtudy?

Thence it is likewiſe, that traffic languiſhes in all that country, in compariſon of ours. For how many are there that care to take pains, to run up and down, to write much, and to run danger for another, for a governor, that ſhall extort, if he be not in league with ſome conſiderable ſword-man, whoſe ſlave he in a manner is, and that makes his own conditions with him?

It is not there, that the kings find for their ſervice princes, lords, gentlemen, ſons of rich and good families, officers, citizens, merchants, and even tradeſmen well born, well educated, and well inſtructed; men of courage that have a true affection and reſpect for their king, that often live a great while at court and in the army at their own expences, entertaining themſelves with good hopes, and content with the favourable aſpect of the prince; and who upon occaſion fight manfully, covetous to uphold the honour of their anceſtors and families. Thoſe kings, I ſay, never ſee about them but men of nothing, ſlaves, ignorants, brutes, and ſuch courtizans as are raiſed from the duſt to dignities, and that for want of good education and inſtruction almoſt always retain ſomewhat of their offspring, of the temper of beggars, enriched, proud, unſufferable, heartleſs, inſenſible of honour, diſingenuous, and void of affection and regard for the honour of their king and country. Here it is, where thoſe kings muſt ruin all to find means to defray all thoſe prodigious charges, which they cannot avoid for entertaining their great court, which hath no other ſource to ſubſiſt but their coffers and treaſure, and for maintaining conſtantly the vaſt number of ſoldiers, neceſſary for them to keep the people in ſubjec-

tion, to prevent their running away, to make them work, and to get what is exacted from them, they being ſo many deſperadoes, for being perpetually under hatches, and for labouring only for others.

Thence it is alſo, that in an important war that may happen (which may be almoſt at all times) they muſt almoſt of neceſſity ſell the government for ready money and immenſe ſums; whence chiefly that ruin and deſolation comes to paſs which we ſee. For the governor, which is the buyer, muſt not he be reimburſed of all thoſe great ſums of money, which he hath taken up, perhaps the third or fourth part, at high intereſt? Muſt not a governor alſo, whether he have bought the government or not, find means, as well as a timariot and a farmer, to make every year great preſents to a viſir, an eunuch, a lady of the ſeraglio, and to thoſe other perſons that ſupport him at court? Muſt he not pay to the King his uſual tributes, and withal enrich himſelf, that wretched ſlave, half famiſhed, and deeply indebted when he firſt appeared, without goods, lands, and revenues of houſe; ſuch as they all are? Do not they ruin all, and lay all waſte; I mean, thoſe that in the provinces are like ſo many tyrants with a boundleſs and unmeaſured authority, there being nobody there, as hath been already ſaid, that can reſtrain them, or to whom a ſubject can have refuge to ſave himſelf from their tyranny, and to obtain juſtice?

'Tis true, that in the empire of the Mogul the Vakea-nevis, that is, thoſe perſons whom he ſends into the provinces to write to him whatſoever paſſeth there, do a little keep the officers in awe, provided they do not collude together (as it almoſt always happens) to devour all; as alſo that the governments are not there ſo often ſold, nor ſo openly as in Turkey; I ſay, not ſo openly (for thoſe great preſents, they are from time to time obliged to make, are almoſt equivalent to ſales) and that the governors ordinarily remain longer in their governments; which maketh them not ſo hungry, ſo beggarly, and ſo deep in debt, as thoſe new comers, and that conſequently they do not always tyrannize over the people with ſo much cruelty; even apprehending, leſt they ſhould run away to the Rajas; which yet falls out very often.

'Tis alſo true, that in Perſia the governments are not ſo frequently nor ſo publicly ſold as in Turkey; the ſons of the governors alſo ſucceeding often enough to their fathers; which is alſo the cauſe that the people there is often not ſo ill treated as in Turkey, and occaſions withal, that there is more politeneſs, and that even ſome there are that addict themſelves to ſtudy. But all that is really but a ſlight matter; thoſe three ſtates of Turkey, Perſia, and Indoſtan, foraſmuch as they have all three taken away the *Meum* and *Tuum* as to land and propriety of poſſeſſions (which is the foundation of whatever is good and regular in the world) cannot but very near reſemble one another: they have the ſame defect, they muſt at laſt, ſooner or later, needs fall into the ſame inconveniences, which are the neceſſary conſequences of it, viz. tyranny, ruin, and deſolation.

Far be it therefore, that our monarchs of Europe ſhould thus be proprietors of all the lands which their ſubjects poſſeſs. Their kingdoms would be very far from being ſo well cultivated and peopled, ſo well built, ſo rich, ſo polite and flouriſhing as we ſee them. Our kings are otherwiſe rich and powerful; and we muſt avow that we are much better and more royally ſerved. There would be kings of deſarts and ſolitudes, of beggars and barbarians, ſuch as thoſe are whom I have been repreſenting; who, becauſe they will have all, at laſt loſe all; and who, becauſe they will make themſelves too rich, at length find themſelves without riches, or at leaſt, very far from that which they covet after, out of their blind ambition and paſſion of being more abſolute than the laws of God and nature do permit. For, where would be thoſe princes, thoſe prelates, thoſe

thoſe nobles, thoſe rich citizens and great merchants, and thoſe famous artizans, thoſe towns of Paris, Lyons, Toulouſe, Rouen, London, and ſo many others? Where would be that infinite number of boroughs and villages, all thoſe fair country-houſes, and fields, and hillocks tilled and maintained with ſo much induſtry, care and labour? And where would conſequently be all thoſe vaſt revenues drawn thence, which at laſt enrich the ſubjects and the ſovereign both? We ſhould find the great cities, and the great boroughs rendered inhabitable becauſe of the ill air, and to fall to ruin without any body's taking care of repairing them; the hillocks abandoned, and the fields overſpread with the buſhes, or filled with peſtilential marſhes, as hath been already intimated.

A word to our dear and experienced travellers: they would not find thoſe fair conveniencies of travelling; they would be obliged to carry all things with them, like the Bohemians; and all thoſe good inns, for example, that are found between Paris and Lyons, would be like ten or twelve wretched Caravans-ſerrahs, that is, great barns, raiſed and paved, ſuch as our Pont-neuf is, where hundreds of men are found pel-mel together with their horſes, mules and camels, where one is ſtifled with heat in ſummer, and ſtarved with cold in winter, if it were not for the breathing of thoſe animals, that warm the place a little.

But it will be ſaid, we ſee ſome ſtates, where the *Meum* and *Tuum* is not (as for example, that of the Grand Seignor, which we know better than any, without going ſo far as the Indies) that do not only ſubſiſt, but are alſo very powerful, and encreaſe daily.

'Tis true, that that ſtate of the Grand Seignor, of ſuch a prodigious extent as it is, having ſo vaſt a quantity of lands, the ſoil of which is ſo excellent, that it cannot be deſtroyed but very difficultly, and in a long time, is yet rich and populous; but it is certain alſo, that if it were cultivated and peopled proportionably to ours, (which it would be, if there were property among the ſubjects throughout) it would be quite a different thing; it would have people enough to raiſe ſuch prodigious armies as in old times, and rich enough to maintain them. We have travelled through almoſt all the parts of it; we have ſeen how ſtrangely it is ruined and unpeopled; and how in the capital city there now needs three whole months to raiſe five or ſix thouſand men. We know alſo, what it would have come to ere this, if it had not been for the great number of Chriſtian ſlaves that are brought into it from all parts. And no doubt but that, if the ſame government were continued there for a number of years, that ſtate would deſtroy itſelf, and at laſt fall by its own weakneſs, as it ſeems that already it is hardly maintained but only by that means, I mean, by the frequent change of governors; there being not one governor, nor any one man in the whole empire, that hath a penny to enable him to maintain the leaſt thing, or that can almoſt find any men, if he had money. A ſtrange manner to make ſtates to ſubſiſt! There would need no more for making an end of the ſeditions, than a Brama of Pegu, who killed the half of the kingdom with hunger, and turned it into foreſts, hindering for ſome years the lands from being tilled, though yet he hath not ſucceeded in his deſign, and the ſtate have afterwards been divided, and that even lately Ava, the capital town, was upon the point of being taken by an handful of China fugitives. Mean time we muſt confeſs, that we are not like to ſee in our days that total ruin and deſtruction of this empire we are ſpeaking of (if ſo be we ſee not ſomething worſe), becauſe it has neighbours, that are ſo far from being able to undertake any thing againſt him, that they are not ſo much as in a condition to reſiſt him, unleſs it be by thoſe ſuccours of ſtrangers, which the remoteneſs and jealouſy would make ſlow, ſmall, and ſuſpect.

But it might yet be further objected, that it appears not why ſuch ſtates as theſe might not have good laws, and why the people in the provinces might not be enabled to come and make their complaints to the Grand Viſir, or to the King himſelf. 'Tis true, that they are not altogether deſtitute of good laws, and that if thoſe which are amongſt them were obſerved, there would be as good living there, as in any part of the world. But what are thoſe laws good for, if they be not obſerved, and if there be no means to make them to be executed? Is it not the Grand Viſir, or the King that appoints for the people ſuch beggarly tyrants, and that hath no others to ſet over them? Is it not he that ſells thoſe governments? Hath a poor peaſant or tradesman means to make great journeys, and to come and ſeek for juſtice in the capital city, remote perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues from the place of his abode? Will not the governor cauſe him to be made away in his journey (as it hath often happened) or catch him ſooner or later? And will he not provide his friends at court, to ſupport him there, and to repreſent things quite otherwiſe than they are? In a word, this governor, hungry as well as the Timariots, and farmers (that are all men for drawing oil out of ſand, as the Perſian ſpeaks, and for ruining a world, with their heap of women-harpies, children and ſlaves), this governor, I ſay, is he not the abſolute maſter, the ſuper-intendant of juſtice, the parliament, the receiver, and all?

It may perhaps be added, that the lands, which our kings hold in Domaine, are no leſs well tilled and peopled, than other land. But there is a great difference between the having in property ſome lands here and there in a great kingdom, (which changes not the conſtitution of the ſtate and government,) and the having them all in property, which would alter it altogether. And when we in theſe parts have laws ſo rational, which our kings are willing to be the firſt to obſerve, and according to which they will that their particular lands ſhall be governed as thoſe of their ſubjects are, ſo as to give way, that actions of law may be laid againſt their own farmers and officers, ſo that a peaſant or tradeſman may have means to obtain juſtice, and to find remedy againſt the unjuſt violence of thoſe that would oppreſs him: whereas in thoſe parts of Aſia I ſee almoſt not any refuge for thoſe poor people; the cudgel and the hammer of the governor being in a manner the only law that rules, and decides all controverſies there.

Laſtly, it may be ſaid, that 'tis at leaſt certain, that in ſuch ſtates there is not ſuch a multitude of long-laſting ſuits of law, as in theſe parts, nor ſo many lawyers of all ſorts, as amongſt us. It is, in my opinion, very true, that one cannot too much applaud that old Perſian ſaying, *Na-hac Kouta Beter-Ez hac Deraz*, that is, "Short injuſtice is better than long juſtice;" and that the length of the law-ſuits is inſufferable in a ſtate, and that it is the indiſpenſable duty of the ſovereign by all good means to endeavour a remedy againſt them. And 'tis certain, that by taking away this *Meum* and *Tuum*, the root, would be cut off an infinite number of law-proceſſes, and eſpecially of almoſt all thoſe that are of importance, and long and perplexed; and conſequently there would not need ſo great a number of magiſtrates, which our ſovereigns do employ to adminiſter juſtice to their ſubjects, nor that ſwarm of men, which ſubſiſt only by that way. But 'tis alſo manifeſt, that the remedy would be an hundred times worſe than the diſeaſe, conſidering thoſe great inconveniencies that would follow thereupon, and that in all probability the magiſtrates would become ſuch as thoſe of the Aſiatic ſtates, who deſerve not that name; for in a word, our kings have yet cauſe to glory upon the account of good magiſtracy under them. In thoſe parts, ſome merchants excepted, juſtice is only amongſt the meaneſt ſort of people, that are mean and of an unequal condition, who have not the means of corrupting the judges, and to buy falſe witneſſes, that are there

in great numbers, and very cheap, and never puniſhed. And this I have learned every where by the experience of many years, and by my ſolicitous enquiries made among the people of the country, and our old merchants that are in thoſe parts, as alſo of ambaſſadors, conſuls and interpreters; whatever our common travellers may ſay, who, upon their having ſeen by chance, when they paſſed by, two or three porters or others of the like gang, about a Kady, quickly diſpatched one or other of the parties, and ſometimes both, with ſome laſhes under the ſole of their feet, or with a *Maybalé Baba*, ſome mild words, when there is no wool to ſheer; who, I ſay, upon ſight of this, come hither, and cry out, Oh the good and ſhort juſtice! Oh what honeſt judges are thoſe in reſpect of ours! Not conſidering in the mean time, that if any one of thoſe wretches that is in the wrong, had a couple of crowns to corrupt the Kady, or his clerks, and as much to buy two falſe witneſſes, he might either win his proceſs, or prolong it as long as he pleaſed.

In concluſion to be ſhort, I ſay, that the taking away this property of lands among private men, would be infallibly to introduce at the ſame time tyranny, ſlavery, injuſtice, beggary, barbariſm, deſolation, and to open a highway for the ruin and deſtruction of mankind, and even of kings and ſtates: and that on the contrary, this *Meum* and *Tuum*, accompanied with the hopes that every one ſhall keep what he works and labours for, for himſelf and his children, as his own, is the main foundation of whatever is regular and good in the world: inſomuch that whoſoever ſhall caſt his eyes upon the different countries and kingdoms, and taketh good notice what follows upon this property of ſovereigns, or that of the people, will ſoon find the true ſource and chief cauſe of that great difference we ſee in the ſeveral ſtates and empires of the world, and avow, that this is in a manner that which changes and diverſifieth the face of the whole earth.

A Letter to Mr. de la Mothe le Vayer, written at Dehli, July 1, 1663; *containing the Deſcription of Dehli and Agra, and divers Particulars, diſcovering the Court and Genius of the Moguls and Indians.*

SIR,

I know that one of the firſt queſtions you are like to aſk me, at my return in France, will be, whether Dehli and Agra are cities as fair and large, and as well peopled as Paris. Concerning its beauty, I ſhall tell you by way of preface, that I have ſometimes wondered to hear our Europeans that are here, deſpiſing the towns of the Indies, as not coming near ours, in reſpect of the edifices. Certainly they ought not to reſemble them; and if Paris, London, and Amſterdam ſtood in the place where Dehli is, the greateſt part of them muſt be thrown down, to build them after another manner. Our cities indeed have great beauties and embelliſhments, but they are ſuch that are proper to them, and accommodated to a cold climate. Dehli alſo may have its beauties peculiar to it, and ſuitable to a very hot climate: for you are to know, that the heat here obligeth all people, even the great lords and the King himſelf, to go without ſtockings, in a kind of ſlippers only, a fine and ſlight turban on their heads, and the other garments accordingly; that there are months in the ſummer ſo exceſſively hot, that in the chambers one can hardly hold one's hands againſt a wall, nor one's head on a cuſhion; and that the people are obliged, for the ſpace of more than ſix months, to lie without covering, at the door of their chamber, as the rabble doth in the open ſtreets, or as the merchants and other people of ſome quality do, in ſome airy hall or garden,

garden, or upon ſome terras well watered at night: thence you may judge, whether if there were ſuch ſtreets as that of St. Jacques, or St. Denis, with their houſes ſhut, and of ſo many ſtories high, they would be habitable? And whether in the night, eſpecially when the heats are without wind and ſtuffing, it would be poſſible to ſleep there? And who is there (I pray) that would have a mind in ſummer, when he returns on horſeback from the city half dead, and in a manner ſtifled of the heat and duſt, and all in a ſweat (for ſo it is), to go climbing up an high pair of ſtairs, which often is narrow and dark, to a fourth or fifth ſtory, and to abide in this hot and ſuffocating air? On ſuch occaſions they deſire nothing, but to throw down into the ſtomach a pint of freſh water, or lemonade, to undreſs, to waſh the face, hands, and feet, to lie down in ſome cool and ſhady place all along, having a ſervant or two to fan one by turns with their great panhas, or fans. But to leave this, we ſhall now endeavour to entertain you with the repreſentation of Dehli as it is, that ſo you may judge whether it be truly ſaid, that it is a fair city.

It is now about forty years that Chah-Jehan, father of the Grand Mogul Aureng-Zebe now reigning, to eternize his memory, cauſed to be built a town contiguous to old Dehli, which he called after his name Chah-Jehan-Abad, and by way of abbreviation, Jehan-Abad; that is to ſay, a colony of Chah-Jehan, deſigning to make it the capital of the empire, inſtead of Agra, where he ſaid that the ſummer heats were too violent. This nearneſs hath occaſioned, that the ruins of old Dehli have ſerved to build a new city; and in the Indies they ſcarce ſpeak any more of Dehli, but only of Jehan-Abad. Yet notwithſtanding, ſince the city of Jehan-Abad is not yet known amongſt us, I intend to ſpeak of it under the old name of Dehli, which is familiar to us.

Dehli then is a town altogether new, ſeated in a plain campaign, upon a river like our Loire, called Gemna, and built along one ſide of the river only; there being but one boat-bridge to paſs over into the plain. This town is ſurrounded with walls, except the river ſide; theſe walls are of bricks, and without a conſiderable defence, they being without a ditch, and having nothing to flank them but round towers after the old way, diſtant from each other an hundred common paces, and a rampart behind them four or five feet thick. The compaſs of theſe walls, comprizing the fortreſs, is not ſo big as is commonly believed: I have gone it round with eaſe in three hours; and I believe not, though I was on horſeback, that I diſpatched more than one league in an hour; 'tis true, that if you will take into the town a very long ſuburb, which goeth towards Lahor, as alſo what remains inhabited of old Dehli, which is likewiſe a great and very long ſuburb, and beſides, three or four ſmall ſuburbs more, all that would make in a direct line above a league and a half, and ſuch a compaſs which I cannot well determine, becauſe that between the ſuburbs are great gardens, and large ſpaces not built; but I may ſay, that thus taken it would be of a prodigious bigneſs.

The fortreſs, in which is the mehalle, or ſeraglio, and the other royal apartments, which I ſhall hereafter ſpeak of, is built round upon the river; yet there is between the water and the walls a pretty large and long ſandy ſpace, where commonly elephants are exerciſed, and where frequently the militia of the Omrahs and Rajahs is muſtered in the King's preſence, who looks out of the windows of one of his apartments. The walls of the fortreſs, as to their round antique towers, are very near like thoſe of the town; but they are partly of bricks, and partly of a certain red ſtone reſembling marble, which maketh them look fairer than thoſe of the town; beſides that, they are much higher, ſtronger, and thicker, being able to bear ſome field-pieces that are there planted towards the town; and encompaſſed alſo, excepting that ſide which reſpects the river,

Engraved by Barnsham by John Byrne, from Mr Daniells Work of Oriental Scenery

N.E. View of the Cotsea Bhaug, on the River Jumna, Delhi.

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river, with a fair ditch, walled up with free-ſtone, full of water and fiſh. But yet they are ſo inconſiderable for ſtrength, that a battery of ſome middle ſized cannon would, in my opinion, ſoon caſt them down.

Round about the ditch there is a pretty large garden, at all times full of flowers and green apricots, which, together with thoſe great walls all red, maketh a very fine ſight.

About this garden is the great ſtreet, or rather the great place royal, to which the two great and principal gates of the fortreſs do anſwer, and to theſe gates the two chief ſtreets of the town.

In this great place it is, where the tents of the Rajas are that are in the King's pay, to keep there, every one in his turn, their weekly guard; whereas the Omrahs and Manſebdars, or ſmall Omrahs, keep it within the fortreſs. Theſe little ſovereigns are not pleaſed to ſee themſelves thus and ſo long ſhut up in a fort.

In this very place it is where, at the break of day, are exerciſed the horſes of a long royal ſtable near it. And here it is alſo that the Kobat-kan, or great commiſſioner of the cavalry, carefully vieweth the horſes of thoſe cavaliers that have been received into ſervice, to the end that if theſe horſes are of Turkiſtan or Tartary, and large and ſtrong enough for ſervice, the King's mark, and that of the Omrahs under whom ſuch cavaliers are to be liſted, may be branded upon them: a thing not ill deviſed, to prevent the mutual loan of horſes in the muſters.

This ſame place is alſo a kind of Bazar, or market, of an hundred things ſold there, and a rendezvous of players and jugglers of all ſorts, as the Pont-neuf at Paris. It is no leſs the meeting-place of the poor aſtrologers, as well Mahometan as heathen. Theſe doctors (forſooth) ſit there in the ſun upon a piece of tapeſtry, all covered with duſt, having about them ſome old mathematical inſtruments, which they make ſhew of to draw paſſengers, and a great open book repreſenting the animals of the Zodiack. Theſe men are the oracles, but rather the affronters of the vulgar, to whom they pretend to give for one payſſa, that is, a penny, good luck; and they are they, that looking upon the hands and the face, turning over their books, and making a ſhew of calculation, determine the fortunate moment when a buſineſs is to be begun to make it ſucceſsful. The mean women, wrapt up in a white ſheet from head to foot, come to find them out, telling them in their ear their moſt ſecret concerns, as if they were their confeſſors, and (which ſmells very ſtrongly of ſtupidity and folly) entreat them to render the ſtars propitious to them and ſuitable to their deſigns; as if they could abſolutely diſpoſe of their influences.

The moſt ridiculous of all theſe aſtrologers, in my opinion, was that mongrel Portugueze, fugitive from Goa, who ſat in that place with much gravity upon his piece of tapeſtry, like the reſt, and had a great deal of cuſtom, though he could neither write nor read; and as for inſtruments and books, was furniſhed with nothing elſe but an old ſea-compaſs, and an old Romiſh prayer-book in the Portugueze language, of which he ſhewed the pictures for figures of the Zodiack: *A tal beſtias, tal aſtrologuo*: "For ſuch beaſts, ſuch aſtrologer;" ſaid he to the Reverend Father Buze, a Jeſuit, who met him in that place.

I here ſpeak only of the pitiful aſtrologers of the Bazar; for there are others in theſe parts, that are in the courts of the grandees, and are conſidered as great clerks, and are very rich; whole Aſia being overſpread with this ſuperſtition. The kings and the great lords, who would not undertake the leaſt things without conſulting them, allow them great ſalaries, that they may read to them what is written in the heavens (for ſo

they ſpeak here), and take out for them that fortunate moment I was lately ſpeaking of; or find out, at the opening of the Alcoran, the deciſion of all their doubts.

To return; theſe two principal ſtreets, which I ſaid do anſwer to the two gates of the fortreſs, and to the place, may have twenty-five or thirty common paces in breadth, and they run in a ſtrait line as far as you are able to ſee: yet that which leads to the gate of Lahor, is much longer than the other; but they are both alike as to the houſes. There is on both ſides nothing but arches, as in our *Place Royal;* yet with this difference, that they are but of bricks, and that there is not any building upon them, but only the terras. There is alſo this difference, that they are not continued galleries. Theſe arches are generally ſevered by rails that make ſhops which are not to be ſhut, where tradeſmen work in the day, where bankers ſit for their buſineſs, and where merchants ſet out their wares, which at night they lock up in a magazine, the little door of which, to be ſhut, is in the bottom of every arch.

It is upon this magazine, which is in the back part of the arches, that the houſes of merchants are built and raiſed, which make a ſhew good enough towards the ſtreet, and are alſo pretty convenient, being well aired, out of the way of the duſt, and having for their floor the terraſſes of the arches, upon which they can walk to look out upon the ſtreet, and to ſleep at night *in freſco.* But excepting theſe houſes of the chief ſtreets, and a few others, there are not many of theſe fair houſes that are thus raiſed upon terraſſes; nor are even theſe two ſtreets univerſally furniſhed with them, there being moſtly upon the magazine, or on the ſide, nothing but a ſmall building, not ſeen from the ſtreet, the great merchants having their houſes ſomewhere elſe, whither they retire at night.

Beſides theſe two principal ſtreets, there are yet five others, which indeed are not ſo long nor ſo ſtrait, but for the reſt are altogether like them. There are alſo a great many other ſtreets croſſing thoſe on all ſides, whereof there are alſo ſome furniſhed with arches; but becauſe they have been built piece-meal by ſuch particular perſons, as have not obſerved the ſymmetry that was requiſite; they are, for the moſt part, neither ſo large, nor ſo ſtraight, nor ſo well built as the others.

Amongſt all theſe ſtreets are ſpread every where the houſes of the Manſebdars, or little Omrahs, and thoſe of the men of the law, as alſo of many great merchants, and other private men; of which there is a good number that are paſſable. It is true, there are but few that are all of brick or ſtone, and there is even a good number of theſe, that are made all of earth only, and thatched; but for all that, they are convenient, becauſe they are generally airy, being furniſhed with courts and gardens. Nor are they diſagreeable within, for as much as beſides the fine moveables, theſe thatched coverings are ſupported by a layer of certain long canes, that are hard and ſtrong, and very pretty, and becauſe alſo theſe earthen walls are plaiſtered over with very fine and very white chalk.

Amongſt theſe houſes I have been ſpeaking of that are tolerable, there is alſo a prodigious number of other ſmall ones, that are only made up of earth and ſtraw, where all the ſimple cavaliers, and their ſervants, and all thoſe little people of the market, that follow the court and the army, are lodged.

It is from theſe thatched houſes that Dehli is ſo ſubject to fires. This laſt year there were burnt above ſixty thouſand ſuch, at two or three times that they took fire, when there blew certain impetuous winds, that riſe chiefly in ſummer. The fire was ſo quick and ſo violent, that it ſurprized the houſes, and many horſes alſo that could not be time enough looſened; and there were even ſome of theſe poor women burnt, that

that never had been out of the ſeraglio, and that are ſo weak and ſhame-faced when they ſee people, that they know nothing elſe but to hide their faces.

And it is upon the account of theſe pitiful houſes of earth and ſtraw, that I look upon Dehli almoſt no otherwiſe than as many villages joined together, and (which I have already ſaid in another place) as a camp of an army, a little better and more commodiouſly placed than in the field.

As to the houſes of the Omrahs, that are alſo up and down in this city, and principally upon the river, and even in the ſuburbs. You are to know that in theſe hot countries, to entitle an houſe to the name of good and fair, it is required it ſhould be commodious, ſeated in a place well aired, and capable to receive the wind from all ſides, and principally from the north; having courts, gardens, trees, conſervatories, and little jets of waters in the halls, or at leaſt at the entry; furniſhed alſo with good cellars, with great flaps to ſtir the air, for repoſing in the freſh air from twelve till four or five of the clock, when the air of theſe cellars begins to be hot and ſtuffing; or having in lieu of cellarage certain kas-kanays, that is, little houſes of ſtraw, or rather of odoriferous roots, that are very neatly made, and commonly placed in the midſt of a parterre near ſome conſervatory, that ſo the ſervants may eaſily, with their pompion-bottles, water them from without. Moreover it is required for the beauty of an houſe, that it be ſeated in the midſt of ſome great parterre, that it have four great divans or ways raiſed from the ground to the height of a man, or thereabout, and expoſed to the four parts of the world, to receive the wind and the cold from all the parts it may come from. Laſtly, it is requiſite for a good houſe to have raiſed terraſſes, to ſleep upon in the night, ſuch as are of the ſame floor with ſome great chamber, to draw in one's bedſtead upon occaſion; that is to ſay, when there comes ſome tempeſt of rain or duſt, or when that rouzing freſhneſs of the break of day awakens you, and obliges you to look for a covering; or elſe when you apprehend that ſmall and light dew of the morning, which pierceth, and cauſeth ſometimes benumbing and paralytical ſymptoms in the limbs.

As to the interior part of an houſe, it is requiſite that the whole floor be covered with a mattreſs of cotton four inches thick, covered with a white fine linen ſheet during ſummer, and with a piece of ſilk tapeſtry in winter; that in the moſt conſpicuous part of the chamber, near the wall, there be one or two cotton quilts, with fine flowered coverings, and ſet about with ſmall and fine embroidery of ſilk, wrought with gold and ſilver, for the maſter of the houſe, or perſons of quality coming in, to ſit upon; and that every quilt have its croſs-board, purfled with gold, to lean upon; that round about the chamber, along the walls, there be ſeveral of theſe croſs-boards, as I juſt now mentioned, handſomely covered with velvet or flowered ſatin, for by-ſtanders alſo to lean upon. The walls five or ſix foot from the floor, muſt be almoſt all with niches, or little windows, cut in an hundred different manners, or ſhapes, very fine, well meaſured and proportioned to one another, with ſome porcelain veſſels and flower-pots in them; and the ground muſt be painted and gilded, yet without any figure of man or beaſt, their religion not allowing thereof.

This is as near as I know, the idea of a handſome and convenient houſe in theſe parts; and as there is a good number of them in Dehli, that have all theſe qualities mentioned, or at leaſt in part, according to which they are more or leſs fair and gallant, I believe one may ſay, without any injury to our towns, that Dehli is not without houſes that are truly handſome, although they be not like ours in Europe.

Concerning the appearance and riches of the ſhops, (which is the thing that contributeth moſt to the beauty of our towns in Europe) although Dehli be the ſeat of a very

very potent and magnificent court, and conſequently the reſort of infinite quantities and varieties of rich wares; yet we are not to imagine, that you ſhall find there our ſtreets of St. Denis; I know not whether there be any ſuch in all Aſia. And even as to the moſt fine and the moſt rich ſtuffs, they are commonly but in the magazines, their ſhops are not furniſhed with them: ſo that for one ſhop that maketh any ſhow, that is, where there are ſold thoſe fine ſorts of linen, thoſe ſtuffs of ſilk ſtreaked with gold and ſilver, cloth of gold, turbans embroidered with gold, and other commodities of great price, you ſhall always find five-and-twenty and more, that are filled with nothing but pots of oil and butter, and panniers one upon another full of rice, barley, peaſe, corn, and many other ſorts of grain and legume; which are the ordinary food, not only of all the Gentiles, that never eat any meat, but alſo of the meaner ſort of the Mahometans, and of a good part of thoſe of the ſoldiery.

It is true that there is a fruit-market that maketh ſome ſhew. One may there ſee in ſummer abundance of ſhops full of dry fruit, that come out of Perſia, Balk, Bokara, and Samarkand, as almonds, piſtaches, ſmall nuts, raiſins, prunes, apricots, and the like. And in winter there are found excellent raiſins, freſh, black and white, brought from the ſame countries, well wrapt up in cotton; alſo apples and pears of three or four ſorts, and of theſe admirable melons that laſt all winter. But all this fruit is very dear; I have ſeen melons ſold even for a crown and an half a piece. And they are indeed the great delicacy and expence of the Omrahs. I have often ſeen in the houſe of my Aga, that there was eaten in melons in one morning for more than twenty crowns. There are none but the melons of the country that are cheap in ſummer, but thoſe are not ſo good. The grandees only, that ſend for ſeed out of Perſia, and to get the ground well fitted for them, may eat good ones; yet that but rarely neither, the ground being not ſo proper but that the ſeed degenerateth the very firſt year.

It is true, there is yet another fruit called amba, or mangue, which in its ſeaſon, during two ſummer months, is found in great plenty and very cheap; but thoſe of Dehli are none of the beſt, being very looſe and flaſhy: thoſe of Bengala, Golkonda, and Goa are admirable. It hath a certain ſweetneſs ſo peculiar, that I doubt whether there be any comfit in the world ſo pleaſant. There are alſo pateques, or water-melons in abundance, and almoſt all the year long; but they alſo do not thrive well at Dehli; they never have their meat ſo ruddy, firm, and ſugary; and if there be any good, they are not to be found but amongſt the great ones, who take the pains of making them grow as melons, with extraordinary care and coſt.

There be alſo up and down in Dehli ſhops of comfit-makers; but all their comfits are very ill done, being full of duſt and flies.

There are beſides many ſhops of bread every where, but becauſe they have no ovens like ours, it is never well baked: yet in the fortreſs there is ſold ſome that is reaſonably good; and the Omrahs cauſe ſuch to be made in their houſes that is very delicate, ſparing no new butter, milk, nor eggs: yet though they leaven it, it is always much inferior in goodneſs to our bread of Goneſſe, and to thoſe other ſorts of excellent bread of Paris, it ſavouring always of the cake or ſimnel.

In theſe bazars there are alſo ſome tents, where they trade in roaſt meat, and in dreſſing I know not how many ſorts of diſhes; but all that is but beggarly, naſty, and ill meat. I fear you ſometimes meet with the fleſh of camels, horſes, or oxen dead of ſickneſs: I do not much truſt them; ſo that if you will eat any thing worth eating, you muſt have it dreſſed at home.

There

There are alſo many ſhops every where, where they ſell fleſh; but you may take heed leſt they give you mutton for kid; the mutton and beef, but eſpecially the mutton, though well enough taſted, being here very hot, windy, and of ill digeſtion. The beſt meat here is young kid, but it is very rarely ſold in the market by quarters; ſo that if you have a mind to eat any, you muſt buy a whole and a live one; which is inconvenient enough, becauſe the meat is ſpoiled between one morning and evening, and is commonly ſo lean, that it is taſteleſs. Ordinarily you find in the ſhambles nothing but the quarters of great kids, which often alſo are very lean and hard. It is true, that ſince I have learned ſomething of the manner of the country, I find both meat and bread good enough, becauſe I ſend my ſervant to the fortreſs to the King's caterers, who are very ready to let him have what is good for good payment, though it coſt them nothing. And it was in reference to this that one day I made my Agah ſmile, when I told him that I had I know not how many years lived by artifice and ſtealing, and that for all the 150 crowns pay he monthly allowed me, I was ready to be ſtarved; whereas in France, for half a rupie, I could every day eat as good a bit of meat as the King.

They have no capons, all that people being too tender hearted towards all animals but men, whom they need for their ſeraglios. But the markets are full of hens, that are very good and cheap: among the reſt there is one ſort of little ones, that I called Ethiopian hens, becauſe they have their ſkin black like the Ethiopians, which are very tender and very delicate.

Pidgeons there are, but no young ones, becauſe they will not kill them young; they would be (ſay they) too ſmall, and it were ill done to kill ſuch poor little animals.

There are alſo partridges, but ſmaller than ours, and generally (ſeeing they bring them afar off alive, knowing how to take them with nets) they are worſe than our pullets. The like may be ſaid of their ducks and hares, of which they alſo bring whole cages full alive.

Concerning fiſh, the people here are no great fiſhmongers; yet at times one meets with very good fiſh, eſpecially of two ſorts, the one reſembleth our pike, and the other our carp; but that is only when it is not cold, for the Indians fear that much more than we Europeans apprehend heat. And if at any time you meet accidentally with any, the eunuchs who love them exceſſively (I know not why) carry them preſently away. None but the Omrahs have power to make men fiſh when they pleaſe, which they do with the korrah, that great common whip always hanging at their gates.

From all that I have ſaid, you may, by the bye, ſee whether a man ought to leave Paris to come to Dehli to make good cheer. Certainly the grandees have all things, but that is upon the account of their many ſervants, of the korrah, and of the plenty of money. And thence it was I once ſaid, "That at Dehli there is no mean; there you muſt either be a great lord, or live miſerably:" for I have experienced it myſelf, in a manner dying of hunger this good while, though I have had conſiderable pay, and was reſolved to ſpare nothing that way, becauſe commonly there is found nothing in the markets but the refuſe of the grandees. Beſides that, the ſoul of a feaſt, which is good wine, is not there; not that no grapes do grow there to make wine, (for I have drunk ſome at Amadevad and Golkonda, in the houſes of Engliſhmen and Hollanders, that was not ill,) but becauſe it is prohibited to make wine, in regard that not only by the law of Mahomet, but alſo by that of the heathen, it is not permitted to drink any: ſo that it is very rare to find wine, and that which we find comes out of

Perſia from Chiras by land to Banderabaſy, from thence by ſea to Surat, and from Surat hither by land in forty-ſix days: or it comes from the Canaries, brought alſo over ſea to Surat by the Dutch. And both are ſo dear, that the coſt (as the ſaying is) maketh it loſe the taſte; for a bottle holding about three Pariſian pints cometh often to ſix or ſeven crowns, and more. That which is of this country's growth is called Arrac, a ſtrong water made of ſugar not refined, and even this is expreſsly prohibited to be ſold, and there are none but Chriſtians that dare drink of it, except others do it by ſtealth. This is a drink very hot and penetrant, like the brandy made of corn in Poland. It ſo falls upon the nerves, that it often cauſeth ſhaking hands in thoſe that drink a little too much of it, and caſts them into incurable maladies. Here we muſt accuſtom ourſelves to fair and good water, and to lemonade, which is excellent, and may be made with ſmall charges, and doth not ſpoil the ſtomach. But to ſay all, a man hath no great inclination, in ſuch hot countries as theſe, to drink wine; and I am willing notice ſhould be here taken together with me, that the abſtinence from wine in theſe parts, joined to the general ſobriety of the natives, and to the ſweats and perpetual tranſpiration made by the pores, are the cauſe (in my opinion) that we almoſt know not what is the gout, the ſtone, aches of the kidneys, rheumatiſms, quartans; and that thoſe that bring any of theſe ſickneſſes hither, as I did, are at length totally freed from them: and further, that the pox itſelf, though very frequent, is not ſo pernicious here as in Europe: ſo that people generally live here more healthily than with us. But then, on the other hand, there is not ſo much vigour here in people, as in our cold climate; and this feebleneſs and languor of body is a kind of perpetual malady, very troubleſome to all, eſpecially in the great heats of ſummer, and more ſo to the Europeans, whoſe bodies are not yet inured to heat.

As for ſhops of excellent handycraftſmen, that is alſo a thing we muſt not look for here: all we find is but very little; not that the Indians have not wit enough to make them ſucceſsful in arts, they doing very well (as to ſome of them) in many parts of India, and it being found that they have inclination enough for them, and that ſome of them make (even without a maſter) very pretty workmanſhip, and imitate ſo well our work of Europe, that the difference thereof will hardly be diſcerned. I have ſeen amongſt them even of our kind of guns, very fine and very good; and pieces of goldſmith's work ſo well done, that I doubt whether in Europe they could be made better. I have alſo ſeen in picture and miniature ſuch curious and delicate pieces, that I admired them. Amongſt others, I have ſeen the combats of Ecbar, repreſented upon a buckler by a famous painter, who was ſaid to have been ſeven years working at it, which ſeemed to me an admirable piece of work. It is manifeſt, that they want nothing but good maſters, and the precepts of art, to give them juſt proportions; and above all that life of the face, to which they have not yet been able to attain. The reaſon therefore why in the ſhops of Dehli there are rarely found good handycraftſmen, is not want of wit, but contempt of the workmen, who are ill treated, and whoſe work is debaſed to too low a price. If ſome Omrah or Manſebdar will have any thing made by a workman of the Bazar, he will ſend for him, and make him work in a manner by force, and afterwards pay him as he pleaſeth; and the man will think himſelf happy too, if in part of payment he receive not the Korrah. What heart then can a poor workman have to take pains to ſucceed in his workmanſhip? He conſiders nothing but to diſpatch his work, thereby to earn ſomething to put bread into his mouth. So that if there be any of them that ſucceed, they are of thoſe whom the great lords entertain in their ſervice, and that work only for them.

Touching

Touching the things within the fortreſs, where are the ſeraglio, and ſome other royal edifices, you muſt not look for a Louvre or an Eſcurial; thoſe buildings do not reſemble ours, nor by what I have ſaid ought they to reſemble them; it is enough that they have that ſtatelineſs, which is proper for the climate.

I find nothing remarkable at the entry, but two great elephants of ſtone, which are on the two ſides of one of the gates. Upon one of them is the ſtatue of Jamel, that famous Raja of Chitar; and upon the other, that of Polta his brother. Theſe are thoſe two gallant men, that together with their mother, who was yet braver than they, cut ſo much work for Eckbar; and who in the ſiege of towns, which they maintained againſt him, gave ſuch extraordinary proofs of their generoſity, that at length they would rather be killed in the out-falls with their mother, than ſubmit: and for this gallantry it is, that even their enemies thought them worthy to have theſe ſtatues erected for them. Theſe two great elephants, together with the two reſolute men ſitting on them, do at the firſt entry into this fortreſs make an impreſſion of I know not what greatneſs and awful terror.

After you have paſſed this gate, you find a long and large ſtreet, divided into two by a channel of running water, and having on both ſides, as our Pont-neuf, a long raiſed wall five or ſix foot high, and four broad; and further off ſome arches ſhut, that follow one another all along in the form of gates. It is upon this long raiſed place, that thoſe clerks, comptrolers, and other ſmall officers ſit to do their office, without being incommoded by the horſes and people that paſs along beneath. And it is there alſo where the Manſebdars or little Omrahs, are at night to keep the guard. The water of the channel runneth dividing itſelf through the whole ſeraglio, and at length falleth into the ditches to fill them. It is drawn out of the river by a channel opened five or ſix leagues above Dehli, and conveyed croſs the field, and that through ſome rocks that have coſt great pains to be cut in divers places. And this is very near what may be ſeen at the entry into one of the two principal gates, that anſwer to the great piazza.

If you enter at the other gate, you alſo find preſently a pretty long and large ſtreet, having its riſings on the ſides as the other, together with ſhops upon them in lieu of the arches. This ſtreet is properly a Bazar, which is very commodious during the ſeaſon of the rains and ſummer, becauſe it is covered by a long and large vault, which hath on the top great openings to let in light.

Beſides theſe two ſtreets, there are many other ſmall ones on the right and left hand, that lead to the apartments where the Omrahs keep their guard, each in his turn, once a week, for twenty-four hours. Theſe places are ſtately ones for *Corps des gardes*, the Omrahs ſtriving to beautify them at their own charges. Theſe are ordinarily great raiſed places reſpecting a parterre, that hath its little channels of running water, ſmall conſervatories and jets of water. The Omrahs, during the twenty-four hours of guard, take no care for their table, the King ſending them all their meat ready dreſſed, and they being but to receive it, as they do, with very much ceremony and reſpect, making three obeyſances of thanks, by elevating their hand upon their head, and bowing down to the ground, their face turned toward the King.

There are alſo found many raiſed walks and tents in ſundry places, that are the offices of ſeveral officers. Beſides, there are many great halls that are the *Kar-kanays*, or places where handy-craftmen do work. In one of theſe halls you ſhall find embroiderers at work, together with their chief that inſpects them; in another you ſhall ſee goldſmiths; in a third, picture-drawers; in a fourth, workmen in Lacca; in others, joiners

ers, turners, taylors, ſhoe-makers; in others, workmen in ſilk and purfled gold, and in all thoſe ſorts of fine cloth, of which they make turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and thoſe drawers of ladies, that are ſo fine and delicate, as that ſometimes they laſt them but one night, though they often coſt them ten or twelve crowns, when they are of that faſhion, as I have mentioned; I mean enriched with thoſe fine embroideries of needle-work.

All theſe handy-craftmen come in the morning to thoſe Kar-kanays, and work there all day long, and at night return to their ſeveral homes, every one paſſing his life quietly, without aſpiring above his condition: for the embroiderer maketh his ſon an embroiderer, the goldſmith maketh his ſon a goldſmith, and a phyſician in a town maketh his ſon a phyſician; and no body marrieth but with thoſe that are of his trade; which is religiouſly obſerved, not only among the Heathen that are obliged to it by their law, but almoſt always among the Mahometans themſelves: whence it is that you may often ſee very handſome young women that remain unmarried, paſſing their time as well as they can, though they might meet with good matches, if their parents would or could marry them into another family, eſteemed leſs noble than their own.

After all theſe apartments, we come at length to the Am-kas, which is ſomething very royal. This is a great ſquare court with arches, as may be our Place Royal; with this difference, that there are no buildings at top, and that the arches are ſevered from one another by a wall, yet ſo that there is a ſmall gate to paſs from one to the other. Over the great gate, which is in the middle of one of the ſides of this ſquare, there is a large raiſed place, all open on the ſide of the court, which is called Nagar-kanny, becauſe that is the place where the trumpets are, or rather the hautboys and timbals, that play together in conſort at certain hours of the day and night; but this is a very odd conſort in the ears of an European that is a new comer, not yet accuſtomed to it; for ſometimes there are ten or twelve of thoſe hautboys and as many timbals, that ſound all together at once; and there is a hautboy which is called Karna, a fathom and a half long, and of half a foot aperture below; as there are timbals of braſs or iron, that have no leſs than a fathom in diameter; whence it is eaſy to judge what a noiſe they muſt needs make. Indeed this muſic in the beginning did ſo pierce and ſtun me, that it was unſufferable for me; yet I know not what ſtrange power cuſtom hath, for I now find it very pleaſing eſpecially in the night, when I hear it afar of in my bed upon my terraſs; then it ſeemeth to me to carry with it ſomething that is grave, majeſtical and very melodious. And there is ſome reaſon for this melody; for ſeeing it hath its rules and meaſures, and that there are excellent maſters taught from their youth to manage it, and perfectly know how to qualify and temper thoſe ſtrong ſounds of the hautboys and timbals, it cannot be otherwiſe, but they muſt thence obtain ſome ſympathy that cannot be diſpleaſing to the ear, provided (as I ſaid) that it be heard at a diſtance. And even for this reaſon it is, that they have placed the Nagar-kanay very high, and remote from the ears of the King, as you will hear by and by.

Over againſt the great gate of the court upon which is the Nagar-kanay, beyond the whole court, there is a great and ſtately hall with many ranks of pillars high raiſed, very airy, open on three ſides, looking to the court, and having its pillars and ground painted and gilded. In the midſt of the wall, which ſeparateth this hall from the ſeraglio, there is an opening or kind of great window, high and large, and ſo high that a man cannot reach to it from below with his hand: there it is where the King appears ſeated upon his throne, having his ſons on his ſides, and ſome eunuchs ſtanding, ſome of which drive away the flies with peacock's tails, others fan him with great fans others ſtanding there ready with great reſpect and humility for ſeveral ſervices. Thence

he ſeeth beneath him all the Omrahs, Rajahs, and ambaſſadors, who are alſo all of them ſtanding upon a raiſed ground encompaſſed with ſilver rails, with their eyes downwards, and their hands croſſing their ſtomachs: ſomewhat farther off he ſeeth the Manſebdars, or leſſer Omrahs, which are alſo ſtanding in the ſame poſture and reſpect as the Omrahs do: and ſomewhat farther off, in the remaining part of the hall, and in the court he ſeeth a great crowd of all ſorts of people. For there it is where the King every day about noon giveth a general audience to all; which is the reaſon that this great hall is called Am-kas, that is place of audience, or a place of meeting common to great and ſmall.

During an hour and an half, or thereabouts, whilſt this aſſembly laſteth, the King is diverted by ſeeing paſs before him a certain number of the handſomeſt horſes of his ſtables, to ſee whether they be well dreſſed, and in good plight. So he doth ſee a good number of elephants paſſing alſo before him, whoſe dirty bodies are then well waſhed and cleanſed, and painted black like ink, except that they have two great ſtreaks painted red, which from the top of their head come down to their trunk, where they meet. Theſe elephants have then alſo certain deckings embroidered with a couple of ſilver bells hanging down on the ſides, faſtened to the two ends of a great ſilver chain, paſſing over their ſhoulders; as alſo certain cow-tails of the great Tibet, white and very dear, hanging at their ears like great muſtachoes, and two little elephants well accoutred going by their ſides, as if they were their ſlaves and appointed to ſerve them. Theſe great coloſſes, as if they were proud to ſee themſelves ſo bravely adorned and attended, march with much gravity; and when they are come before the King, the conductor that ſits upon their ſhoulders, with a pointed iron in his hand, pricketh them, and ſpeaketh to them, and maketh them bow with one knee, and lift up their trunk into the air and make a noiſe, which the people take for a Taſlim, or deep ſalute.

After theſe elephants, there are brought divers tamed Gazelles, which are made to fight with one another; as alſo ſome Nilgaus, or gray oxen, which, in my opinion, are a kind of Elands, and Rhinoceros, and thoſe great Buffaloes of Bengala with their prodigious horns, to combat with a lion or tiger; likewiſe leopards, or panthers tamed, which he uſeth in the hunting of Gazelles: further, ſome of thoſe handſome hunting dogs of Oſbec of all ſorts, every one with his little red cover; ſtore of birds of prey of all kinds, ſome of which are for partridges, others for cranes, others to fall upon hares, and, as they ſay, upon the very gazelles, beating their heads, and blinding them with wings and claws.

Often alſo one or two of the Omrahs cauſe, at that time, to paſs their cavalry for a review before the King; the Omrahs coveting that their horſemen ſhould appear gallant, advantageouſly decked with extraordinary garments, and their horſes trapped with iron, and harneſſed with I know not how many different and odd faſhions.

The King taketh ſometimes pleaſure himſelf to cauſe cutlaſſes, or ſhort ſwords, to be tried upon dead ſheep, brought to him without their bowels, and very neatly packed up, where the young Omrahs, Manſebdars, and Gourze-berdars, or mace-bearers, ſtrive to ſhew their force and dexterity by cutting aſunder the four legs joined together, and the body of the ſheep all in one ſtroke.

Mean time all theſe divertiſements are nothing but an interlude of ſerious affairs: for, as I have ſaid, the King omits not to make a muſter of his cavalry, and well to view them himſelf. We have ſeen, that the war being ended, there is not one cavalier, nor any other ſoldier, but he hath ſeen him and examined him, either to increaſe his pay, or to leſſen it, or quite to caſhier him. Beſides it is ſeen every day, that he commands the petitions, which are ſhewed him afar off in the crowd of the people, to be brought

to

to him and to be read; ordering the parties concerned to approach, and examining them, and often cauſing juſtice to be done them immediately, although he hath the Adalet-kanay, the chamber of juſtice, where he ordinarily is preſent once a week, attended by his two firſt kays, or chief juſtices; and though alſo at one other time in the week he hath the patience to hear in private, for the ſpace of two hours, ten perſons of the common people, whom a good and rich old man preſents to him. Whence it appears (to note by the bye) that thoſe kings, how barbarous ſoever eſteemed by us, do yet conſtantly remember, that they owe juſtice to their ſubjects. All that I have been relating to you of what is tranſacted in this aſſembly of the Am-kas, ſeems to me great and royal; but that which hath extremely offended me there, is a kind of adulation too mean and flat, commonly heard in that place. For the King cannot ſay a word to any purpoſe, but he is preſently exalted, and ſome of the firſt Omrahs lifting up their hands, as if they were to receive ſome benediction from Heaven, cry out, "Karamat! Karamat! Wonder! Wonder!" Neither is there any Mogolian but he knoweth and glorieth in reciting this proverb in Perſian verſe:

"*Aguer chach ronzra Gouyed cheb eſt in*
"*Bubayed Gouſt inek mah ou peruin.*"

"*If the king ſaith at noon-day, it is night; you are to ſay, behold the moon and the ſtars.*"

This vice paſſeth even unto the people. I have ſeen an hundred times people of Mogol, who having need of me in ſome buſineſs, made no ſcruple to come and tell me to my face, for a preamble, that I was Ariſtotalis, Bocrate, and Abouyſina Ulzaman; the Ariſtotle, the Hippocrates, and the Avicenna of the time. At firſt I endeavoured to fence myſelf againſt it by this ordinary compliment, that I was none ſuch, and was far inferior to the merit of thoſe men: but that made them worſe; ſo that I thought it better to accuſtom my ears to their flattery, as I have done to their muſick. I cannot forbear imparting to you this little piece of flattery, becauſe that will let you ſee the more how far they carry it. A Pendet Brachman, or heathen doctor, whom I had put to ſerve my Agah, at the entering into his ſervice would needs make his panegyric, and after he had compared him to the greateſt conquerors that ever were, and told him an hundred groſs and impertinent flatteries, at laſt concluded ſeriouſly with this: "When you put your foot into the ſtirrup, my lord, and when you march on horſeback in the front of the cavalry, the earth trembleth under your feet, the eight elephants, that hold it up upon their heads, not being able to ſupport it." I could not hold laughing, and I ſtrove ſeriouſly to tell my Agah, who could not hold neither, that then he would do well not to go on horſeback but very ſeldom, to prevent earthquakes, which often cauſe ſo great miſchiefs. Who quickly made this repartee, with a conſtrained countenance between ſerious and ſmiling: "And it is therefore, that I cauſe myſelf ordinarily to be carried in a palekey.

But no more of this: from the great hall of the Am-kas one enters into a more retired place, called the Goſel-kané, that is, the place to waſh in: but few are ſuffered to enter there; neither is the court of it ſo great as that of the Am-kas; but the hall is very handſome, ſpacious, painted and gilded, and its floor raiſed four or five foot high. There it is where the King is ſeated in a chair, his Omrahs ſtanding round about him, and giveth a more particular audience to his officers, receiveth their accompts, and treateth of the moſt important affairs of ſtate. All the Omrahs are obliged to be, without fail, every evening at this aſſembly, as in the morning at the Am-kas,

Am-kas, elſe ſomething is retrenched of their pay. There is only my Agah Danechmend-kan, that becauſe he is a perſon of learning, and perpetually buſy in ſtudying, or in foreign affairs, is diſpenſed with, except Wedneſday, which is his day of being upon the guard. Theſe are indiſpenſible cuſtoms, and it is very juſt they ſhould be ſo in reſpect to the Omrahs, becauſe they are in a manner ſo in reſpect of the King; for he almoſt never faileth to be at theſe two aſſemblies, unleſs ſome urgent affair do ſupervene, or he be exceedingly ſick. And we did ſee, that Aureng-Zebe, even in his laſt ſickneſs, which was very dangerous, failed not to make himſelf to be carried thither once a day at leaſt. It is true, he being ſick to extremity, that if he had not been ſeen there, the whole kingdom would preſently have been in diſorder, and the ſhops ſhut up in the city.

Whilſt the King in this hall of Goſlekanay is buſy, as I was ſaying, they omit not to let paſs before him moſt of the things that are made to paſs at the Am-kas. There is only this difference, that this aſſembly being held in the evening, and the court being then leſs, the review of the cavalry of the Omrahs is not made, as in the morning at the Am-kas; but then there is this of particular, that all the Manſebdars that are upon the guard, do ſalute the king, and paſs before him with ceremony enough.—Before them marcheth with ſufficient pomp that which is called the Kours, which are many figures of ſilver carried at the end of ſome great ſilver ſticks, that are very fine and very artificially made; of which there are two that repreſent two great fiſhes,—two others that exhibit a fantaſtick animal of an horrid figure, by them called Eiedeha; others that repreſent two lions, others two hands, others ſcales, and many more whereof they make myſteries. Amongſt theſe Kours and Manſebdars are mixed many Gourzeberdars, or mace-bearers, who are choſen men, tall of ſtature, and of a good mein, (ſpoken of elſewhere), and appointed to prevent diſorders in aſſemblies, and to run about with ſpeed to carry the orders, and to execute the commands of the king.

I now wiſh I could lead you about in the ſeraglio, as I have done in the reſt of the fortreſs. But who is the traveller that can ſpeak of that as an eye-witneſs? I have ſometimes entered into it when the King was not at Dehli, and I think pretty far, upon the occaſion of a great lady, that was ſo ſick that ſhe could not be carried to the gate, according to cuſtom; but I had always a covering of Kachemire over my head, which like a great ſcarf hung down to my feet, and an eunuch conducted me by the hand, like a blind man, ſo that I cannot particularly deſcribe to you what it is. Only in general I can tell you, according to what I have learnt from ſome eunuchs, that in it there are very handſome apartments ſevered one from another, more or leſs great and ſtately, according to the quality and the penſions of the women; that there is almoſt no chamber but it hath at its door a ſtore-houſe of running water; that 'tis full of parterres, pleaſant walks, ſhady places, rivulets, fountains, jets of water, grottos, great caves againſt the heat of the day, and great terraſes raiſed high, and very airy, to ſleep upon in the cool. In a word, you there know not what 'tis to be hot. They principally boaſt of a little tower reſpecting the river, being, ſay they, covered with plates of gold, as thoſe two that are at Agra, and within all gold and azure, very handſome and rich pictures and looking-glaſſes.

This is very near what I can tell you of the fortreſs; yet before we leave it, let us return once more to the Am-kas. I am now going to repreſent it to you after the manner I ſaw it at certain feſtivals of the year, eſpecially at that which was kept after the war for an extraordinary rejoicing; for this is one of the moſt remarkable things I have ſeen.

The King appeared ſitting upon his throne, in the bottom of the great hall of the Am-kas, ſplendidly apparelled. His veſt was of white ſattin flowered, and raiſed with a very fine embroidery of gold and ſilk. His turban was of cloth of gold, having a

fowl wrought upon it like an heron, whoſe foot was covered with diamonds of an extraordinary bigneſs and price, with a great oriental topas, which may be ſaid to be matchleſs, ſhining like a little ſun. A collar of big pearls hung about his neck down to his ſtomach, after the manner that ſome heathens wear here their great beads. His throne was ſupported by ſix high pillars, or feet, ſaid to be of maſſy gold, and ſet with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious ſtones, becauſe it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity: only this I can ſay, that the big diamonds are there in confuſion, and that the throne is eſtimated to be worth four Kourours of rupies, if I remember well. I have ſaid elſewhere, that a rupie is almoſt equavalent to half a crown, a Lecque to an hundred thouſand rupies, and a Kourour, to an hundred Lecques: ſo that the throne is valued at forty millions of rupies, which are worth about ſixty millions of French livres. Chah-Jehan, the father of Aureng-Zebe, is he that cauſed it to be made, to ſhew ſo many precious ſtones as ſucceſſively had been amaſſed in the treaſury, of the ſpoils of thoſe antient Patans and Rajas, and of the preſents which the Omrahs are obliged to make yearly upon certain feſtival days. The art and workmanſhip of this throne is not anſwerable to the matter: that which I find upon it beſt deviſed are two peacocks covered with precious ſtones and pearls which are the work of a Frenchman, called———— that was an admirable workman, and after that having circumvented many princes with his doublets, which he knew how to make admirably well, fled unto this court, where he made his fortune. Beneath this throne there appeared all the Omrahs in ſplendid apparel, upon a raiſed ground covered with a great canopy of purfled gold with great golden fringes, and incloſed by a ſilver baliſtre. The pillars of the hall were hung with tapeſtries of purfled gold, having the ground of gold; and for the roof of the hall, there was nothing but great canopies of flowered ſattin faſtened with red ſilken cords, that had big tufts of ſilk mixed with threads of gold hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be ſeen but great ſilken tapeſtries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the court there was ſet abroad a certain tent they call the Aſpek, as long and large as the hall and more. It was joined to the hall by the upper part, and reached almoſt as far as to the middle of the court; mean time it was all incloſed by a great baliſtre covered with plates of ſilver. It was ſupported by three pillars, being of the thickneſs and height of a barge-maſt, and by ſome leſſer ones, and they all were covered with plates of ſilver. It was red from without, and lined within with thoſe fine Chites, or cloth painted by a pencil of Maſlipatan, purpoſely wrought and contrived with ſuch vivid colours, and flowers ſo naturally drawn of an hundred ſeveral faſhions and ſhapes, that one would have ſaid, it were an hanging parterre. Thus was the great hall of the Am-kas adorned and ſet out.

As to thoſe arched galleries which I have ſpoken of, that are round about the court; each Omrah had received orders to dreſs one of them at his own charges. And they now ſtriving who ſhould make his own moſt ſtately, there was ſeen nothing but purfled gold above and beneath, and rich tapeſtries under foot.

The third day of the feaſt, the King cauſed himſelf to be weighed with great ceremony, and after him divers Omrahs, in great ſcales, and with weights ſaid to be of maſſy gold. I remember that all the Omrahs expreſſed a great joy, that the King weighed two pounds more now than the year preceding.

Every year there are held ſuch kind of feſtivals, but never any was ſeen done with ſo much ſplendor and charge. It is ſaid, that that which induced Aureng-Zebe to celebrate this ſplendid feaſt was nothing elſe but to make the merchants of purfled gold recover themſelves, who had whole magazines full of it, much ſpoiled in theſe four or

five years of war, wherein they could not ſell them. Theſe expences of the Omrahs were great; but the ſimple cavaliers paid their ſhare of it, becauſe that the Omrahs after the feaſt made them take off that commodity to make veſts thereof.

There is an antient cuſtom accompanying theſe feaſts, which little pleaſeth the Omrahs: and it is this, that then they are by reſpect obliged to make ſome fair preſents to the King in proportion of their pay. There are ſome, that to appear brave, or for fear of being ſearched for the rapines by them committed in their offices and governments; or to purchaſe the favour of the King, in the hopes of having their penſions augmented, make them preſents that are extraordinary. Some (which is ordinary enough) do preſent fine veſſels of gold ſet with precious ſtones; others preſent fair pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubies (which alſo is very common); give him without other ceremony, a quantity of thoſe pieces of gold, that are worth about a piſtole and an half. I remember that Aureng-Zebe, being gone to viſit (during this great feſtival) his viſir, Jafer-kan, not as viſir, but as a kinſman, and under the pretence of deſiring to ſee a piece of building, which he had cauſed to be raiſed a-new, Jafer-kan preſented him in theſe pieces of gold, with the value of an hundred thouſand crowns, ſome good pearls, and one ruby valued forty thouſand crowns; but which Chah-Jehan, who was admirably well ſkilled in jewels, diſcovered not to be worth five hundred crowns; the which perplexed the firſt jewellers exceedingly, that had been deceived therein.

There is another thing ſometimes attending theſe feaſts, which is odd enough: and that is a kind of fair, then held in the Mehale, or the King's ſeraglio. The women of the Omrahs and of the great Manſebdars, or little Omrahs (I mean thoſe that are the handſomeſt and moſt gallant) are the ſhe merchants that keep the fair, and ſell commodities; the King is the merchant that buyeth, as alſo all thoſe Begums or princeſſes, and other great ladies of the ſeraglio. The wares are fine purfled gold, or rich embroideries of the new faſhion, ſome rich ribbons well wrought upon cloth of gold, or ſome pieces of that fine cloth which is worn by the great ladies, and other ſuch merchandize of great price. If they ever have a handſome daughter, they forget not to bring her along with them to let the King ſee her, and ſo make her known to thoſe Begums. The jeſt of this fair is, that the King comes to bargain with thoſe ſhe-merchants, like a petty merchant, penny by penny, conteſting that they are not in earneſt, that it is too dear, that he will give no more than ſo much; that the merchandize of ſuch a one is far better, and the like. The women, on the other hand, do their beſt to make good their part, and without conſidering that 'tis the King, (which is the beſt of the ſport) they contend and ſtand upon their price, till ſometimes they come to high words, as that that is to be a merchant of ſnow (one of their phraſes), that he underſtands nothing in the matter of wares, that he may go to another place, that that commodity is not for him, &c. The Begums do the like, or worſe, for they ſometimes fall to downright railing, ſo that there is ſuch a cry and noiſe, and buffoonery, that it cannot be paralleled. But when any price is agreed on, whoever buyeth on this or that ſide, the King payeth, and the Begums pay, all with ready money: and it alſo falls out often enough, that the King and the Begums, inſtead of ſilver rupies, let ſlide (in favour of the handſome ſhe-merchant or her daughter) ſome rupies of gold, as if it were by miſtake, and without taking notice of any thing. The ſhe-merchants alſo take it in like manner, all paſſes with expreſſions of raillery and gallantry. Chah-Jehan, who did not hate the ſex, would ſtill multiply this fair, and have it all feſtival days, though he knew it did not very well pleaſe ſome Omrahs. But there is one thing which to me ſeems to be a little too extravagant; which is, that the public women, I mean not thoſe of the Bazar, but thoſe more retired and conſiderable ones, that go to the great marriages in the houſes of the Omrahs and Manſebdars to ſing and dance, thoſe that are called Kenchen, as if you would ſay, The

gilded, the bloſſoming ones, that thoſe, I ſay, did alſo enter in the time of Chah-Jehan into the ſeraglio at ſuch fairs, and there paſſed even the whole night in ſinging and dancing. Theſe are not of that ſort which proſtitute themſelves promiſcuouſly to all; and they are moſt of them handſome and well apparelled, and excellent ſingers and dancers, after the mode of the country, ſurprizing in the ſuppleneſs of their body, and the nimbleneſs of their motions, yet in the upſhot of the rank of public women. Chah-Jehan was not content only to have them come to the ſeraglio at thoſe feaſts, but when they came to ſalute him, according to that ancient cuſtom that obligeth him to come every Wedneſday to do obeyſance to the King in the Am-kas, he often made them enter there, and to paſs all night with him in ſuch ſports and *boufonneries*. Aureng-Zebe is more ſerious, he ſuffers them not to come into the ſeraglio; he permits only (not to abrogate the cuſtom) that they may ordinarily come every Wedneſday to give him the Salam, or ſalute, in the Am-kas, at a diſtance, but they muſt preſently return home again.

But ſince we are upon theſe feaſts and fairs, and ſpeak of theſe Kenchens, what hurt were it if I ſhould tell you a ſtory to make you merry, of one of our Frenchmen; ſince Plutarch is of opinion, that little things are not always to be paſſed by, and that they often mind us more of the genius and temper of men than the greateſt. This Frenchman called Bernard, was at this court about the latter years of king Jehan-Guire. He muſt needs have been ſome good phyſician, and withal excellent in chirurgery, according to the relations that are made of him. He was welcome to Jehan-Guire, and became very familiar with him, to that degree that they drank and debauched together. Nor did this Jehan-Guire ever think on any thing but a good cup and merriment, leaving the management of the ſtate to his wife, the renowned Nour-Mehale, or Nour-Jehan-Begum, which, he uſed to ſay, had wit enough to govern the empire without his giving himſelf any trouble about it. Beſides that this our countryman had of the King ten crowns daily pay, he gained yet more by treating thoſe great ladies of the ſeraglio, and the grand Omrahs, that all made uſe of him, and preſented him who could beſt, becauſe he was both ſucceſsful in his cures, and extraordinarily favoured by the King: but he was a man that could keep nothing; what he received with one hand, he at the ſame time gave away with the other; ſo that he was known and loved by all, eſpecially by thoſe Kenchens, upon whom he made great expences, having always a ſet of them that paſſed the night at his houſe in ſinging and dancing. Mean time he chanced to fall in love with one of theſe women that was young and beautiful, and danced exceeding well; but the mother apprehending leaſt the daughter, by proſtituting herſelf, ſhould loſe her ſtrength and vigour (as it will fall out) would not let her go out of her ſight: ſo that Bernard could never find any other way to compaſs his ends but this. One day, when the King made him a preſent in the Am-kas before all the Omrahs, for a conſiderable cure he had done in the ſeraglio, he very ſubmiſſively gave His Majeſty thanks, waving the preſent, but inſtead of it, begged this favour of him, that he would vouchſafe to give him this young Kencheny, which he was amorous of, and which ſtood behind him, ready to make the uſual obeyſance to the King. The whole aſſembly brake out into laughter to ſee him wave the preſent, and to hear him make ſo ridiculous a demand, he being a chriſtian, and the woman a Mahometan, and a Kencheny. But Jehan-Guire, who never troubled his head much with Mahometaniſm, and could not hold laughing aloud, preſently commanded that this young woman ſhould be given him, ſaying, 'Lay her on his ſhoulders, and let him carry her away.' So ſaid ſo done; and in the preſence of the whole aſſembly this Kenchen was put on Bernard's back, who went away thus charged, and carried her to his houſe.

I cannot forbear giving you here an account of a divertiſement, which uſually theſe

feaſts end with, and which is unknown to us in Europe: and that is the combat of the elephants, which the King, the ladies of the court, and the Omrahs do behold from ſeveral apartments of the fortreſs, and which is ſhewn before all the people in this great ſandy place which looks to the river.

They raiſe a wall of earth three or four foot broad, and five or ſix foot high. The two elephants that are to fight, meet one another face to face, one on the one ſide of the wall, the other on the other, each having two riders upon him, that ſo if the firſt, who ſits on his ſhoulders (having a great pointed iron in his hand, to turn the beaſt on the right or left hand) ſhould fall, the other who ſits backward, may caſt himſelf into his place. Theſe four riders or guides do animate their elephants to the combat, and vigorouſly to fall upon their enemy, now flattering them, and by and by chiding them as cowards, and very rudely kicking them with their heels. After they have been a good while thus chafed and puſhed on, then you ſhall ſee theſe two bulky maſſes come to the wall, and bluntly aſſault one another, and give ſuch cruel blows with their teeth, head, trunk, that you would think they would ſoon ſtrike one another dead. This fight continues a while, then ceaſeth, and begins afreſh ſeveral times, until the mud-wall being overthrown, the ſtouteſt of the two paſſeth upon the other, maketh him turn his back, purſueth him with blows of his teeth and trunk, and gets ſuch an hold-faſt upon him, that there is no means of ſeparating them, except it be with the Cherkys, that is, certain artificial fires caſt betwixt them, this animal being very fearful of fire: whence it comes, that ſince fire-arms have been uſed in armies, elephants do almoſt no good at all. It is true indeed, that ſome of thoſe brave ones that come out of Ceileau, are not ſo timorous; but that is not till they have been whole years accuſtomed to it, by diſcharging every day muſkets before them, and by caſting ſquibs between their legs. Mean time this conflict of the elephants would be no ſuch diſpleaſing ſight, if it were not ſo cruel, it often happening that ſome of thoſe poor guides are trod under foot and periſh: for the elephants in the combat have this malice, that they ſtrive above all things to ſtrike with their trunk, and to pull down the conductor of their adverſary; and thence it is, that on the day when theſe poor riders know they are to make the elephants fight, they bid farewel to their wives and children, as if they were condemned to death. That which encourages and comforts them, is, that if they eſcape and quit themſelves well of their duty, the King increaſes their pay, and commands a ſack of Peyſſas, which amounts to about fifty French livres, to be forthwith given them; or if they be killed upon the ſpot, he orders that pay be made to the widow, and the office to be given to his ſon, if he have any. There is another miſchief, which often accompanieth this combat; which is, that in this great throng there are always ſome perſons overthrown by the elephant, or trod underfoot by the horſes, and people, that on a ſudden run away all at once, and fall one upon another, when the elephants are enraged, and the one purſueth the other, ſo that then one cannot at any nearneſs look on but without danger. For my part, the ſecond time I ſaw it I did ſufficiently repent for having approached ſo nigh, and if I had not had a good horſe, and two good ſervants, I believe I ſhould have paid for my curioſity as dear as others.

But it is time we ſhould leave the fortreſs, and return into the city, there to obſerve to you two things I had forgot. The firſt is the great Moſquee, ſeen afar off in the midſt of the town, ſtanding upon a rock, flatted to build upon, and to make round about a large place for four long and fair ſtreets to end upon, and anſwering to the four ſides of the Moſquee, viz. one to the principal gate, or frontiſpiece, another behind that, and the two others to the two gates that are in the middle of the two remaining ſides. To come to the gates, there are twenty-five or thirty ſteps of fair and large ſtones going round about, except the back-part, which is covered with other great quarry-ſtones to cover the unevenneſs of the cut rock: which contributes much to make

make this fabrick make a ſhew. The three entries are ſtately, there is nothing but marble, and their large gates are covered with copper-plates exceedingly well wrought. Above the principal gate, which is much ſtatelier than the two others, there are many ſmall turrets of white marble as well without as within; that in the middle is much bigger and higher than the two others. All the reſt of the Moſquee, I mean from theſe three domes unto the great gate, is without covering, becauſe of the heat of the country; and the whole pavement is of large ſquares of marble. I grant willingly, that this ſtructure is not according to the rules and orders of architecture, which we eſteem is indiſpenſably to be followed; yet I obſerve nothing in it that offends the eye; but rather find all to be well contrived, and well proportioned: and I do even believe, that if in Paris we had a church of this way of architecture, it would not be diſliked, if there were nothing elſe in it but that it is of an extraordinary and ſurpriſing aſpect, and becauſe that, excepting the three great domes and all the turrets, which are of white marble, it appears all red, as if all were nothing elſe but great tables of red marble, though it be nothing elſe but a ſtone very eaſy to cut, and which even flaketh off in time. I ſhall add by the bye, that if it be true what is ſaid of the quarries of this ſtone, it is remarkable, that it grows again every year; whether it be by a petreſcent water yearly filling it, or otherwiſe, I decide not.

This Moſquee it is to which the king repaireth every Friday (which is the Sunday of the Mahometans) to pay his devotion. Before he goes out of the fortreſs, the ſtreets he is to paſs, are conſtantly watered becauſe of the heat and duſt. Two or three hundred muſqueteers are to ſtand and make a lane about the gate of the fortreſs, and as many more on the ſides of a great ſtreet that ends at the Moſquee. Their muſquets are ſmall, but well wrought, and they have a kind of ſcarlet-caſe with a little ſtreamer upon them. Beſides there muſt be five or ſix cavaliers well mounted ready at the gate, and ride at a good diſtance before the king, for fear of raiſing duſt; and their office is to keep off the people. Things being thus prepared, the king is ſeen to come out of the fortreſs ſeated upon an elephant richly harneſſed, under a canopy with pillars painted and gilded; or elſe on a throne ſhining of gold and azure, upon two beams, covered with ſcarlet or purfled gold, carried by eight choſen and well accoutered men. The king is followed by a body of Omrahs, ſome of which are on horſeback, ſome in a palekey. Among theſe Omrahs there are many Manſebdars, and mace-bearers, ſuch as I have before ſpoken of. And though this be not that ſplendid and magnificent proceſſion, or rather maſquerade of the Grand Seignor, (I have no properer name for it) nor the warlike order of our kings, it being altogether of another faſhion, yet for all that there is ſomething great and royal in it.

The other thing I had forgot to acquaint you with, is an edifice in the city, called the Karvanſarah of the princeſs; the renowned Begum-Saheb, eldeſt daughter of Chah-Jehan, having cauſed it to be built at her charges, and willing to contribute ſomething to the decoration of the town, as all the Omrahs ſtrove to do to pleaſe Chah-Jehan. This is another great ſquare, arched like our Place-royal, but ſtill with this difference, that one arch is ſeparate from the other by a wall, and that in the bottom of every arch there is a little chamber; and beſides that, above the arches there is a gallery which rangeth round about the building, to enter into as many high chambers, as there are below. This place is the rendezvous of all the great merchants, Perſians, Uſbecs, and other ſtangers that ordinarily do there find empty chambers convenient enough, to ſtay in for ſome time in great ſafety, the gate being ſhut every night. If there were a ſcore of ſuch ſtructures in divers parts of Paris, ſtrangers newly arriving would not be in that trouble, as often they are to find ſafe lodgings; for there they might be until they had ſeen their acquaintance, and looked for good accommodation

dation: beſides that, they would ſerve for magazines of all ſorts of commodities, and for the rendezvous of all merchants ſtrangers.

Before we leave Dehli, I ſhall add a few lines in reference to this queſtion, which doubtleſs you will make, viz. Whether in Dehli there be as much people and gallantry as at Paris? Certainly when I conſider thoſe three or four cities of Paris that are one above another, all thoſe chambers and other rooms full from top to bottom; when I farther conſider that incredible throng and confuſion of men and women, of horſemen, and paſſengers on foot, of chariots, ſedans and coaches, and that there are but few great piazzas and gardens in Paris; this city ſeems to me a nurſery of the world, and I can hardly believe, that there are as many people in Dehli. Yet notwithſtanding, when I reflect upon that multitude of ſhops on one ſide of Dehli, and on the other, upon the vaſt extent of that city, and that there are never leſs in it than 35,000 cavaliers, not to ſpeak of the houſes of the Omrahs; that of all theſe cavaliers, there are very few but have wives and children, and a great number of ſervants having their houſes apart as their maſters; and that all theſe houſes ſwarm with women and children; that in many places of Dehli, though the ſtreets be broad, and there be but few chariots and no coaches, yet at the hours when the heat ſuffers people to come abroad for their buſineſs, there is great confuſion: when (I ſay) I conſider all this on the other hand, I do not well know what to determine about the queſtion; and I imagine, that if there be not altogether ſo much people in Dehli as in Paris, yet at leaſt there wants not much of it.

Concerning the number of gallant people, it muſt be acknowledged, that there is this difference between thoſe of Paris and Dehli, that of ten perſons met with upon the ſtreets of Paris, you ſhall ſee ſeven or eight well cloathed and of ſome faſhion, which no man will count raſcally or beggarly people; whereas in Dehli, for two or three perſons that are pretty well covered, you ſhall always find ſeven or eight poor and ragged people; the army which is there drawing after it all that crew of beggars and raſcals. Yet this is to be acknowledged for a truth, that in Dehli, as well as in Paris, one meets with a very great quantity of perſons, well made, gallant, well mounted, well dreſſed, and well attended: and indeed, to be upon the great place before the fortreſs, at the hours when all thoſe Omrahs, Rajas, and Manſebdars go to the aſſembly and to the guard, that hath ſomething great and ſplendid in it; when you ſhall ſee there every where arrive thoſe Manſebdars well accoutered, ſhining with gold, and well mounted, a couple of men going before them to make place, and as many behind; when you ſhall alſo ſee many of thoſe great Omrahs and Rajahs riding upon proud elephants, and ſome of them on horſeback like the Manſebdars, and moſt of them ſitting in their rich palekys, carried upon the ſhoulders of ſix men, their back leaning againſt ſome thick cuſhion of purfled gold, chewing their betele, to have a good breath and vermillion lips, with a ſervant on the ſide carrying a tooth-pick, and a porcelain, or ſilver ſpitting-veſſel; and two more, fanning him and keeping off the flies and duſt from him with peacock's tails, and three or four others marching before to put by the people; to which is to be added part of their cavalry (I mean the braveſt and beſt mounted of them) following after: when, I ſay, all this is ſeen together marching, as hath been ſaid, with the croud made there as well as at Paris, it will not be denied to be ſomething great and very gallant.

As to the country about Dehli, it is conſiderable for its fertility; for it beareth rice, millet, and three or four other ſorts of legumes, (which is the ordinary food of the common people) corn, ſugar, indigo, and all that in abundance. At two leagues off the city on Agra's ſide, in a place by the Mahometans called Koja Kotubeddine, there is a very ancient edifice which hath been a temple of idols, where are inſcriptions that

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muſt alſo be very ancient, the characters of them being ſuch, that no body knows what they are, and different from thoſe of all the languages of the Indies.

On another ſide, at two or three leagues diſtance from the town, you ſee a houſe of pleaſure of the King's, which indeed is a ſtately and royal houſe, but yet you muſt not think it approacheth to Fontainbleau, or to St. Germain, or to Verſailles. Neither muſt you imagine that in this champaign of Dehli there are any St. Clou's, Chantilly's, Meudon's, Liancour's Vau's, Reulle's, and many ſuch others; or that you ſee there any of thoſe other inferior houſes of pleaſure belonging to ſimple gentlemen, citizens and merchants. The maxim, that the ſubjects of a kingdom have no property in any thing, hinders all that.

Laſtly, to make you paſs quickly thoſe fifty or ſixty leagues, which are betwixt Dehli and Agra, you are not to think, that upon this road you ſhall ſee any ſuch large and rich boroughs as there are upon our roads. Set aſide Maturas, where you ſee ſtill an ancient and ſtately temple of idols, and, excepting ſome Karavan-ſaras, that are well enough, found on the high-way to ſerve for night-lodgings, I find nothing conſiderable there, but that royal alley of trees planted by the command of Gehan-Guyre, and continued by the ſame order for an hundred and fifty leagues, with little pyramids or turrets erected every half league, to mark the ways, and with frequent wells to afford drink to paſſengers, and to water the young trees.

Of AGRA.—To paſs to the deſcription of Agra, you have the idea of it, if you have well taken that of Dehli; at leaſt in reſpect of its ſituation, which is alſo upon the Gemma, and in regard of the fortreſs, or royal houſe, and of moſt of the buildings. It is true, that Agra hath this advantage over Delhi, that being a city where the Kings have already reſided a long while, viz. ſince Akber, who cauſed it to be built, and called it after his name Akber-abad; it is of greater extent than Dehli, and hath more of thoſe fine houſes of the Omrahs and Rajas, and more of the fair Karavanſarahs, as alſo more of thoſe pretty houſes of ſtone and brick belonging to particular perſons; beſides that, it hath two famous tombs, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter: but then it hath theſe diſadvantages, that it wants walls; that having been built altogether by one deſign, it hath not thoſe fair and large ſtreets of uniform buildings as Dehli; and that, excepting four or five of thoſe principal ſtreets of merchants, which are very long and well enough built, all the reſt, for the moſt part, is nothing but a number of little ſtreets, ſtrait without proportion, and nothing but windings and turnings; which cauſe ſtrange confuſions when the court is there. I ſee no other difference between Agra and Dehli, than that I have been juſt now ſpeaking of; except it be that Agra hath more of a country town than Dehli, eſpecially when we look upon it from an higher place: but it is not ſuch a country aſpect as diſgraceth it, but a very agreeable and diverting one; for there being betwixt the houſes of Omrahs, Rajas and others, ſtore of big green trees mixt, every one having been curious to plant of them in his garden and in his court for ſhade; and beſides, thoſe high houſes of the Banians, or heathen merchants, appearing here and there between thoſe trees, as relicks of old caſtles of foreſts; all that cauſeth, within the town, very pleaſing ſights and perſpectives, eſpecially in a dry and hot country, where people's eyes ſeem to deſire nothing but verdure and ſhade.

Meantime you need not go out of Paris, to find the moſt pleaſing and the moſt gallant ſight in the world. Take only a walk upon the Pont-neuf, attentively beholding in the day-time all things ſurrounding you, together with that incredible and ſtrange confuſion of people; and at night, the infinite number of lights in the windows of thoſe high buildings that are round about you; and the ſame confuſion which continues till after mid-night; the good citizen, and (which you ſhall not

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ſee in any part of Aſia) the fair ſhe-citizen walking without fear of robbers, and without the inconvenience of dirt: and then the long files of ſtars that brave the wind, the rain and darkneſs: take only, I ſay, ſuch a walk upon that bridge, obſerving all thoſe things together, and then (upon my word) you may boldly maintain it, that you are upon the ſpot of the faireſt, braveſt and moſt magnificent artificial view of the earth; unleſs it be ſome part of China or Japan where I have not been. What will it be then when the Louvre, that work which was once thought would never be ſeen but in deſign and upon paper, ſhall be finiſhed? I have purpoſely added the word artificial, becauſe ſpeaking of the beſt perſpectives that are, we muſt always except Conſtantinople, when one is in a boat in the midſt of that great channel, over-againſt the point of the ſeraglio: for there you ſhall find yourſelf altogether ſurprized, as it were, in the midſt of ſome great and vaſt enchanted amphitheatre; but in this perſpective, the workmanſhip of nature is moſt conſiderable, whereas in that of Paris, art and dexterity is moſt conſpicuous, which doubtleſs renders it more eminent, foraſmuch as thereby it looks more like the ſeat of a great king, the capital of a great empire; and is really, without flattering ourſelves, and all thoſe beauties of Dehli, Agra and Conſtantinople, well conſidered and compared, the faireſt, the richeſt, and the chiefeſt city of the world.

In Agra, the reverend fathers the Jeſuits have a church and a college, where, in private, they teach the children of ſome twenty-five or thirty Chriſtian families, that have (I know not how) gathered and ſettled themſelves there, by the charity of thoſe fathers, the Chriſtian doctrine. It was Ekbar who (in the time of the great power of the Portugueze in the Indies) called them, and gave them a penſion for their ſubſiſtence, permitting them to build churches in the capital cities of Agra and Lahor. And his ſon Jehan-Guyre favoured them yet more. But Chah-Jehan, ſon of Jehan-Guyre, and father of Aureng-Zebe now reigning, took from them their penſion, cauſed their church at Lahor to be pulled down, and the greateſt part of that in Agra, overthrowing alſo the ſteeple of the church, wherein that bell was that could be heard over all the town.

Theſe fathers the Jeſuits entertained great hopes of the progreſs of Chriſtianity in the time of king Jehan-Guyre, becauſe of his contempt of the Mahometan law, and the eſteem he profeſſed to the Chriſtian, even giving way to two of his nephews to embrace the Chriſtian religion, and to a certain Mirza-Zul-Karmin (that had been bred in the ſeraglio, and was circumciſed), to turn Chriſtian too, under the pretence that he was born of Chriſtian parents, and ſon of the wife of a rich Armenian, which Jehan-Guyre had cauſed to be brought to him into the ſeraglio.

The ſame fathers ſay, that this king, to begin in good earneſt to countenance the Chriſtian religion, deſigned to put the whole court into the habit of the Franqui, and that after he had prepared all things for it, and even dreſſed himſelf in that faſhion, he called to him one of the chief Omrahs, aſking his opinion of this dreſs; but that this Omrah altogether ſurprized at it, having anſwered him very ſeriouſly, that it was a very dangerous thing, he thought himſelf obliged to change his mind, and turned all into raillery.

Theſe fathers affirm further, that he being upon the point of death, commanded that they ſhould be called to make him a Chriſtian, but that then they were not made acquainted with it. Many ſay that this is not ſo, and that he died as he had lived, without any religion, and in the deſign he had, as well as his father Ekbar, to ſet himſelf up for a prophet, and to become the head of a particular religion of his own compoſure. However it be, there is another thing I have learned of a Mahometan, that was ſon to an officer of Jehan-Guyre, namely, that this king being one day in a debauch, called to him a certain religious man of Florence, whom he called father Atech, as be-

ing a little fiery man; and after he had commanded him to ſay all he could againſt the law of Mahomet, and for the law of Chriſt, in the preſence of many knowing Mullahs, he would have made this terrible trial of both thoſe laws, viz. that a great pit ſhould be made, and a good fire in it, and that father Atech with the goſpel under his arm, and one of thoſe Mullahs with the Alcoran under his, ſhould caſt themſelves both together into that fire, and that he would embrace the law of him that ſhould not burn. But that the ſad countenance of the Mullahs, altogether aſtoniſhed, and the compaſſion he had of the Florentine father, who accepted the condition, diverted him from it. Whatever the truth be of this ſtory, it is certain, that whilſt Jehan-Guyre lived, theſe fathers were reſpected and honoured in this court, and that they conceived great hopes of the advancement of Chriſtianity in thoſe parts; but that ſince that time they have had no great cauſe to hope much of, except perhaps what they received by the familiarity which our father Buze had with Dara. But I ſhall ſay no more of this matter of our miſſions, intending to give you a particular long letter of it another time.

Certainly I cannot but exceedingly approve of miſſions, and the good miſſionaries, eſpecially our Capuchins and Jeſuits, and ſome others of our neighbourhood, becauſe they give meek inſtructions, without that indiſcreet zeal and tranſport which is expreſſed by ſome others, and they charitably entertain the Chriſtians of the country in their religion, whether they be Catholicks or Greeks, or Armenians, Neſtorians, Jacobites, or others; and foraſmuch alſo as they are the refuge and comfort of poor ſtrangers and travellers, and by their knowledge, ſober, and exemplary life, they confound the ignorance and licentious life of the infidels, which ſome others do not always practiſe; who therefore would do better to keep themſelves cloſe in their convents, and not come hither and give us a maſquerade of our religion, and by doing ſo, and by their ignorance, jealouſy, looſeneſs and the abuſe of their authority and character, become a ſtumbling-block to the law of Jeſus Chriſt. But a particular thing infers no general; and notwithſtanding thoſe miſcarriages, I very much applaud the miſſions, and pious and learned miſſionaries—they are abſolutely neceſſary: it is the honour and prerogative of Chriſtianity to have every where through the world ſubſtitutes of the apoſtles. But after all that I have ſeen, and after all the converſe and diſcourſe I have ſo often had with thoſe obſtinate infidels, I may take leave to ſay, that I almoſt deſpair to ſee ſtruck ſuch great ſtrokes as the apoſtles did, who converted two or three thouſand people in one ſermon; finding by experience, and knowing very well upon other accounts, after I have travelled through all the places of the miſſions in the Eaſt, that all the miſſionaries together, not only in the Indies, but in all the Mahometan dominions, do indeed by their inſtructions, accompanied with charity and alms, make ſome progreſs among the Gentiles, but do in ten years not make one Chriſtian of a Mahometan. Truly theſe infidels have high thoughts of our religion, they never ſpeak of Jeſus Chriſt but with veneration; and they never pronounce the word Ayſa, that is to ſay, Jeſus, without adding that of Azeret, which is Majeſty. They even agree with us, that he was miraculouſly born of a virgin-mother, and that he is the Kelum-Allah, and the Rouh-Allah, the word of God, and the ſpirit of God; but it is not to be hoped, that they will approve the reſt of our religion, ſo as to abandon theirs in which they were born, and their falſe prophet, to embrace ours, what reaſons ſoever be given them. Our Chriſtians of Europe ought to wiſh, and even to employ their power, care, and charity, that miſſionaries may be ſent over all, ſuch as may be no charge to the people of the country, and whom want may not induce to do mean things, as well for the reaſons already alledged, as for this cauſe, that they may be ever ready to lay hold on all occaſions, always to bear witneſs to the truth, and to labour in the vineyard when it ſhall pleaſe God to give them an overture.

But for the reſt we ought to be diſabuſed, and not to ſuffer ourſelves to be ſo eaſily perſuaded of ſo many ſtories, and not to believe the thing to be ſo facile as ſome make it. The ſect is too much libertine, and too attractive to quit it; it is a pernicious law, which hath been introduced by arms and force, and ſtill gets ground by thoſe means; and I hardly know any other way capable to ſhake and root it out. If therefore there intervene not ſome of thoſe grand and extraordinary ſtrokes of heaven, and God by his powerful and particular evidence interpoſe not, (as we ought always to hope, according to the great appearances there have been in China, in Japan, and in the perſon of King Jehan-Guyre,) conſidering the irreverence of the Chriſtians in their churches, ſo diſſonant from our belief of the particular preſence of God upon our altars, and ſo different from that deep and aſtoniſhing reſpect which thoſe infidels bear to their moſques, where they would not ſo much as turn their heads, or ſpeak the leaſt word to one another; there will always be great obſtacles to their converſion.

In Agra the Hollanders have alſo an houſe, where ordinarily they keep four or five perſons. Formerly they had a good trade there in ſelling ſcarlet, great and ſmall looking-glaſſes, plain lace, and gold and ſilver lace, and ſome ſmall wares, and in buying indigo, which is gathered round about Agra, but eſpecially at Bianes, but two leagues diſtant from it, and whither they go once a year, having an houſe there for that purpoſe, as alſo in buying thoſe cloths of Jelapour and Laknau, at ſeven or eight days journey from Agra, where they alſo keep a houſe, and whither they ſend ſome factors once a year. But now they ſay that there is little profit for them in that trade, whether it be that the Armenians drive the ſame traffic, or that it is ſo far from Agra to Surat, or that commonly ſome miſchief or other befalls their Caravans, which muſt paſs by Amad-avad over all the countries of the Rajas to avoid the ill ways, and the mountains that are on the ſide of Goualeor and Brampour, which is the nearer way. Yet notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, they will never (I believe) abandon this factory, as the Engliſh have done theirs in that place, if it were for nothing elſe but their ſpices, which there they ſell very well, and for having ſome of their people near the court taking care of their concerns, ſince it cannot be otherwiſe, but that frequently ſome trouble will befall their factories, by the tyranny of the governor and other officers, now from the ſide of Bengala and Patna, another time from Surat and Amad-avad.

We will conclude this part with thoſe two wonderful mauſolees, or tombs, that give to Agra ſo much advantage over Dehli. It was Jehan-Guyre that cauſed the firſt to be erected to honour the memory of his father Eckbar, and Chah-Jehan raiſed the other in honour of Taje-Mehalle his wife, that extraordinary and celebrated beauty of the Indies, whom he loved ſo paſſionately, that it is ſaid he never enjoyed any other woman but her whilſt ſhe lived, and that when ſhe died, he was in danger to die himſelf.

I ſhall not ſtay to diſcourſe of the monument of Eckbar, becauſe whatever beauty is there, is found in a far higher degree in that of Taje-Mehalle, which I am now going to deſcribe unto you. You may therefore repreſent to yourſelf, that at the going out of the city of Agra eaſtward, you enter into a long and broad paved ſtreet, which riſeth gently, and hath on one ſide a high and long wall, making the ſide of a ſquare garden that is much bigger than our Place Royal, and on the other ſide a row of new houſes arched, ſuch as thoſe of the principal ſtreets of Dehli above ſpoken of. Having gone the length of half the wall, you ſhall find on the right hand of the ſide of the houſes a great gate well made, by which one enters into a caravan-ſerah, and over-againſt it, on the wall's ſide, a ſtately gate of a great ſquare pavilion, by which you enter into the garden between two conſervatories built up with free-ſtone. This pavilion is longer than it is large, built of a ſtone-like red marble, but not ſo hard. The frontiſpiece ſeems to

me very magnificent, after their way, and as high as that of St. Louis in the ſtreet of St. Anthony. It is true you do not there ſee columns, architraves and corniſhes, cut out after the proportion of thoſe five orders of architecture ſo religiouſly obſerved in our palaces: it is a different and particular kind of ſtructure, but ſuch an one as wants no agreeableneſs even in the unuſualneſs of its contrivance, and which, in my opinion, would very well deſerve a place in our books of architecture. It is almoſt nothing but arches upon arches, and galleries over galleries, diſpoſed and ordered a hundred different ways; and yet all appears ſtately, well enough contrived and managed. There is nothing that offends the eye; on the contrary all is pleaſing, and a man cannot be weary in beholding it. The laſt time I ſaw it, I was there with one of our French merchants, who alſo could not behold it enough. I durſt not tell him my thoughts of it, apprehending it might have ſpoiled my guſt, and framed it according to that of Indoſtan.—But he being lately come from France, I was very glad to hear him ſay, 'He had never ſeen any thing ſo auguſt and bold in Europe.'

After you are ſomewhat entered into the pavilion to paſs into the garden, you find yourſelf under a high vault made like a cap, which hath galleries round about and below, on the right and left ſide, two divans or cauſeys, made up of earth of eight or ten feet high. Oppoſite to the gate there is a great arch quite open, by which you enter into an alley, which cuts almoſt the whole garden into two equal parts. This alley is by way of terraſs ſo large, as that ſix coaches can paſs on it a-breaſt, paved with great ſquares of hard ſtone, raiſed ſome eight feet above the garden-plots, and divided in the middle by a channel walled up with free-ſtone, having jets of water at certain diſtances. After you have gone twenty-five or thirty paces upon this alley, turning your eye to behold the entry, you ſee the other face of the pavilion, which though it be not comparable to that which looks to the ſtreet, yet wants not its ſtatelineſs, being high and of a ſtructure approaching the other. And on both ſides of the pavilion, along the wall of the garden, you ſee a long and profound gallery by way of terraſs, ſupported by many low columns near one another. And in this gallery it is, that during the ſeaſon of the rains, the poor are permitted to enter, who come there thrice a week, receiving alms from a foundation made there by Chah-Jehan for ever.

Advancing further in this alley, you diſcover at a diſtance before you a great dome, where is the ſepulchre, and below on the right and left hand you ſee divers alleys of a garden ſet with trees, and ſeveral parterres covered with flowers. At the end of this alley, beſides the dome before you, you diſcover on the right and left two great pavilions, built of the ſame ſtone, and conſequently, looking all red as the firſt. Theſe are great and ſpacious ſquare edifices, made by way of terraſs, opening by three arches, and having at the bottom the wall of the garden, ſo that you march under them as if they were high and large galleries.

I ſhall not ſtay to deſcribe unto you the ornaments within theſe pavilions, becauſe in reſpect to their walls, ground-plot, and pavement, they are not much unlike the dome, which I am going to delineate to you, after I ſhall have obſerved, that between the end of the alley (which we have ſpoken of) and the dome, there is a pretty large ſpace of a floor, which I call a water-parterre, becauſe that the diverſly cut and figured ſtones you march upon, are there inſtead of the box-wood of our parterres. And it is from the midſt of this parterre, that you may conveniently ſee a part of this edifice, where the ſepulchre is, which remains now to be conſidered.

It is a great and vaſt dome of white marble, which is near the height of that of our Val de Grace in Paris, ſurrounded with many turrets of the ſame matter, with ſtairs in

in them. Four great arches ſupport the whole fabric, three of which are viſible, the fourth is cloſed in by the wall of an hall, accompanied with a gallery, where certain Mullahs (entertained for that end) do continually read the Alcoran, with a profound reſpect to the honour of Taje-Mehalle. The mould of the arches is enriched with tables of white marble, wherein are ſeen engraven large Arabian characters of black marble, which is very agreeable to behold. The interior or concave part of this dome, and the whole wall from top to bottom, is covered with white marble; and there is no place which is not wrought with art, and hath not its peculiar beauty. You ſee ſtore of agat, and ſuch ſort of ſtones as are employed to enrich the chapel of the great duke of Florence; much jaſper, and many other kinds of rare and precious ſtones, ſet a hundred ſeveral ways, mixed and enchaſed in the marble that covers the body of the wall. The ſquares of white and black marble, that make the floor, are likewiſe ſet out with all imaginable beauty and ſtatelineſs.

Under this dome is a little chamber incloſing the ſepulchre, which I have not ſeen within, it not being opened but once a year, and that with great ceremony, not ſuffering any Chriſtian to enter, for fear (as they ſay) of prophaning the ſanctity of the place: but really by what I could learn, becauſe it hath nothing rich or magnificent in it.

There remains nothing elſe, than to give you occaſion to take notice of an alley in the faſhion of a terraſs, twenty or twenty-five paces large, and as many or more high, which is betwixt the dome and the extremity of the garden, whence you ſee below you, at the foot of it, the river Gemna running along a great campaign of gardens, a part of the town of Agra, the fortreſs, and all thoſe fair houſes of the Omrahs that are built along the water. There remains no more, I ſay, than to cauſe you to obſerve this terraſs, which taketh up almoſt the whole length of one ſide of the garden, and then to deſire you to judge, whether I had reaſon to ſay, that the Mauſoleum, or tomb of Taje-Mehalle, is ſomething worthy to be admired. For my part I do not yet well know, whether I am not ſomewhat infected ſtill with Indianiſm; but I muſt needs ſay, that I believe it ought to be reckoned amongſt the wonders of the world, rather than thoſe unſhapen maſſes of the Ægyptian pyramids, which I was weary to ſee after I had ſeen them twice, and in which I find nothing without, but pieces of great ſtones ranged in the form of ſteps one upon another, and within nothing but very little art and invention.

A LETTER written to Mr. Chapelain, ſent from Chiras, in Perſia, October 4, 1667. Concerning the ſuperſtitious, ſtrange faſhions, and the doctrine of the native Indians, or Gentiles of Indoſtan. Whence may be ſeen, that there are no opinions ſo ridiculous, and ſo extravagant, which the ſpirit of man is not capable of.

SIR,

If I ſhould live whole ages, I know not whether I could ever forget thoſe two eclipſes of the ſun, of which I ſaw one in France, in the year 1654, and the other in the Indies at Dehli in the year 1666, if I remember aright. The former ſeemed very remarkable to me, upon the account of the childiſh credulity of our common people, and of that panic terror which had ſo ſeized the heart, that ſome bought drugs againſt the eclipſe; others kept themſelves cloſe in the dark in their caves, and their well-cloſed chambers; others caſt themſelves in great multitudes into the churches: thoſe apprehending ſome malign and dangerous influence, and theſe believing that they were come to their laſt day, and that the eclipſe would ſhake the foundations of nature, and overturn

overturn it, notwithſtanding any thing that the Gaſſendi's, Robervals, and many other famous philoſophers could ſay or write againſt this perſuaſion, when they demonſtrate, that this eclipſe was of the ſame nature with ſo many others that had preceded without any miſchief, and that it was a known accident, foreſeen and ordinary, which had nothing peculiar, but what ſome cheating aſtrological mountebank might have deviſed.

That which I ſaw at Dehli ſeemed alſo very conſiderable to me, by reaſon of the ridiculous errors and ſuperſtitions of the Indians. At the time when the ſaid eclipſe was to appear, I went up to the terraſs of my houſe, which was ſituate on the ſide of the river Gemna, thence I ſaw both ſides of the river, for near a league in length, covered with the heathen idolaters, that ſtood in the water up to their girdle, demurely looking up into the ſky, to the end that they might plunge and waſh themſelves at the moment when the eclipſe ſhould begin. The little boys and girls were ſtark naked; the men were almoſt ſo too, but that they had a ſcarf round their thighs to cover their nakedneſs: and the married women, together with the young maids that were not above ſix or ſeven years old, were covered with a ſingle cloth. Perſons of condition, as the Rajahs, or ſovereign princes of thoſe Gentiles, (who commonly are about the perſon and in the pay of the king,) and the Serrahs or exchangers, the bankers, jewellers, and other great merchants, were moſt of them gone to the other ſide of the water with all their family, and had there put up their tents, and faſtened in the river certain kanates, which are a kind of ſkreens, to perform their ceremonies, and conveniently to waſh themſelves with their wives, ſo as not to be ſeen by others. Theſe idolaters no ſooner ſaw the eclipſe begin, but they raiſed a great cry, and all at once plunged themſelves wholly into the water, I know not how many times one after another; ſtanding up afterwards in the water, and lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven, muttering and praying with great devotion, and from time to time taking water with their hands, which they threw up towards the ſun, bowing down their heads very low, moving and turning their arms and hands ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, and thus continuing their plunging, praying, and apiſhneſs unto the end of this eclipſe; at which time every one retired, caſting ſome pieces of ſilver a good way off into the water, and giving alms to the Brachmans or men of the law, who failed not to be at that ceremony. I took notice, that at their going out of the water, they all took new clothes that were laid ready for them folded up on the ſand, and that many of the devouter ſort left their old garments for the Brachmans. And in this manner did I ſee from my terraſs this great ſolemnity of the eclipſe; which was celebrated after the ſame manner in the river Indus and Ganges, and in all the other rivers, as alſo in the receivers of waters in the Indies; but eſpecially in that of the Tanaiſer, where were met together above an hundred and fifty thouſand perſons, come together from all parts of the Indies, becauſe the water of it is on that day reputed more holy and efficacious than on any other.

The Great Mogol, though he be a Mahometan, ſuffers theſe heathens to go on in theſe old ſuperſtitions, becauſe he will not, or dareth not croſs them in the exerciſe of their religion, and beſides it is not performed without preſenting him, by the hands of the Brachmans as commiſſioners, a lecque or an hundred thouſand rupees, which are worth above fifty thouſand crowns, for which he returns nothing but a few veſts and an old elephant. Now you ſhall ſee thoſe ſolid reaſons (forſooth) which they alledge for this feaſt, and for the ceremonies by them obſerved in it.

We have (ſay they) our four Beths, that is, books of the law, ſacred and divine writings, given us by God through the hands of Brahma. Theſe books do teach us, that a certain Deuta, which is a kind of corporeal divinity very malign and miſchievous, very black and very

very filthy (theſe are their own expreſſions in their language) ſeizeth on the ſun, blackens it as it were with ink, and ſo darkens it: that this ſun, which is alſo a Deuta, but of the beſt and the moſt beneficent and perfect divinities, is at that time in very great pains and terrible anguiſh, to ſee himſelf thus ſeized on and miſuſed by that black villain: that it is a general duty to endeavour to deliver him from this miſerable condition; which cannot be effected but by the force of prayers, waſhings and alms; and that theſe actions are of a very extraordinary merit, to ſuch a degree, that an alms given at that time is worth an hundred given at another. Who is there, ſay they, that would not give cent. per cent.?

Sir, theſe are the two eclipſes I ſpoke of, which I ſhall hardly ever forget, and which miniſter occaſion to me to proceed to ſome other extravagancies of theſe Gentiles, when you may draw what conſequences you ſhall pleaſe.

In the town of Jagannat, which is ſeated upon the gulph of Bengala, and where is that famous temple of the idol of the ſame name, there is yearly celebrated a certain feaſt which laſts eight or nine days, if I remember well. There is found an incredible number of people, as there was antiently in the temple of Hammon, and as it is at this day at Mecca. This number, it is ſaid, amounts ſometimes to above an hundred and fifty thouſand perſons. They make a ſtately engine of wood, as I have ſeen of them in many other places of the Indies, with I know not how many extravagant figures, almoſt ſuch as we are wont to paint monſters with two heads or bodies, half man and half beaſt, or gigantic and terrible heads, ſatyrs, apes or devils; which engine is put upon fourteen or ſixteen wheels, ſuch as the carriages of cannons may be, which fifty or ſixty perſons more or leſs do draw, or thruſt forwards: upon the middle of it appears moſt conſpicuouſly the idol Jagannat, richly dreſſed and adorned, which is thus tranſported from one place to another.

The firſt day that they ſhew this idol with ceremony in the temple the crowd is uſually ſo great to ſee it, that there is not a year, but ſome of thoſe poor pilgrims, that come a-far off, tired and haraſſed, are ſuffocated there; all the people bleſſing them for having been ſo happy, as to die on ſo holy an occaſion. And when this helliſh triumphant chariot marcheth, there are found (which is no fable) perſons ſo fooliſhly credulous and ſuperſtitious as to throw themſelves with their bellies under thoſe large and heavy wheels, which bruiſe them to death, having ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded, that there is no action ſo heroic nor ſo meritorious as that, and that Jagannat will at the ſame time receive them as his children, and cauſe them to be born again in a ſtate of felicity and glory.

The Brachmans for their particular advantage and intereſt, I mean that of alms and reſpect given to them as perſons devoted to theſe myſteries, do entertain the people in theſe errors and ſuperſtitions, and they proceed even to ſuch infamous cheats and villainies, that I could never have believed them, if I had not fully informed myſelf of it.

Theſe impoſtors take a young maid, of the faireſt they can meet with, to be the bride (as they ſpeak, and bear the beſotted people in hand) of Jagannat, and they leave her all night in the temple (whither they have carried her) with the idol, making her believe that Jagannat himſelf will come and embrace her, and appointing her to aſk him, whether it will be a fruitful year, what kind of proceſſions, feaſts, prayers and alms he demands to be made for it. In the mean time one of theſe luſtful prieſts enters at night by a little back-door into the temple, deflowereth this young maid, and maketh her believe any thing he pleaſeth; and the next day, being tranſported from this temple into another with the ſame magnificence, ſhe was carried before upon the chariot of triumph on the ſide of Jagannat her bridegroom; theſe Brahmans make her

her ſay aloud before all the people, whatſoever ſhe had been taught of theſe cheats, as if ſhe had learnt it from the very mouth of Jagannat. But let us go on (if you pleaſe) to follies of another kind.

Before this chariot and often in the very temples of the idols, on feſtival days, you ſhall ſee public women dance, making an hundred indecent and extravagant poſtures; and yet the Brahmans find a way to accord all that with their religion. I have ſeen ſome women, that are not only famous for their beauty, but alſo for great reſervedneſs, which refuſed very conſiderable preſents of certain Mahometans and Chriſtians, and even of heathen ſtrangers, as if they were only dedicated to the miniſtry and the miniſters of Deuta, or the idol temple, to the Brahmans and theſe Fakires, which are there ſeated moſt of them upon aſhes round about, altogether naked with their fearful hair of Megera, and in the poſture I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. But let us ſtay no longer upon theſe follies.

There are ſo many writers of voyages relating the cuſtom of the Indian women burning themſelves with her huſbands, that I think ſomething at laſt will be believed of it. For my part I am going to take my turn alſo, and to write to you of it like others; yet in the mean time obſerving withal, that it is not all true what is ſaid of it, and that now they do not burn themſelves in ſo great a number as formerly, becauſe the Mahometans, that bear ſway at preſent in Indoſtan, are enemies to that barbarous cuſtom, and hinder it as much as they can: not oppoſing it abſolutely, becauſe they are willing to leave their idolatrous people, who are far more numerous than themſelves, in the free exerciſe of their religion, for fear of ſome revolt. But by indirectly preventing it, in that they oblige the women, ready to burn themſelves, to go and aſk permiſſion of the reſpective governors, who ſend for them, make converſe with their own women, remonſtrate things to them with annexed promiſes, and never give them this permiſſion, but after they have tried all theſe gentle ways, and till they find them fixed in their ſottiſh reſolution, which yet hinders not but that many burn themſelves, eſpecially of thoſe that live upon the lands of the Rajas, where no Mahometan governors are. I ſhall not ſtay to give you the hiſtory of all thoſe, which I have ſeen burn themſelves; that would be too long, and too tedious. — I ſhall only relate unto you two or three examples of them, whence you may judge of the reſt; but firſt you ſhall have the relation of a woman, which I was ſent unto to divert her from ſuch a miſchievous deſign.

A friend of mine called Bendidas, the firſt clerk of my Aga Danech-mend-kan, died of an hectick, having been treated by me above two years. His wife immediately reſolved to burn herſelf, together with the body of her huſband; but her parents, by the order of my Agah, whoſe ſervants they were, endeavoured to diſſuade her from it, repreſenting to her, that though it were indeed a generous and laudable reſolution, and would be a great honour and happineſs in the family, yet ſhe ought to conſider, that her children were yet little, that ſhe could not abandon them, and that ſhe was to prefer their good, and the affection ſhe had for them, to the love ſhe had for her huſband, and to her own ſatisfaction. Theſe parents not having been able to prevail with her by all theſe repreſentments, bethought themſelves to deſire me to go to her, as ſent from my Agah, and as an antient friend to the family. I went, and when I came, I did, as ſoon as I came in, ſee a cluſter of ſeven or eight fearful old women, together with four or five infatuated and brain-ſick Brahmans, who all cried by turns, beating their hands about the dead corps, and the widow in her looſe hair, looking pale, yet with dry and ſparkling eyes, ſitting and crying alſo aloud, and beating her hands, as the reſt, with a kind of cadency, upon the feet of her huſband. The out-cry and noiſe being ended, I approached to this company of people, and addreſſing myſelf to the widow,

widow, I gave her ſoftly to underſtand, that I came from Danechmend-kan; that he had appointed a monthly penſion of two crowns to each of her two ſons, but on condition that ſhe ſhould not burn herſelf, to the end that ſhe might take care of them, and breed them up as was fit; that elſe we knew ways enough to hinder her from burning herſelf, if ſhe were obſtinate for it, and to make thoſe repent that ſhould allure and incite her to ſuch an unreaſonable reſolution, eſpecially ſince none of her kindred was ſatisfied with it, and that ſhe would not be counted infamous, as thoſe are that want the reſolution to burn themſelves after the death of their huſbands, when they have no children. I often inculcated to her all theſe conſiderations, without hearing a word of anſwer from her; though at laſt ſhe ſaid, looking fiercely upon me: Well, if I am hindered to burn myſelf, I am reſolved to break my head againſt the wall. Then ſaid I to myſelf, what diabolical fury doth poſſeſs thee? And to her I anſwered, full of indignation: Then take thy children, thou unhappy creature, and cut their throats, and burn them with thee; for they will be ſtarved, I being now ready to return to Danechmend-kan, and to annul their penſion. Theſe words being ſpoken by me, with the loudeſt and moſt menacing tone I could, made impreſſion upon the ſpirit of this woman, and upon that of all the aſſiſtants: ſhe preſently, without any repartee, let her head ſink down upon her knees, and moſt of the old women and Brahmans went away. Whereupon her relations, that were come with me, entered and parleyed with her. And I, thinking I had done enough, took horſe and came away to my lodgings, ſuppoſing they would do the reſt well enough. In ſhort, about evening, when I was going to give an account to my Agah of what I had done, I met with her parents, who thanked me, and ſaid, that the dead corps had been burnt, and the widow perſuaded to remain alive.

Concerning the women that have actually burned themſelves, I have ſo often been preſent at ſuch dreadful ſpectacles, that at length I could endure no more to ſee it, and I retain ſtill ſome horror when I think on it. Yet I ſhall repreſent to you ſome of them but pretend not to expreſs to the life, with what courage and reſolution theſe poor women atchieved ſuch a direful tragedy; for there is nothing but the eye itſelf that can exhibit a right idea thereof.

When I was paſſing from Amad-avad to Agra, over the lands of the Rajas, that are in thoſe parts, there came news to us in a borough, where the caravan reſted under the ſhade (ſtaying for the cool of the evening to march on their journey) that a certain woman was then upon the point of burning herſelf with the body of her huſband. I preſently roſe and ran to the place where it was to be done, which was a great pit, with a pile of wood raiſed in it, whereon I ſaw laid a dead corps, and a woman which at a diſtance ſeemed to me pretty fair, ſitting near it on the ſame pile, beſides four or five Brahmans, putting the fire to it from all ſides; five women of a middle age, and well enough dreſſed, holding one another by the hand, and dancing about the pit, and a great crowd of people, men and women looking on. The pile of wood was preſently all on fire, becauſe ſtore of oil and butter had been thrown upon it, and I ſaw at the ſame time through the flames, that the fire took hold of the cloaths of the woman, that were imbued with well ſcented oils, mingled with powder of ſantal and ſaffron. All this I ſaw, but obſerved not that the woman was at all diſturbed; yea, it was ſaid, that ſhe had been heard to pronounce with great force theſe two words, *Five*, *Two*, to ſignify, according to the opinion of thoſe that hold the ſoul's tranſmigration, that this was the fifth time ſhe had burnt herſelf with the ſame huſband, and that there remained but two times for perfection; as if ſhe had at that time this remembrance, or ſome prophetical ſpirit. But here ended not this infernal tragedy: I thought it was only by way of ceremony, that

that theſe five women ſung and danced about the pit; but I was altogther ſurprized, when I ſaw, that the flame having taken hold of the cloaths of one of them, ſhe caſt herſelf with her head foremoſt into the pit, and that, after her, another, being overcome by the flame and ſmoke, did the like: and my aſtoniſhment redoubled afterwards, when I ſaw, that the remaining three took one another again by the hand, continued their dance without any apparent fear, and that at length they precipitated themſelves, one after another into the fire, as their companions had done. It troubled me ſufficiently, that I knew not what that meant, but I learnt ſhortly after, that theſe had been five ſlaves, who, having ſeen their miſtreſs extremely afflicted at the ſickneſs of her huſband, and heard her promiſe him that ſhe would not ſurvive him, but burn herſelf with him, were ſo touched with compaſſion and tenderneſs towards this their miſtreſs, that they engaged themſelves in a promiſe to follow her in her reſolution, and to burn themſelves with her. Many perſons, whom I then conſulted about this cuſtom of women burning themſelves with the bodies of their huſbands would perſuade me, that what they did was from an exceſs of affection they had for them: but I underſtood afterwards, that it was only an effect of opinion, prepoſſeſſion and cuſtom; and that the mothers, from their youth, beſotted with this ſuperſtition, as of a moſt virtuous and moſt laudable action, ſuch as was unavoidable to a woman of honour, did alſo infatuate the ſpirit of their daughters from their very infancy; although at the bottom, it was nothing elſe but an art of the men the more to enſlave their wives, thereby to make them have the more care of their health, and to prevent poiſoning of them.

But let us proceed to another tragedy, which I ſhall rather repreſent to you than many others, at which I have been preſent, becauſe it hath ſomething uncommon in it. It is true, I was not there myſelf; but you may do as I do, who do not ſtand out againſt crediting theſe things, becauſe I have ſeen ſo many of them which ſeemed incredible to me. This action is grown ſo famous in the Indies, that nobody doubts of it, and it may be, that even yourſelf have already heard of it in Europe.

It is of a woman that was engaged in ſome love-intrigues with a young Mahometan her neighbour, that was a taylor, and could play finely upon the tabor. This woman in the hopes ſhe had of marrying this young man, poiſoned her huſband, and preſently came away to tell her taylor, that it was time to be gone together as they had projected, or elſe ſhe ſhould be obliged to burn herſelf. The young man fearing leſt he might be entangled in a miſchievous buſineſs, flatly refuſed her. The woman not at all ſurprized at it, went to her relations, and advertiſed them of the ſudden death of her huſband, and openly proteſted that ſhe would not ſurvive him, but burn herſelf with him. Her kindred well ſatisfied with ſo generous a reſolution, and the great honour ſhe did to the whole family, preſently had a pit made, and filled with wood, expoſing the corps upon it, and kindling the fire. All being prepared, the woman goes to embrace and bid farewel to all her kindred that were there about the pit, among whom was alſo the taylor, who had been invited to play upon the tabor that day, with many others of that ſort of men, according to the cuſtom of the country. This fury of a woman being alſo come to this young man, made as if ſhe would bid him farewel with the reſt; but inſtead of gently embracing him, ſhe taketh him with all her force about his collar, pulls him to the pit, and tumbleth him together with herſelf into the ditch, where they both were ſoon diſpatched.

She which I ſaw burn herſelf, when I parted from Surat to travel into Perſia, in the preſence of Monſieur Chardin of Paris, and of many Engliſh and Dutch, was of a middle age, and not unhandſome. To repreſent unto you the undaunted chearfulneſs that appeared in her countenance, the reſolution with which ſhe marched, waſhed herſelf,

ſelf, ſpoke to the people; the confidence with which ſhe looked upon us, viewed her little cabin, made up of very dry millet-ſtraw and ſmall wood, went into this cabin and ſat down upon the pile, and took her huſband's head into her lap, and a torch into her own hand, and kindled the cabin, whilſt I know not how many Brahmans were buſy in kindling the fire round about: to repreſent to you, I ſay, all this as it ought, is not poſſible for me; I can at preſent ſcarce believe it myſelf, though it be but a few days ſince I ſaw it.

'Tis true, that I have ſeen ſome of them, which at the ſight of the pile and fire, appeared to have ſome apprehenſion, and that perhaps would have gone back, but 'tis often too late: thoſe demons the Brahmans, that are there with their great ſticks, aſtoniſh them, and hearten them up, or even thruſt them in; as I have ſeen it done to a young woman that retreated five or ſix paces from the pile, and to another that was much diſturbed when ſhe ſaw the fire take hold of her cloaths, theſe executioners thruſting her in with their long poles. Yet I have often ſeen one, that is ſtill a handſome woman and had ſaved herſelf out of their hands, falling into the hands of the Gadous, that ſometimes met there in great numbers, when they know that it is ſome fair and young woman that is to be burnt, and that hath no great kindred, nor much company with her: for the women that are afraid of the pile, and fly away from it, knowing that they cannot be received again amongſt the Gentiles, nor live with them, becauſe they repute them infamous, after they have committed ſuch a fault, and brought ſuch a diſgrace upon their religion; ſuch women, I ſay, are ordinarily a prey of this kind of men, who are alſo counted infamous in the Indies, and that have nothing to loſe. A Mogolian durſt not ſave nor receive any, for fear of bringing himſelf into great trouble. Some Portugueze living in ſea-ports, where they were ſtrongeſt, have ſometimes carried away ſome of them. For my part, I have often been ſo enraged againſt thoſe Brahmans, that if I durſt, I had ſtrangled them. I remember among others, that at Lahor, I ſaw a very handſome and a very young woman burnt: I believe ſhe was not above twelve years of age. This poor unhappy creature appeared rather dead than alive, when ſhe came near the pile; ſhe ſhook, and wept bitterly: mean time three or four of theſe executioners, the Brahmans, together with an old hag that held her under the arm, thruſt her on, and made her ſit down upon the wood, and leſt ſhe ſhould run away, they tied her legs and hands, and ſo burnt her alive. I had enough to do to contain myſelf for indignation; but I was forced to content myſelf with deteſting this horrid religion, and to ſay by myſelf, what the poet once ſaid of ſuch another, upon the occaſion of Iphigenia, whom her own father Agamemnon ſacrificed to Diana for the intereſt of the Grecians, amongſt whom he was one of the principal leaders.

——*Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum!*

Theſe are certainly very barbarous and cruel cuſtoms, but that which the Brahmans do in ſome other places of the Indies is yet more ſo: for inſtead of burning thoſe women that will die upon the death of their huſbands, they bury them to the ground alive up to the very throat, and then two or three of them fall at once upon them and wring their neck round, and ſo choak them, covering them quickly with ſome earth, and then marching over their heads. But let us paſs to ſome other cuſtoms of thoſe countries.

Moſt of the Gentiles burn their dead; but ſome there are, that do no more than with ſome ſtraw broil them on a river's ſide, caſting them thereupon from the height of a ſteep bank into the water; which I have often ſeen upon the river Ganges.

Some of these Gentiles there are, who, when they perceive a sick person near death, carry him to the side of a river, (at which barbarous action I have been once present) and then first put his feet into the water, and afterwards let him slide down as to his throat, and then, when they think he is now expiring, they sink him quite under water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour, and clapping with their hands: and this, say they, to the end that the soul leaving the body may be washed from all the impurities she may have contracted in the body. And this is not only a reason given by the vulgar; for I have spoken with the most learned of them, who delivered the same with great seriousness. But let us go on to other extravagancies.

Amongst that vast number and great variety of Fakires, Derviches, or religious Heathens of the Indies, there is abundance of them that have convents, in which there are superiors, and wherein they make certain vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, leading so odd a life, that I doubt whether you can give credit to it. These are commonly called Jaguis, as if you should say, united to God. You shall see many of them sit stark naked, or lie days and nights upon ashes, and, commonly enough, under some of those large trees that are on the sides of the Talabs or ponds, or else in those galleries that are about their Deuras or idol-temples. Some of them have their hair hanging down to the middle of their legs, and that wreathed into several parcels, as the large main of our barbes, or rather, as the hair of those that have the sickness of Poland, called the plica. Of these I have seen some in divers places, who held one arm, and sometimes both, lifted up perpetually above their heads, and that had at the end of their fingers wreathed nails, that were longer by measure than half my little finger. Their arms were small and lean, as of heretical persons, because they took not sufficient nourishment in that forced posture, and they could not let them down to take any thing with them, either meat or drink, because the nerves were retired, and the joints were filled and dried up; wherefore also they have young novices, that serve them as holy men with very great respect. There is no Megara in hell so terrible to look on, as those men are, all naked, with their black skin, long hair, dried arms, and in the posture mentioned, and with crooked nails.

I have often met in the field, especially upon the lands of the Rajas, whole squadrons of these Faquires, altogether naked, dreadful to behold. Some held their arms lifted up in the posture mentioned; others had their terrible hair hanging about them, or else they had wreathed them about their head; some had a kind of Hercules's club in their hand; others had dry and stiff tyger-skins over their shoulders. I saw them pass thus quite naked, without any shame, through the midst of a great borough. I admired how men, women, and children could look upon them so indifferently, without being moved no more than if we should see pass some Eremite through our streets; and how the women brought them alms with much devotion, taking them for very holy men, much wiser and better than others.

I have seen, for a long while, a very famous one in Dehli, called Sarmet, who went thus stark naked along the streets, and who at length would rather suffer his neck to be cut off, than to put on any cloaths, what promises or menaces soever Aureng-Zebe might send to him.

I have seen many of them, who out of devotion went long pilgrimages, not only altogether naked, but charged with iron chains, like those that are put about the legs of elephants. Others, who, out of a particular vow, stood for seven or eight days upright upon their legs, which thereupon swelled as big as their thighs, without sitting

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or lying down, or without repoſing themſelves otherwiſe than by leaning ſome hours of the night upon a ſtretched cord; others, who ſtood for whole hours upon their hands without wavering, the head down, and the feet upward: and ſo of many other ſorts of poſtures ſo conſtrained, and ſo difficult, that we have no tumbler able to imitate them; and all this, it ſeems upon the account of religion, of which yet there appears not the leaſt ſhadow in it.

All theſe ſo extraordinary things did (to tell you the truth) exceedingly ſurprize me at firſt; I knew not what to ſay or think of it. Sometimes I looked upon them as a remainder, or rather as the authors of that ancient and infamous ſect of the Cynicks, but only that I found nothing in them, but brutality and ignorance, and that they ſeemed to me a kind of trees, ſomewhat moving from one place to another, rather than rational animals. Another time I conſidered them as men altogether enthuſiaſtical; though as I lately ſaid, I could not find any ſhadow of true piety in all they did. Sometimes I thought, that this lazy, idle, and independent life of beggars might have ſomething attractive in it. Sometimes I imagined that the vanity, which creeps in every where, and which is as often found under the patched mantle of Diogenes, as under the comely garment of Plato, there might lurk that ſpring, which might ſet a going ſo many engines; and then reflecting withal upon the miſerable and auſtere life they led, I knew not what judgment to make of them.

It is true, that many ſay, that they do not exerciſe theſe ſtrange auſterities but in the hopes they entertain of becoming Rajas in their renaſcence, or of returning again in a more happy life. But, as I have often told them to their faces, how is it poſſible for any man to reſolve upon ſuch a miſerable life from the hope of another, that is to be no longer, and hath alſo, in the upſhot, but very little happineſs in it, though one ſhould return a Raja, or even a Jeſſeingue or a Jeſſomſeingue, which are the two moſt puiſſant Rajas of the Indies? There muſt needs, ſaid I, lye ſomething elſe under it, which you have no mind to diſcover to us, or you muſt be arrant fools.

Amongſt thoſe, I have been ſpeaking of, there are ſuch that are believed to be true ſaints, illuminated and perfect Janguis, entirely united to God. Theſe are people that have altogether abandoned the world, and ſequeſtered themſelves into ſome very remote corner or garden, like Eremites, without ever coming to town. If you carry them any meat they receive it; if they do not, it is believed they can live without it, and ſubſiſt by the ſole favour of God in perpetual faſting, prayer, and profound meditations: for they ſink themſelves ſo deep in theſe raptures, that they ſpend many hours together in being inſenſible, and beholding in that time, as they give out, God himſelf, like a bright and ineffable light, with an unexpreſſible joy and ſatisfaction, attended with an entire contempt and forſaking of the world: for thus much one of them that pretended he could enter into this rapture when he pleaſed, and had been often in it, told me; and others that are about them, affirm the thing with ſo much ſerioufneſs, that they ſeem to believe in earneſt, as if there were no impoſture in it. God alone knows whether there be any truth in it, and whether in this ſolitude and faſting the imagination debilitated, may not ſuffer itſelf to be carried away into theſe illuſions: or whether they be not of that kind of natural raptures, into which Cardan ſaid he fell when he liſted; and this the rather, becauſe I ſee, there is uſed ſome art in what they do, foraſmuch as they preſcribe to themſelves certain rules, by little and little to bind up their ſenſes: for they ſay, for example, that after they have faſted many days, uſing nothing but bread and water, it is requiſite firſt to keep themſelves alone, retired from all company, directing the eyes ſteadily towards heaven for a while, when gently caſting

caſting them down again, and then fixing them both ſo as to look at one and the ſame time upon the tip of the noſe equally, and as much on one ſide as the other (which is troubleſome enough) and remaining firm and intent in that poſture, until ſuch a light do come. Whatever the matter be, I know, that theſe raptures, and theſe ways of falling into them, make the great myſtery of the Cabala of the Janguis, as the Soufys do alſo. I call it myſtery, becauſe they keep it very ſecret amongſt them; and if it had not been for this Pendet or Indian doctor, to whom Danechmend-kan gave a penſion, and who durſt hide nothing from him; and if alſo Danechmend-kan had not known the myſteries of the Cabala of the Soufys, I ſhould not have diſcovered ſo much of it. I know beſides, that as for the extremity of poverty, of faſtings, and auſterities, that alſo can do much of it. We muſt not think (or I am much deceived) that any of our religious friars or Eremites go in this point beyond thoſe men, nor generally beyond all the Aſiatic monks; witneſs the life and faſtings of the Armenians, Copthes, Greeks, Neſtorians, Jacobites and Maronites. We muſt rather avow, that we are but novices, when compared with thoſe religious men: But then we muſt alſo acknowledge, according to what I have experimented, in reſpect of thoſe of the Indies, that they can much more eaſily bear hunger than we can in our colder climates.

There are others very different from thoſe, but very ſtrange men likewiſe; they are almoſt perpetually travelling up and down, they deride all, take care of nothing, men that brag of ſecrets, and who, as the people ſay, know no leſs than to make gold, and ſo admirably to prepare Mercury, that a grain or two of it taken every morning reſtoreth the body to perfect health, and ſo ſtrengthens the ſtomach, that it feeds greedily and digeſts with eaſe. This is not all: When two of theſe Janguis, that are eminent, do meet, and you ſtir them up in the point and power of their knowledge of Janguiſme, you ſhall ſee them do ſuch tricks out of ſpight to one another, that I know not whether Simon Magus could have outdone them. For they divine what one thinketh, make the branch of a tree bloſſom and bear fruit in leſs than an hour, hatch eggs in their boſom in leſs than half a quarter of an hour, and bring forth ſuch birds as you demand, which they make fly about the chamber, and many other ſuch prodigies. I mean, if what is ſaid of them be true; for I remember, that one day my Agah ſent for one of theſe famous diviners, and when he was come, agreed with him to give him the next day 300 rupees, which is about 150 crowns, if he ſhould tell him, as he ſaid he would, his preſent thought, which he was to write before him upon a paper: As alſo, that I myſelf made a bargain with the ſame, to give him 25 rupies, if he ſhould divine mine; but the prophet failed us; as alſo did at another time one of thoſe pretended producers of birds, to whom I had alſo promiſed 20 rupies. I am ſtill to be underſtood, if it be true what is ſaid of them. For, as for me, I am with all my curioſity none of thoſe happy men, that are preſent at, and ſee thoſe great feats; and if I ſhould chance to ſee any of ſuch things as are thought ſtrange, I am always conſidering and ſeeking, whether the thing may not be done by ſome juggle, art, or trick of leger-de-main: and I am ſometimes even ſo unhappy, or, if you will, ſo fortunate, as to find out the cheat, as I did, that made a cup run, to diſcover who it was, that had ſtolen money from my Agah.

Laſtly, there are ſome in many places, that are quite of another way than all thoſe I have diſcourſed of. Their life and their devotion is more meek and more poliſhed; they go over the ſtreets bare-foot and bare-headed, girt about with a ſcarf hanging down to their knees, and having a white ſheet which paſſeth under their right arm, and comes out over their left ſhoulder like a cloak, without other cloaths under it. They are always very clean and neat in all things, and commonly go two and two together with

with great modeſty, holding in their hand a ſmall earthen trevet, with two handles, very neat. They do not go goſſipping from ſhop to ſhop, as many of the other Fakires do. They go freely every where into the houſes of the Gentiles, where they are welcome, and much made of, they being eſteemed a bleſſing to the houſe. They are by no means to be accuſed of any thing; though it be well enough known, what in ſuch viſits among the women paſſeth: But it is the cuſtom, they are in poſſeſſion of being ſaints for all that, and any houſe thinks itſelf honoured with their viſit. But it is not only there ſo; many other places there be in the world, where things are not ſo ſtrictly looked to. But that which I find moſt ridiculous in thoſe people is, that they are impertinent enough to compare themſelves with our religious men they meet with in the Indies. I have often taken pleaſure to catch them, uſing much ceremony with them, and giving them great reſpect; but I ſoon heard them ſay to one another: This Franguis knows who we are, he hath been a great while in the Indies, he knows that we are the Padrys of the Indians. A fine compariſon, ſaid I within myſelf, made by an impertinent and idolatrous rabble of men!

But we ſtay too long upon theſe heathen beggars: Let us go on to their books of law and ſciences; you may afterwards judge, whether moſt of what I am going to ſay of it may be put, as I think it may, in the number of extravagancies.

Do not wonder, if, though I know not the Hanſcrit, the language of the learned (of which ſomewhat may be ſaid hereafter, and which is perhaps the ſame with that of the old Brachmans) do notwithſtanding tell you many things taken out of books written in that tongue. For you muſt know, that my Agah Danechmendkan, partly upon my ſolicitation, partly out of his own curioſity, took into his ſervice one of the famouſeſt Pendets that was in all the Indies, and that formerly had had a penſion of Dara, the eldeſt ſon of king Chah-Jehan; and that this Pendet, beſides that he drew to our houſe all the moſt learned Pendets, was for three years conſtantly of my converſation. When I was weary of explaining to my Agah thoſe late diſcoveries of Harvey and Pecquet in anatomy, and of diſcourſing with him of the philoſophy of Gaſſendi and Deſcartes, which I tranſlated to him into Perſian (for that was my chief employment for five or ſix years) that Pendet was our refuge, and then he was obliged to diſcourſe, and to relate unto us his ſtories, which he delivered ſeriouſly, and without ever ſmiling. It is true, that at laſt we were ſo much diſguſted with his tales and uncouth reaſonings, that we ſcarce had patience left to hear them.

They ſay then, that God, whom they call Achar, that is to ſay, immoveable or immutable, hath ſent them four Books, which they call Beths, a word ſignifying ſcience, becauſe they pretend that in theſe books all ſciences are comprehended. The firſt of theſe books is called Athen-babed, the ſecond Zager-bed, the third Rek-bed, the fourth Sama-bed. Conform to the doctrine of theſe books, this people ought to be diſtinguiſhed, as really they are, into four tribes: the firſt is of Brahmans, men of the law; the ſecond, of Quetterys, men of arms; the third, men of Beſcue, or traffick, commonly called Banians; and the fourth, men of Scydra, that is handycraftſmen and labourers. And theſe are ſo diſcriminated, that thoſe of one tribe cannot marry into another; that is, a Brahman cannot marry with a woman Quettery, and ſo of the reſt.

They all agree in one doctrine, which is that of Pythagoras concerning the Metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls, and in this, that they muſt not kill or eat of any animal. However, there are ſome of the ſecond tribe that may eat of them, provided it be neither cow's nor peacock's-fleſh, they all having a great veneration for theſe two

creatures, especially the cow, because they fancy I know not what river lying between this life and that to come, which they are to pass by holding themselves fast on a cow's tail. Possibly their ancient legislators had seen those shepherds of Egypt crossing the Nile, by holding with their left-hand the tail of an ox, and in their right-hand a stick to guide him with; or rather they have imprinted in them this respect for cows, because they draw from them milk and butter, which is a great part of their subsistence; and because also they are so serviceable for the plough, and consequently for the life of man; and that the rather, because it is not so in the Indies as in our parts, for maintaining so great a number of cattle as we do: if but half as many of them should be killed in the Indies, as there are in England or France, the country would quickly be destitute of them, and the land remain untilled. The heat there is so violent for eight months of the year, that all is dry, and oxen and cows are often starved, or die of eating trash in the fields like hogs. And it is upon the account of the scarcity of cattle, that in the time of Jehan-Guyre the Brahmans obtained an edict, that no cattle should be killed for a certain number of years, and that of late they presented a petition to Aurenge-Zebe, and offered him a considerable sum, if he would make the like prohibition. They remonstrated, that for fifty or sixty years past, much land had remained unploughed, because the oxen and cows were become too scarce and too dear. It may be also, that these law-givers considered, that cows and ox-flesh in the Indies is not very savoury nor wholesome, unless it be for a little time in winter, during the cooler season: or lastly, that they would take the people off from mutual cruelty, (to which they were too much inclined) by obliging them, as by a maxim of religion, to exercise humanity to the very beasts, and by making them believe, that killing or eating an animal, it might happen that they did kill or eat one of their grandsires; which would be an horrid crime.

According to the doctrine of these Beths, they are obliged to say their prayers at least thrice every day, in the morning, at noon, and at night, with their face turned to the east. They are also bound to wash their whole body thrice, or at least before they eat; and they believe, that it is more meritorious to wash themselves in running water than in any other. And it may be, that the legislators in this point also have had a respect to what is proper and convenient for this country, where nothing is more desirable than washing and bathing. And they find it troublesome enough to observe this law, when they are in cold countries: I have seen some of them that were like to die, because they would there also observe their law of washing their body by plunging themselves into rivers or ponds, when they found any near; or by throwing whole buckets of water over their heads, when they were remote from them. When I told them, upon occasion, that in cold countries it would not be possible to observe that law of theirs in winter (which was a sign of its being a mere human invention) they gave this pleasant answer: that they pretended not their law was universal; that God had only made it for them, and it was therefore that they could not receive a stranger into their religion; that they thought not our religion was therefore false, but that perhaps it was good for us, and that God might have appointed several differing ways to go to heaven; but they will not hear that our religion should be the general religion for the whole earth; and theirs a fable and pure device.

These same books do teach them, that God having determined to create the world, would not execute it immediately, but made first three perfect beings: the first was Brahma, which signifies penetrating into all things; the second Beschen, that is, existing in all things; and the third Mehahden, that is, great lord. That by the means of Brahma he created the world, by the means of Beschen he preserveth it, and by the

means of Mehahden he will deſtroy it. That it is Brahma, who by the command of God did publiſh the four Beths, and that therefore he is in ſome of their churches repreſented with four heads.

As to thoſe three Beings, I have ſeen ſome European miſſionaries that were of opinion, that theſe Gentiles had ſome idea of the Trinity; and ſaid, it was expreſly contained in their books, that there are three perſons and one only God. For my part, I have made the Pendets ſufficiently diſcourſe upon this point; but they declare themſelves ſo poorly, that I could not clearly underſtand their ſenſe. I have even heard ſome of them, who ſaid, that theſe are three creatures very perfect, which they called Deütas, yet without explaining well what they underſtood by this word Deütas; as our ancient idolaters never explained what they meant by theſe words Genius and Numina, which is (I think) the ſame with Deüta among the Indians. 'Tis true, that I have ſpoken with others of the moſt knowing amongſt them, who ſaid, that theſe three Beings were indeed nothing but one and the ſame God, conſidered three manner of ways, viz. as he is the producer, conſervator, and deſtroyer of things; but they ſaid nothing of three diſtinct perſons in one only Deity.

Moreover, I have ſeen the reverend father Roa, a German Jeſuit and miſſionary at Agra, who, being well verſed in their Hanſcrit, maintained that their books did not only import there was one God in three perſons, but that even the ſecond perſon of their Trinity was incarnated nine times. And that I may not be thought to aſcribe to myſelf the writings of others, I ſhall relate unto you word for word, what a certain Carmelite of Chiras hath lighted upon, which he related when the above-mentioned father Roa paſſed that way to come back to Rome. The Gentiles (ſaith he) do hold, that the ſecond perſon of the Trinity was incarnated nine times, and that becauſe of divers neceſſities of the world, for whom he hath delivered it: but the eighth incarnation is the moſt notable; for they hold, that the world being enſlaved under the power of giants, it was redeemed by the ſecond perſon, incarnated and born of a virgin at midnight, the angels ſinging in the air, and the heavens pouring down a ſhower of flowers all that night. This favours much of Chriſtianity: but then there follows a fable again, which is, that this God incarnate killed firſt of all a giant that flew in the air, and was ſo big as to obſcure the ſun, and by his fall to make the earth to ſhake, and that by his great weight he ſunk as deep as hell; that this God incarnate being wounded in the ſide, in the firſt conflict with this giant, fell, but by his fall put his enemies to flight; that after he had raiſed himſelf again, and redeemed the world, he aſcended into heaven; and that by reaſon of his wound, he is commonly called the Wounded in his Side. In the tenth incarnation, which ſhall then be, when according to our ſupputation Antichriſt ſhall come, the world ſhall be delivered from the ſlavery of the Mahometans: but this is only a vulgar tradition, which is not found in their books.

They ſay alſo, that the third perſon of the Trinity hath manifeſted himſelf to the world; concerning which they relate, that the daughter of a certain king, being fit to be married, and aſked by her father, whom ſhe would marry, anſwered, that ſhe would not be united but to a divine perſon; and that at the ſame time, the third perſon of the Trinity appeared to the King in the form of fire; that that King forthwith gave notice of it to his daughter, who preſently conſented to the marriage: that this perſon of the Trinity, though altogether in a fiery appearance, was called before the King's council, and ſeeing that the counſellors oppoſed this marriage, took hold of their beards and burned them, together with the whole royal palace, and then married the daughter. Ridiculous!

They add, that the firſt incarnation of the ſecond perſon, was in the nature of a lion; the ſecond, in that of a ſwine; the third in that of a tortoiſe; the fourth, in that of a ſerpent; the fifth, in that of Brahma, ſhe dwarf, only a foot and a half high; the ſixth, in that of a monſter, a man-lion; the ſeventh in that of a dragon; the eighth, as hath been ſaid already; the ninth, in an ape; the tenth, in that of a great cavalier.

Concerning this I ſhall acquaint you, that I doubt not but that the reverend father Roa, hath taken all he ſaith of this matter out of the books of the Gentiles, and that is the main ground of their mythology. I had written many things of it at large in my papers, and had alſo taken the figures of their gods or idols, which I had ſeen in their temples, having alſo got of them the characters of their language Hanſcrit; but finding at my return all thoſe things, or at leaſt the beſt part of it, printed in the China Illuſtrata of father Kircher, who had obtained it at Rome from the ſame father Roa; I ſhall content myſelf to have named the book to you. 'Tis true, that the word Incarnation, which the reverend father uſeth, was new to me, having never ſeen it ſo expreſly uſed; I had only heard ſome Pendets thus explaining the thing, viz. that God had formerly appeared in thoſe figures, when he did all thoſe wonders they relate. Others explained it to me after this manner, to wit, that it was the ſouls of certain great men, ſuch as we call heroes, that had paſſed into theſe bodies, and that theſe heroes were thus become Deütas, or to ſpeak in the phraſe of our idolaters, ſome powerful and conſiderable divinities, Numen's, Genio's, Demons, Spirits; for I ſee not that this word Deüta can ſignify any other thing: but this ſecond explication of the Pendets cometh in effect to the firſt, for as much as moſt of them believe that our ſouls are portions of God.

Others there were that gave me a much ſublimer explication, ſaying, that all thoſe incarnations and apparitions, which their books ſpeak of, are not to be underſtood according to the letter, but myſtically, foraſmuch as thereby are explained the ſeveral attributes of God. Some there were, and thoſe of the moſt learned, acknowledging to me candidly, that there was nothing more fabulous than thoſe incarnations, and that they were only the inventions of legiſlators, to retain people in ſome religion: and though this were ſo, if there were nothing elſe but this, (which is common to them all) that our ſouls were portions of the Deity, it were to be exploded in ſound philoſophy, without making any myſteries in religion of it, ſeeing that in reſpect of our ſouls we ſhould be God, and that in effect it ſhould be ourſelves that had impoſed upon us a religious worſhip, metempſychoſes, paradiſe and hell, which would be ridiculous.

I ſhall here add a few words, to declare that I am not leſs obliged to Monſieur Henry Lor, and to Monſieur Abraham Roger, than to the reverend fathers Kircher and Roa. I had compiled an hundred things relating to the Gentiles, which I found in the books of thoſe gentlemen, and which would have been great trouble to me to range them as they have done. I ſhall therefore content myſelf to ſay ſomething in general to you of their ſtudies and ſciences, not indeed in that good order which poſſibly you might expect, but juſt as I have learnt it, and as 'tis probably found in their books; I mean by fragments, and without coherence.

The town of Benares, which is ſeated upon the Ganges in a very fine and rich country and place, is the general ſchool, and as it were the Athens of the gentry of the Indies, where the Brachmans and the Religious (thoſe that addict themſelves to ſtudy) come together. They have no colleges nor claſſes ordered as with us; methinks, 'tis more after the way of the ſchool of the antients; the maſters being diſperſed over the town in their houſes, and eſpecially in the gardens of the ſuburbs, where the great merchants

merchants do ſuffer them. Of theſe maſters ſome have four diſciples; others, ſix or ſeven; and the moſt famous, twelve or fifteen at moſt, who ſpend ten or a dozen years with them. All this ſtudy goeth on very cooly, becauſe moſt Indians are of a ſlow and lazy humour, to which the heat and diet of the country contributes much; and becauſe they are not animated to induſtry as we, by that great emulation, and by the great hopes we have of coming thereby to great preferment. They ſtudy leiſurely, and without much tormenting themſelves, eating their Kichery or mixture of legums, which the rich merchants cauſe to be dreſſed for them.

Their firſt ſtudy is of the Hanſcrit, which is a language altogether different from the common Indian, and not known but by the Pendets. And this is that tongue, of which father Kircher hath publiſhed the alphabet received from father Roa. It is called Hanſcrit, that is, a pure language; and becauſe they believe this to be the tongue in which God, by the means of Brahma, gave them the four Beths, which they eſteem ſacred books; they call it an holy and divine language. They pretend alſo, that it is as ancient as Brahma, whoſe age they do not reckon but by Lecques, or hundred thouſands of years. But I would gladly have a warrant for ſuch an antiquity. However, it cannot be denied that 'tis very old, in regard that the books of their religion, which certainly is very ancient, are written in this tongue: and beſides that, it hath its authors in philoſophy and phyſick in verſes, and ſome other poems, and many other books, of which I have ſeen a great hall quite full in Benares.

After they have learned the Hanſcrit, (which is very difficult to them, becauſe they have no grammar worth any thing) they commonly apply themſelves to read the Purane, which is as it were the interpretation and ſum of the Beths, which are very large, at leaſt if thoſe be they which were ſhewed me at Benares: and beſides, they are ſo very rare, that my Agah could never find them to be ſold, what induſtry ſoever he uſed in it. And they keep them very ſecret, for fear leſt the Mahometans ſhould lay their hands on them, and burn them, as they have already done ſeveral times.

After the Purane, ſome fall upon philoſophy, wherein certainly they go not far. I have already intimated, that they are of a ſlow and lazy temper, and are not excited by the hopes to obtain ſome good place by their ſtudy.

Among their philoſophers there have been principally ſix very famous, who make ſo many different ſects, which cauſeth alſo a difference and emulation among the Pendets or doctors: for they know, that ſuch a one is of this ſect, another of another; and every one of them pretends his doctrine to be better than that of others, and more conform to the Beths. There is indeed another, a ſeventh ſect, called Bauté, whence do proceed twelve other different ſects; but this is not ſo common as the others, the votaries of it being hated and deſpiſed, as a company of irreligious and atheiſtical people, nor do they live like the reſt.

All theſe books ſpeak of the firſt principles of things, but very differently. Some ſay, that all is compoſed of little bodies that are indiviſible, not by reaſon of their ſolidity, hardneſs and reſiſtance, but ſmallneſs; adding divers things which approach to the opinions of Democritus and Epicurus, but with ſo much confuſion that one knows not where to faſten, all ſeeming like a rope of ſand; which yet may be as much, or more the fault of the Pendets, which ſeem to me very ignorant, than of the authors.

Others ſay, that all is made up of matter and form; but not one of them explains himſelf clearly about the matter, and leſs about the form. Yet ſo much I have found, that they underſtand them not at all, as they are wont to be explained in our ſchools, by educing the form out of the power of the matter; for they always alledge examples of

things artificial, and among them that of a veſſel of ſoft clay, which a potter turns and ſhapes divers ways.

Others hold, that all is compoſed of four elements and a nothing; but they do not all explain themſelves concerning mixtion and tranſmutation. And as for their nothing, which comes near to our privation, they admit I know not how many ſorts of them, which (I believe) they underſtand not at all, nor are able to make out to others.

There are alſo ſome, that maintain light and darkneſs to be the firſt principles, and ſay a thouſand impertinent and confuſed things upon it, making long-winded diſcourſes, which ſavour nothing at all of philoſophy, but are like the talk of the vulgar.

Others there are that admit privation for the principle, or rather privations, which they diſtinguiſh from nothing, and of which they make long enumerations, ſo uſeleſs and little philoſophical, that I can ſcarce imagine them to be in their books, or that their authors could have entertained themſelves with ſuch uncouth things.

Laſtly, ſome of them do pretend that all is compoſed of accidents; of which alſo they make odd, long, and tedious enumerations, and ſuch as ſavour only ſome pettifogger, that can amuſe the common people.

Touching theſe principles in general, they all agree that they are eternal; our production out of nothing not having come (it ſeems) into their thoughts, as it hath neither to many others of the ancient philoſophers: yet they ſay, that there is one of them that hath touched ſomething of it.

As to phyſick, they have many little books, that are rather collections of receipts than any thing elſe; the moſt ancient and chief whereof is in verſe. I ſhall here tell you, that their practiſe is ſufficiently different from ours, and that they ground themſelves upon theſe principles; that one who is ſick of a fever, needs no great nouriſhment: that the main remedy of ſickneſſes is abſtinence: that nothing is worſe for a ſick body than fleſh-broth, nor which corrupts ſooner in the ſtomach of a feveriſh patient: that no blood is to be let but in great and evident neceſſity, as when you apprehend ſome tranſlation into the brain, or find ſome conſiderable part, as the cheſt, liver, kidneys, inflamed.

Whether this practice be better than ours, I leave to phyſicians to decide; but I ſee 'tis ſucceſsful among them. The ſame practice is not peculiar to the phyſicians of the Gentiles, but the Mogolian and Mahometan doctors, that follow Avicen and Averroes, do alſo very ſtrictly obſerve it, eſpecially as to meat-broths. 'Tis true that the Mogols are ſomewhat more prodigal of their blood than the Gentiles; for in thoſe ſickneſſes wherein they fear thoſe accidents lately ſpecified, they commonly let blood once or twice; but theſe are none of thoſe petty veneſections of the new invention of Goa and Paris, but they are of thoſe plentiful ones uſed by the ancients of 18 or 20 ounces of blood, which often come to a ſwooning, and frequently choak the diſeaſe in the very beginning, as Galen ſaith, and as I have often experienced.

Concerning anatomy, I may ſafely ſay, that the Gentiles underſtand nothing at all of it, and they can ſpeak nothing as to that ſubject but what is impertinent. Nor is it a wonder they are ſo ignorant in it, ſince they never open any body of man or beaſt: they do ſo much abhor it, that when I opened ſome living kids and ſheep before my Agah, to make him underſtand the circulation of the blood, and to ſhew him the Pecquetian veſſels, through which the chyle at laſt comes into one of the ventricles of the heart, they trembled for fear, and ran away. Yet notwithſtanding they affirm, that there are five thouſand veins in man, neither more nor leſs, as if they had well counted them all.

Touching aſtronomy, they have their tables, according to which they foreſee the eclipſes; and though they do not do it with that exactneſs as our European aſtronomers,

mers, yet they come pretty near. Meantime they diſcourſe of the eclipſe of the moon, as they do upon that of the ſun, believing that it is the Rah, that black villain, and miſchievous Deuta, who at that time ſeizeth on the moon and blackens her. They hold alſo, that the moon is an hundred thouſand koſſes, that is, about fifty thouſand leagues above the ſun: that ſhe is lucid of herſelf; and that it is ſhe, from whom we receive a certain vital water, which gathereth and diſpoſeth itſelf in the brain, deſcending thence as from a ſource into all the members for their functions. Beſides this, they are of opinion, that the ſun and moon, and generally all ſtars are Deutas; that 'tis night when the ſun is behind the Someire, that imaginary mountain, which they place in the midſt of the earth, and make I know not how many thouſand leagues high, and to which they give the ſhape of an inverted ſugar-loaf; ſo that it is not day with them, but when the ſun gets out from behind this mountain.

In geography they have ſped no better. They believe the earth to be flat and triangular, and that it hath ſeven ſtories, all differing in beauty, perfection, and inhabitants; each of which is encompaſſed, they ſay, by its ſea; that of theſe ſeas one is milk, another of ſugar, the third of butter, the fourth of wine, and ſo forth: ſo that after one earth, there comes a ſea, and after a ſea an earth, and ſo on unto ſeven, beginning from Someire, which is in the midſt of the ſtories: that the firſt ſtory, which is at the foot of Someire, hath Deutas for its inhabitants, which are very perfect; that the ſecond contains likewiſe Deutas, but leſs perfect; and ſo the reſt, ſtill leſſening the perfection unto the ſeventh, which they ſay is ours, that is, of men far leſs perfect than all the Deutas; and laſtly, that this whole maſs is ſuſtained upon the heads of divers elephants, which, when they ſtir, cauſe an earthquake.

All theſe ſtrange impertinences, which I have had the patience to relate, have often made me think, that if they be thoſe famous ſciences of the ancient Brahmans of the Indies, very many have been deceived in the great opinion they entertained of them. For my part, I can hardly believe it, but that I find the religion of the Indians to be from immemorial times; that it is written in the language of Hanſcrit, which cannot be but very ancient, ſince its beginning is unknown, and 'tis a dead language, not underſtood but by the learned; that all their books are only written in that tongue: all which are as many marks of a very great antiquity. Let us now add a few words about the worſhip of their idols.

When I deſcended along the river Ganges, and paſſed through Banares, that famous ſchool of all the Indian gentility, I went to ſee the chief of the Pendets, who hath there his ordinary reſidence. This is a Fakire, or religious monk, ſo renowned for his knowledge, that Chah-Jehan, partly for his ſcience, partly to pleaſe the Rajas, gave him a penſion of 2000 rupies, that is, about a 1000 crowns. This was a big and proper man, goodly to look on; who for all his cloaths had nothing but a white ſilken ſcarf tied about his waiſt, and hanging down to the mid-leg with another red ſcarf about his ſhoulders, like a little cloak. I had often ſeen him, at Dehli, in this poſture before the King, in the aſſembly of all the Omrahs, and marching upon the ſtreets, ſometimes on foot, ſometimes in a palekey. I had alſo frequently ſeen, and many times converſed with him, when for a whole year together he conſtantly came to our conference before my Agah, whom he courted, that he might procure him again that penſion which Aureng-Zebe (being come to the crown), had taken from him, that he might appear a great Muſulman. In the viſit I made him at Banares, he was exceedingly courteous to me, and even gave me a collation in the library of his univerſity, attended with ſix of the moſt famous Pendets of the town. When I found myſelf in ſo good company, I prayed them all to tell me their ſenſe about the adoration of their idols, intimating to them,

them, that I was leaving the Indies, extremely ſcandalized upon that ſcore; and reproaching them, that their worſhip was a thing againſt all reaſon, and altogether unworthy ſuch ſcholars and philoſophers as they were. Whereupon I received this anſwer:

"We have indeed" (ſaid they) "in our deuras or temples ſtore of divers ſtatues, as thoſe of Brahma, Mehaden, Genich and Gavani, who are ſome of the chief and the moſt perfect Deutas: and we have alſo many others of leſs perfection, to whom we pay great honour, proſtrating ourſelves before them, and preſenting them flowers, rice, ſcented oils, ſaffron, and ſuch other things, with much ceremony: but we do not believe theſe ſtatues to be Brahma or Bechen, &c. themſelves, but only their images and repreſentations, and we do not give them that honour, but upon the account of what they repreſent. They are in our temples, becauſe 'tis neceſſary for praying well, to have ſomething before our eyes, that may fix the mind; and when we pray, it is not the ſtatue we pray to, but he that is repreſented by it. For the reſt, we acknowledge that 'tis God that is abſolute, and the only omnipotent Lord and Maſter."

This is, without adding or ſubtracting any thing, the reſolution they gave me. But, to tell you true, this ſeemed a little too much accommodated to our chriſtianity, in reſpect of what I had learned of it from ſeveral other Pendets.

After this, I put them upon their chronology, where they pretended to ſhew me far higher antiquities than all ours. They will not ſay, that the world is eternal; but they make it ſo old, that I almoſt know not which is beſt. Its determined duration, ſay they, is of four Dgugue. This Dgugue is a certain determined number of years, as amongſt us we have a ſeculum, (an age,) with this difference, that an age of ours contains only an hundred years, but their Dgugue is made up of an hundred Lecques, that is, an hundred times an hundred thouſand years. I do not preciſely remember the number total of the years of each Dgugue; but this I know very well, that the firſt, called Sate-Dgugue, is of twenty-five Lecques of years: that the ſecond, which they call Trita, is of above twelve Lecques: the third, called Duaper, of eight Lecques, and ſixty-four thouſand years, if I remember well; and the fourth, called Kale-Dgugue, is of I know not how many Lecques. The three firſt, ſay they, and much of the fourth, are elapſed; ſo that the world ſhall not laſt ſo long as it hath done, becauſe it is to periſh at the end of the fourth, all things being then to return to their firſt principles. I made them compute again and again, to have their age of the world aright; but finding that that perplexed them, and that they agreed not among themſelves about the number of the Lecques, I contented myſelf to ſee that they make the world exceeding old. But being preſſed a little to make out this antiquity, they pay you with nothing but little ſtories, and at length come to this, that they find it ſo in their Beths, or the books of their law, given them by the hands of Brahma.

After this I urged them concerning the nature of their Deutas, of which I deſired to be particularly inſtructed; but I received nothing but what was very confuſed. They ſaid, that there were three ſorts of them, good, evil, and indifferent ones, that were neither good nor bad; that ſome thought they were made of fire, others of light; others that they were Biapeck, of which word I could not get a clear explication; only they ſaid, that God was Biapeck, and our ſoul was Biapeck, and what is Biapeck is incorruptible, and depends neither from time nor place: that others would have them to be nothing elſe but portions of the Deity; and laſtly, that ſome there were, that made them certain kinds of divinities ſevered and diſpenſed over the world.

I remember, that I alſo put them upon the nature of the Lengue-cherire, which ſome

of their authors do admit: but I could obtain nothing elſe of it but what I had long ſince underſtood from our Pendet, which was, that the ſeeds of plants and animals are not formed anew, but were contrived in the firſt production of the world, and diſpenſed abroad every where, and mixed in all things; and that they are (not only potentially but actually), the very and entire plants and animals, though ſo ſmall, that their parts cannot be diſtinguiſhed; but when put into a convenient womb, and there nouriſhed, they extend themſelves, and increaſe, ſo that the ſeeds of an apple and pear-tree are a Lengue-cherire, that is, a little entire and perfect apple and pear-tree, having all its eſſential parts: and ſo the ſeeds of a horſe, an elephant, and a man, &c. are a Lengue-cherire; a little horſe, a little elephant, a little man, in which there wants nothing but the ſoul and nouriſhment to make them appear what they are.

For a concluſion, I ſhall diſcover to you the myſtery of a great Cabala, which in theſe laſt years hath made great noiſe in Indoſtan, becauſe certain Pendets, or heatheniſh doctors, had poſſeſſed with it the minds of Dara and Sultan-Sujah, the two firſt ſons of Chah-Jehan.

You cannot but know the doctrine of many of the antient philoſophers, touching that great ſoul of the world, which they will have our ſouls, and thoſe of animals to be portions of. If we did well penetrate into Plato and Ariſtotle, we might perhaps find that they were of this ſentiment. It is in a manner the general doctrine of the heathen Pendets of the Indies, and 'tis the ſame which ſtill maketh the Cabala of the Soufys, and of the greateſt part of the learned men in Perſia, and which is found explained in Perſian verſes, ſo ſublime and emphatical in their Goultchenraz or parterre of myſteries: which is alſo the very ſame of Dr. Flud's, whom our great Gaſſendus hath ſo learnedly refuted; and that wherein moſt chemiſts loſe themſelves. But theſe Indian cabaliſts or Pendets I ſpeak of, drive this impertinence farther than all thoſe philoſophers, and pretend that God, or that ſovereign being, which they call Achar (immutable), hath produced, or drawn out of his own ſubſtance, not only ſouls, but alſo whatever is material and corporeal in the univerſe; and that this production was not merely made by way of an efficient cauſe, but by a way reſembling a ſpider that produceth a webb, which it draws forth out of its own body, and takes in again when it will. Creation therefore, ſay theſe doctors, is nothing elſe but an extraction and extenſion, which God maketh of his own ſubſtance, of thoſe webbs he draws from his own bowels; as deſtruction is nothing elſe but a repriſal, or taking back again this divine ſubſtance, and theſe divine webbs into himſelf: ſo that the laſt day of the world, which they call Maperlé or Pralea, when they believe that all ſhall be deſtroyed, ſhall be nothing elſe but a general repriſal of all thoſe webbs which God hath drawn forth out of himſelf. There is therefore nothing (ſo they go on) that is real or effective in all we think we ſee, hear, ſmell, taſte or ſuch: all this world is nothing but a kind of dream and a mere illuſion, in regard that all this multiplicity and diverſity of things that appear to us, is nothing but one and the ſame thing, which is God himſelf; as all thoſe ſeveral numbers of 10, 20, 100, 1000, &c. are indeed nothing but one and the ſame unity many times repeated. But if you demand any reaſon for this phantaſy, or any explication of the manner, how this iſſuing from and repriſal into the ſubſtance of God, this extenſion, and this variety of things is made; or how it can be, that God being not corporeal, but Biapeck and incorruptible (as they acknowledge), ſhould yet be diviſible into ſo many portions of bodies and ſouls; they never make any other return, but of ſome pretty compariſons, as, that God is like an immenſe ocean, in which if many vials full of water ſhould be floating, they would, wherever they ſhould move, be found always in the ſame ocean, in the ſame water; and that coming to break, their

their water would at the ſame time be united with their whole, and with that great ocean of which they were portions. Or they will tell you, that it is with God as with light, which is the ſame through the whole univerſe, and which yet appears an hundred different ways, according to the diverſity of the objects it falls upon, or according to the ſeveral colours and ſhapes of glaſſes through which it ſhineth. They will pay you, I ſay, only with ſuch kind of ſimilitudes, that bear no proportion at all with God, and are good for nothing, but to caſt duſt into the eyes of the ignorant people: and you muſt not expect any ſolid anſwer from them, if you would tell them, that thoſe vials would indeed be in a like water, but not in ſame; and that it is indeed a like light over all the world, but not the ſame: or if you ſhould make any other objections againſt them, they return always to the ſame compariſons, pretty expreſſions, or as the Soufys, to the fine verſes of their Goultchen-raz.

Now ſir, what think you? Had I not reaſon, from this great heap of extravagancies, I mean, from that panick and childiſh terror ſtruck into thoſe Indians by eclipſes; from that ſuperſtitious compaſſion for the ſun to deliver it from that black dæmon, accompanied with thoſe apiſh prayers, waſhings, plungings and alms caſt into the river; from that mad and infernal obſtinacy of the women, burning themſelves with the corps of their huſbands; from thoſe ſeveral madneſſes of the Fakires; and laſtly, from all that fabulous ſtuff of the Beths and other Indian books: had I not reaſon, I ſay, to premiſe in the title of this letter, (which is but a poor advantage to me from ſo long travelling)—that there are no opinions ſo ridiculous or extravagant, of which the mind of man is not capable.

To conclude, I have no more to add than to deſire you, to do me the favour and deliver with your own hands the letter to Monſieur Chapelle. It is he that firſt procured me that familiar acquaintance I had with Monſieur Gaſſendi, your intimate and illuſtrious friend, that hath been ſo advantageous to me; which maketh me acknowledge my great obligations to him, and exceedingly engageth me to love him, and to remember him in what part of the world ſoever I am: as I am no leſs bound to honour you as long as I live, as well for the peculiar affection you have always expreſſed to me, as for the good counſel you have aſſiſted me with in your many letters during the whole courſe of my voyages, and for that favour of ſending to me with ſo much generoſity (without intereſt or money) unto the end of the world, whither my curioſity had carried me, a cheſt of books, when thoſe, of whom I demanded them for money, ordered by me to be paid at Marſeilles, and who ſhould have honeſtly ſent them me, abandoned me there, and laughed at all my letters, looking upon me as a loſt man, whom they ſhould never ſee again.

A RELA-

A RELATION

OF

A VOYAGE MADE IN THE YEAR 1664.

When the Great Mogol, Aureng-Zebe, went with his army from Dehli, the capital of Indoſtan, to Lahor; from Lahor to Bember, and from thence to the Kingdom of Kachemire, commonly called by the Mogols, The Paradiſe of the Indies, &c.

By way of ſeveral Letters, written by the AUTHOR to his Friends.

LETTER I.—*To Monſieur de Merveilles.—Written at Dehli, December* 1664. *Aureng-Zebe being ready to march.—Containing the Occaſion and Cauſe of this Voyage of Aureng-Zebe; together with an Account of the State and Poſture of his Army, and the Equipage and ordinary Proviſions of the chief of his Cavalry; and ſome curious Particulars obſervable in the Voyages of the Indies.*

SIR,

SINCE that Aureng-Zebe began to find himſelf in better health, it hath been conſtantly reported, that he would make a voyage to Lahor, and go from thence to Kachemire, to change the air, and to be out of the way of the approaching ſummer heats, for fear of a relapſe: that the more intelligent ſort of men would hardly be perſuaded, that as long as he kept his father Chah-Jehan priſoner in the fort of Agra, he would think it ſafe to be at ſuch a diſtance. Yet notwithſtanding we have found, that reaſon of ſtate hath given place to that of health, or rather to the intrigues of Rauchenara-Begum, who was wild to breathe a more free air than that of the ſeraglio, and to have her turn in ſhewing herſelf to a gallant and magnificent army, as her ſiſter Begum-Saheb had formerly done during the reign of Chah-Jehan.

He departed then the 6th of December, about three o'clock in the afternoon; a day and hour that muſt needs be fortunate for a great voyage, if we may give credit to the gentlemen aſtrologers, who have ſo decreed it. And he arrived at Chah-limar, his houſe of pleaſure, diſtant about two leagues from hence, where he ſpent ſix whole days, thereby to give to all ſufficient time to make neceſſary preparations for a voyage that would take up a year and an half. We have this day news, that he is gone to encamp on the way of Lahor; and that, when he hath ſtayed there two days he intends to continue his march without any further expectation. He hath with him not only the thirty-five thouſand horſe, or thereabout, and ten thouſand foot, but alſo both his artilleries, the great or heavy, and the ſmall or lighter, which is called the artillery of the ſtirrup, becauſe it is inſeparable from the perſon of the King, whereas the heavy ſometimes leaveth him to keep the high and well beaten roads.

The great artillery is made up of ſeventy pieces of cannon, moſt of them caſt; of which ſome are ſo ponderous that they need twenty yoke of oxen to draw them; and ſome of them require elephants to help all thoſe oxen, by thruſting and drawing the wheels of the waggons with their trunks and heads, when they ſtick in any deep way, or are to paſs ſome ſteep mountain. That of the ſtirrup is compoſed of fifty or ſixty

ſmall field-pieces, all of braſs each carried upon a little, pretty and painted chariot (as hath been already ſaid in another place) beautified with many little red ſtreamers, and drawn by two very handſome horſes, driven by the gunner himſelf, together with a third horſe which the gunner's aſſiſtant leads for a relief. All theſe chariots go always a great pace, that they may be ſoon enough in order before the tent of the King, and diſcharge all at once at the time of his entry to give the army notice.

All theſe great preparations give us cauſe to apprehend, that inſtead of going to Kachemire, we be not led to beſiege that important city of Kandahar, which is the frontier to Perſia, Indoſtan, and Uſbeck, and the capital of an excellent country, yielding a very great revenue, and which for this very reaſon hath been ever the bone of contention between the Perſians and Indians. Whatever it be, there is now a neceſſity to diſpatch at Dehli, any buſineſs whatſoever notwithſtanding; and I ſhould find myſelf much caſt behind the army, if I ſhould tarry any longer: beſides, I know that my Navah, or Agah, Danechmend-kan, ſtays for me abroad with impatience. He can no more be without philoſophizing in the afternoon upon the books of Gaſſendi and Deſcartes, upon the globe and the ſphere, or upon anatomy, than he can be without beſtowing the whole morning upon the weighty matters of the kingdom, in the quality of ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, and of great maſter of the cavalry, I ſhall depart this night, after I have given the laſt order for all my buſineſs, and provided all neceſſaries for my voyage, as all the principal perſons of the cavalry do; that is, two good Tartarian horſes, whereto I am obliged by reaſon of the one hundred and fifty crowns of pay, which I have by the month; a camel of Perſia, and a groom; a cook, and another ſervant, which muſt be had ordinarily to march in theſe countries before the horſe, and to carry a flaggon with water in his hand. I alſo have provided the ordinary utenſils; ſuch as are a tent of a middle ſize, and a proportionate piece of foot tapiſtry, and a little bed with girdles, made up with four ſtrong and light canes, and a pillow for the head; two coverlets, whereof one folded up four-fold ſerveth for a matraſs; a round table-cloth of leather to eat upon; ſome napkins of dyed cloth, and three ſmall ſacks for plate, which are put up in a greater ſack, and this ſack into a very great and ſtrong ſack made of girdles, in which are put all the proviſions, together with the linen of the maſter and ſervants. I have alſo made proviſion of excellent rice for five or ſix days, for fear I ſhould not always find ſo good; of ſome ſweet biſcuit, with ſugar and annis; of a linen ſleeve with its little iron hook, to let, by the means thereof, run out, and to keep curdled milk; and of ſtore of lemons with ſugar to make lemonade; ſuch milk and lemonade being the two great and ſovereign refreſhments of the Indies: all which, as I ſaid, is put into the laſt-named ſack, which is ſo large and heavy, that three or four men have pains enough to lift it up; though two men do firſt fold and turn one ſide upon the other when it is full, and though the camel be made to ſtoop very nigh it, and there need no more than to turn one of the ſides of that ſack upon the camel. All this equipage and proviſion is abſolutely neceſſary in ſuch voyages as theſe. We muſt not look for ſuch good lodgings and accommodations as we have in our country. We muſt reſolve to encamp and live after the Arabian and Tartarian mode, without expecting any other inns than tents. Nor muſt we think to plunder the country-man; all the lands of the kingdom being in propriety to the King: we are well to conſider, that we muſt be ſober and prudent, and that to ruin the country-man were to ruin the demeſne of the King. That which much comforts me in this march is, that we go northward, and depart in the beginning of the winter, after the rains; which is the right ſeaſon for travelling in the Indies, becauſe it raineth not, and we are not ſo much incommoded by heat and duſt. Beſides that, I find

find myſelf out of danger of eating the bread of Bazar, or of the market, which ordinarily is ill baked, full of ſand and duſt; nor obliged to drink of thoſe naughty waters, which being all turbid, and full of naſtineſs of ſo many people and beaſts that fetch thence, and enter into them, do cauſe ſuch fevers, which are very hard to cure, and which breed alſo certain very dangerous worms in the legs. They at firſt cauſe a great inflammation, accompanied with a fever, and ordinarily come forth a little after the voyage, although there have been ſome, that have ſtayed a whole year and more before they appeared. They are commonly of the bigneſs and length of a ſmall vial-ſtring, ſo that one would ſooner take them for ſome nerve than for a worm; and they muſt be drawn out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them about a little twig of the bigneſs of a needle, for fear of breaking them. This I ſay comforteth me not a little, that I find myſelf exempt from theſe inconveniencies; my Navah having vouchſafed me a very particular favour; which is, that he hath appointed to give me every day a new loaf of his houſe, and a ſouray of the water of Ganges, with which he hath laden ſeveral camels of his train, as the whole court doth. Souray is that tin flaggon full of water, which the ſervant that marcheth on foot before the gentleman on horſeback, carrieth in his hand, wrapt up in a ſleeve of red cloth. Ordinarily it holded but one pint; but I had ſome of them expreſly made, that hold two. We ſhall ſee whether this cunning will ſucceed. The water cooleth very well in this flaggon, provided that care be had always to keep the ſleeve moiſt, and that the ſervant that holds it in his hand, do march and ſtir in the air, or elſe that it be held towards the wind; as is commonly done upon three pretty little ſticks, croſſing one another, that they may not touch the earth: for the moiſtneſs of the linnen, the agitation of the air or wind, are abſolutely neceſſary to keep the water freſh; as if this moiſtneſs, or rather the water imbibed by the ſleeve, did keep out the little igneous bodies or ſpirits that are in the air, at the ſame time when it giveth entrance to the nitrous or other parts, which hinder the motion in the water, and cauſe coolneſs; in the ſame manner as glaſs keeps out water, and giveth paſſage to the light, by a reaſon of the particular texture and diſpoſition of the parts of the glaſs, and the diverſity there muſt be between the particles of light and thoſe of water. We do not uſe this tin-flaggon for keeping our water cool but in the field: when we are at home, we have jars of a certain porous earth, in which it is much better cooled, provided it be expoſed to the wind, and moiſtened with a linnen cloth, as the flaggon; or elſe uſe is made of ſalt-petre, as all perſons of quality do, whether in towns or in the army. They put water, or any other liquor, to be cooled, in a round and long-necked tin flaggon, ſuch as are the Engliſh bottles, and for the ſpace of half a quarter of an hour this flaggon is ſtirred in water, into which hath been caſt three or four handfuls of ſalt-petre; this maketh the water very cold, neither is it unwholeſome, as I did apprehend; but only that ſometimes it cauſeth gripings at firſt, when one is not accuſtomed to it.

But to what purpoſe, to play ſo much the philoſopher, when we ſhould think to depart, and to endure the ſun, which at all ſeaſons is incommodious in the Indies, and to ſwallow the duſt, which is never wanting in the army; to put up, to load, to unload every day our baggage, to help the ſervants to faſten ſticks, to draw cords, to put up tents, and to take them down again, to march in the day, and in the night to devour cold and heat, and, in a word, to turn Arabians for a year and an half, during which time we are to be in the field. Adieu; I ſhall not fail to acquit myſelf of my promiſe, and from time to time to inform you of our adventures: and beſides, ſince the army for this time will make but ſmall journies in its march, and paſs on with all that pomp and magnificence which the Kings of Indoſtan do affect, I ſhall endeavour to obſerve

the moſt conſiderable things, that I may impart them to you, as ſoon as we ſhall arrive at Lahor.

LETTER II.—*Containing the Number and Magnificence, the Order and the Diſpoſition of the Tents of the Great Mogol in the Field.—The Number of Elephants, Camels, Mules, and Porters, neceſſary to carry them.—The Diſpoſition of the Bazars or royal Markets.—That of the particular Quarters of the Omrahs, or Lords, and of the reſt of the Army.—The Extent of the whole Army when encamped.—The Confuſion there met with; and how it may be avoided.—The Order of preventing Robberies.—The different Manners of the March of the King, the Princeſſes and the reſt of the Seraglio.—The Danger there is in being too near the Women.—The ſeveral Ways of the royal Hunting, and how the King hunts with his whole Army.—The Abundance of People there is in the Army, and the Method of making them all ſubſiſt.*

SIR,

THIS indeed is called marching with a gravity, and as we ſpeak here, *a la Mogole*; it is no more but fifteen or ſixteen days journey from Dehli to Lahor, which make little more than ſix ſcore leagues; and yet we have ſpent almoſt two months on this way. 'Tis true, the King with the beſt part of the army went ſomewhat aſide from the high-way the better to enjoy the divertiſements of hunting, and for the conveniency of the water of Gemna, which we went to look for on the right hand, and which we leiſurely followed long enough in our hunting, croſſing fields of tall graſs, full of all ſorts of game, where the horſemen could ſcarcely been ſeen. At preſent, whilſt we are at reſt, I am going to make good what I have promiſed you in the title of this letter; hoping ſhortly to make you come to Kachemire, and to ſhew you one of the beſt countries in the world.

When the King is in the field he hath uſually two camps, I mean two bodies of tents ſeparated, to the end that when he breaketh up and leaveth one, the other may have paſſed before by a day, and be found ready when he arriveth at the place deſigned to encamp in: and 'tis therefore, that they are called *Pieche-kanes*, as if you ſhould ſay, houſes going before. Theſe two Pieche-kanes are almoſt alike, and there are requiſite above threeſcore elephants, more than two hundred camels, above an hundred mules, and as many more porters to carry one of them. The elephants carry the moſt bulky things, ſuch as are the great tents, and their great pillars, which being too long and too heavy, are taken down in three pieces. The camels carry the leſſer tents: the mules, the baggage and kitchens. And to the porters are given all the little moveables, and ſuch as are delicate and fine, that might eaſily be broken; as porcelain, which the King uſually employeth at table; thoſe painted and guilded beds, and thoſe rich Karguais, which I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter.

One of theſe two Pieche-kanes, or bodies of tents, is no ſooner arrived at the place deſigned for encamping, but the great marſhal, that orders the lodgings, chuſeth ſome fair place for the King's quarters; yet with regard, as much as is poſſible, to the ſymmetry and order that is to be obſerved for the whole army; and he marketh out a ſquare, of which each ſide is above three hundred ordinary paces long. An hundred pikemen preſently clear and level this place, making ſquare planes to raiſe the tents upon, and ſurrounding all this great ſquare with Kanates or ſkreens ſeven or eight foot high, which they faſten with cords tied to ſticks, and with perches fixt in the ground, by couples, from ten to ten paces, one without, and the other within, inclining the one upon the other. Theſe Kanats are made of a ſtrong cloth lined with ſtained linen. In

the middle of one of the ſides of this ſquare is the entry or royal gate, great and magnificent, and the Indian ſtuff which 'tis made of, as alſo thoſe ſtuffs, of which the whole ſide of the ſquare of the face is lined without, are far better and richer than the others.

The firſt and the greateſt of the tents, that is reared in this incloſure, is called Amkas, becauſe it is the place where the King and all the lords in the army do aſſemble about nine o'clock in the morning, when the Mokam, that is, the uſual public meeting is held. For the kings of Indoſtan, although they are in a march, do not diſpenſe but very rarely with this almoſt inviolable cuſtom, which is paſſed into a kind of duty and law, viz. to appear twice a day in the aſſembly, there to give order for ſtate-affairs, and to adminiſter juſtice.

The ſecond, which is little leſs than the firſt, and a little farther advanced into the incloſure, is called Goſt-kane, that is to ſay, a place to waſh in: and here it is, where all the lords every night meet, and where they come to ſalute and do obeiſance to the King, as ordinarily they do when they are in the metropolis. This aſſembly, in the evening, is very inconvenient to the Omrahs; but it is a thing that looks great and ſtately, to ſee afar off, in an obſcure night, in the midſt of a campaign, croſs all the tents of an army, long files of torches lighting theſe Omrahs to the King's quarters, and attending them back again to their tents. 'Tis true, theſe lights are not of wax as ours, but they laſt very long: they are only an iron put about a ſtick, at the end of which are wound rags of old linen from time to time, which is moiſtened with oil, held by the link-men in their hands in a braſs or latten flaggon with a long and ſtraight neck.

The third tent, which is not much leſs than the two firſt, and is yet farther advanced into the incloſure, is called kalvetkane, a retired or the privy council place, becauſe none but the firſt officers of the kingdom enter into it; and 'tis there where the greateſt and the moſt important affairs are tranſacted.

Yet farther into the ſquare are the particular tents of the King, encompaſſed with ſmall kanates or ſcreens, of the height of a man, and lined with ſtained Indian ſtuff, of that elegant workmanſhip of Maſlipatam, which do repreſent a hundred ſorts of different flowers, and ſome of them lined with flowered ſatin, with large ſilk fringes.

The tents joining to the King's are thoſe of the Begum or Princeſſes, and the other great ladies and ſhe-officers of the ſeraglio, which are likewiſe encompaſſed, as thoſe of the King, with rich kanates; and amidſt all theſe tents are placed thoſe of the lower ſhe-officers, and other ſerving-women, always, upon the matter, in the ſame order, according to their office.

The Amkas, and the five or ſix principal tents are raiſed high, that they may be ſeen at a good diſtance, and the better fence off the heat. Without it is nothing but a coarſe and ſtrong red cloth, yet beautified and ſtriped with certain large ſtripes, cut variouſly and advantageouſly to the eye, but within it is lined with thoſe fine Indian flowered ſtuffs, of the ſame work of Maſlipatam; and this work is raiſed and enriched with ſilk, gold and ſilver embroideries having great fringes, or with ſome fine flowered ſatin. The pillars ſupporting theſe tents, are painted and gilt: one marcheth on nothing but rich tapeſtry, having matraſſes of cotton under them four or five inches thick, and round about theſe tapeſtries there are great ſquare rails richly covered to lean upon.

In each of the two great tents where the aſſembly is kept, there is raiſed a theatre richly adorned, where the King giveth audience under a great canopy of velvet, or purfled with gold. In the other tents are found the like canopies, and there you may ſee alſo ſet up certain karguais, that is, fine cabinets, whoſe little doors are ſhut with

ſilver

ſilver locks. To conceive what they are, you may repreſent to you two ſmall ſquares of our ſcreens, ſet upon one another, and neatly round about faſtened to one another with a ſilken ſtring; yet ſo, that the extremities of the ſides of the uppermoſt come to incline upon one another, ſo as to make a kind of a little tabernacle, with this difference from our ſcreens, that all the ſides of theſe are of very thin and ſlight fir boards, painted and gilt without, and enriched round about with gold and ſilk fringes, and lined within with ſcarlet, or flowered ſatin, or purfled with gold.

And this is very near what I can tell you of what is contained within the great ſquare.

What concerns the particulars that are without the ſquare, there are firſt two pretty tents on both the two ſides of the great entry or royal gate, where are found two choice horſes ſaddled, and richly harneſſed, and altogether ready to be mouuted upon occaſion, or rather for ſtate and magnificence.

On the two ſides of the ſame gate are placed in order thoſe fifty or threeſcore ſmall field-pieces, that make up the artillery of the ſtirrup above-mentioned, and which diſcharge altogether, to ſalute the King entering into his tent, and to give notice thereof to the whole army.

Before the gate there is always left void, as much as may be, a great place, at the end of which there is a great tent, called Nagar-kane, becauſe that is the place of the timbals and trumpets.

Near this tent there is another great one, which is called Tchauky-kane, becauſe it is the place where the Omrahs keep guard, every one in his turn, once a week twenty-four hours together; yet notwithſtanding moſt of the Omrahs on the day of their guard, cauſe cloſe by, to be reared one of their own tents, to be the more at liberty, and to have more elbow-room.

Round about the three other ſides of the great ſquare are ſet up all the tents of the officers, which are always found in the ſame order and diſpoſition, unleſs it be that the place permit it not: they have all their peculiar names; but as they are hard to pronounce, and I pretend not to teach you the language of the country, it will be ſufficient to tell you, that there is a particular one for the arms of the King, another for the rich harneſſes of horſes, another for veſts purfled with gold, which are the ordinary preſents beſtowed by the King. Beſides, there are four more, near one another; the firſt of which is deſigned for keeping fruit; the ſecond for comfits; the third for Ganges water, and the ſaltpetre to cool it; and the fourth for the betele, which is that leaf whereof I have ſpoken elſewhere, which is offered to friends as coffee is in Turkey, and chewed to make ruddy lips, and a ſweet breath. Next to theſe, there are fifteen or ſixteen others that ſerve for kitchens and what belongs to them. Amongſt all theſe tents are thoſe of a great number of officers and eunuchs. Laſtly, there are four or five long ones for led horſes, and ſome others for the beſt elephants, and all thoſe that are for hunting: for there muſt needs be a retreat for all that great number of birds of prey that are always carried for game and magnificence; and ſo there muſt be for thoſe many dogs, and thoſe leopards ſerving to take wild goats; for thoſe nylgaus, or grey oxen, which I take for elcks; for thoſe lions and rhinoceros's that are led for greatneſs; for thoſe great buffalos of Bengal fighting with lions; and laſtly, for thoſe tamed wild goats, they call gazelles, that are made to ſport before the King.

This vaſt number of tents, now ſpoken of, together with thoſe that are within the great ſquare, make up the King's quarter, which is always in the middle, and as it were in the centre of the army, except the place do not allow it. It will eaſily be thence concluded, that this quarter of the King muſt needs be ſomething great and royal

royal, and afforded a very fine proſpect, if one behold from ſome high place this great body of red tents in the midſt of the army, encamped in a fair and even campaign, where may be fully ſeen all that order and diſpoſition that is to be obſerved in the whole.

After that the great marſhal of the camp hath choſen a place fit for the King's quarter, and hath made the Am-kas to be ſet up higheſt of all the tents, and by which he is to take his meaſure for the ordering and diſpoſing the reſt of the army accordingly; he then marketh out the royal bazars or markets, whence the whole army is furniſhed with neceſſaries, drawing the firſt and chief of all, like a great ſtreet running ſtraight, and a great free way traverſing the whole army, now on the right-hand, and by and by on the left of the Am-kas and the King's quarter, and always in the ſtraighteſt line that may be towards the encamping of the next day. All the royal bazars, that are neither ſo long nor ſo broad, commonly croſs this firſt, ſome on this, others on the other ſide of the King's quarter; and all theſe bazars are diſcerned by very high canes like great perches, which are fixed in the ground from three hundred to three hundred paces, or thereabout, with red ſtandards, and cows' tails of the great tibet faſtened on the top of theſe canes like perukes.

The ſame marſhal deſigns, next, the place of the Omrahs, ſo as they may always keep the ſame order, and be ever as near as may be the King's quarter; ſome on the right, others on the left-hand, ſome on this ſide of him, others beyond him; ſo that none of them may change the place that hath been once appointed for him, or that himſelf hath deſired in the beginning of the voyage.

The quarters of the Omrahs and Rajas, as to their particular order and diſpoſition, are to be imagined in a manner like that of the King: for commonly they have two peiche-kanes with a ſquare of canates, which encloſeth their principal tent and thoſe of their women; and round about theſe are put up the tents of their officers and cavaliers, with a peculiar bazar, which is a ſtreet of ſmall tents for the lower ſort of people that follow the army, and furniſheth the camp with forage, grain, rice, butter, and the other things that are moſt neceſſary, whereby they are ſo accommodated, that they need not always go to the royal bazars, where generally all things are to be found, as in the capital city. Each bazar is marked at the two ends by two canes planted in the ground, which are as tall as thoſe of the royal bazars, that ſo at a good diſtance the particular ſtandards faſtened to them may be diſcovered, and the ſeveral quarters diſtinguiſhed from one another.

The great Omrahs and Rajahs affect to have their tents very high. But they muſt beware leſt they be too high, becauſe it may happen, that the King, paſſing by, might perceive it, and command them to be thrown down; of which we have ſeen an example in this laſt march. Neither muſt they be altogether red from without, ſince thoſe of the King alone are to be ſo. Laſtly, out of reſpect, they muſt all look towards the Am-kas or the quarter of the King.

The reſidue of the ſpace between the King's quarter, and thoſe of the Omrahs and the Bazars, is taken up by the Manſeb-dars or little Omrahs, and of that infinite number of great and ſmall merchants that follow the army; of all thoſe that belong to the law; and laſtly, of all ſuch as ſerve both the artilleries; which maketh indeed a prodigious number of tents, and requireth a very great extent of ground. Yet is it not all true what is ſaid of either of them. And I believe, that when the whole army is in a fair and even campaign, where it may encamp with eaſe, and that, following the ordinary plot, it comes at length to be lodged, as near as may be, in a round, (as we have often ſeen it does upon this road) the compaſs of it will not be above two leagues, or

two

two leagues and an half; and with all this there will yet be left here and there ſeveral void places; but then the great artillery, which taketh up a great tract of ground, doth very often a day or two go before.

Nor is all true, what is ſaid of the ſtrange confuſion, which commonly ſtrikes an aſtoniſhment into all new comers. For a little acquaintance with the method of the army, and ſome heeding of the order obſerved in the camp, will ſoon enable one to avoid all embarraſſment, and to go to and fro about his buſineſs, and to find his quarter again; foraſmuch as every one regulateth himſelf by the King's quarter, and the particular tents and ſtandards of the Omrahs, that may be ſeen afar off, and by the ſtandards and perukes of the royal Bazars, which may alſo be ſeen at a great diſtance.

Yet for all theſe marks, it will ſometimes fall out, that one ſhall be extremely perplexed, and even in the day time, but eſpecially in the morning, when a world of people do arrive, and every one of thoſe is buſy and ſeeks to lodge himſelf: and that not only, becauſe there is often raiſed ſo great a duſt, that the King's quarter, the ſtandards of the Bazars and the Omrahs, which might ſerve for guides, cannot be diſcovered: but becauſe a man finds himſelf between tents that are putting up, and between cords, which the leſſer Omrahs, that have no Peiche-kane, and the Manſeb-dars ſtretch out to mark their lodgings, and to hinder that no way may be made nigh them, or that no unknown perſon may come to lodge near their tents, where often they have their women: if in this caſe you mean to get by on one ſide, you will find the ways obſtructed by thoſe ſtretched-out cords, which a troop of mean ſerving-men, ſtanding there with big cudgels, will not ſuffer to be lowered, to ſuffer the baggage to paſs: if you will turn back, you'll find the ways ſhut ſince you paſſed. And here it is, where you muſt cry out, ſtorm, intreat, make as if you would ſtrike, and yet well beware of doing ſo, leaving the men, as well as you can, to quarrel againſt one another, and afterwards to accord them for fear of ſome miſchief; and, in ſhort, to put yourſelf into all imaginable poſtures to get away thence, and to make your camels paſs: but the great trouble is, when a man is obliged to go in an evening to a place ſomewhat remote, becauſe that thoſe offenſive ſmokes of the fire of green wood, of cow-ſhares, of camel-dung, which the common people then make in their kitchens, and do raiſe a miſt (eſpecially when there is no wind) ſo thick, that you can ſee nothing at all. I have been three or four times ſurprized with it, ſo as not to know what to do. Well might I aſk the way; I knew not whither I went, and I did nothing but turn. Once among other times, I was conſtrained to ſtay till this miſt was paſt, and the moon riſen. And another time I was forced to get to the Aguacy-die to lie down at the foot thereof, and there to paſs all the night as well as I could, having my ſervant and horſe by me. This Aguacy-die is like a tall maſt, but very ſlender, which can be taken down in three pieces, and 'tis planted towards the King's quarter, near that tent which is called Nagar-kane: in the evening is drawn up to the top of it a lanthorn with a light burning in it all night long, which is very commodious, as being ſeen a great way off; and thither it is that people gone aſtray do retire, from thence to get again to the Bazars, and to aſk the way, or there to paſs the reſt of the night; for nobody hinders one from doing ſo, and a man may be there in ſafety from robbers. It called Aguacy-die, as if you ſhould ſay, light of heaven, in regard that from afar off it appears like a ſtar.

For the prevention of robberies, each Omrah cauſeth a guard to be kept all the night long, in his particular camp, of ſuch men that perpetually go the round, and cry Kaber-dar, have a care. Beſides, there are round about the army ſet guards, at five hundred common paces from one another, that keep a fire, and cry alſo, Kaber-dar.

And

And over and above all theſe, the Cotoual, who is, as it were, the great provoſt, ſends out troops of guards every way, that paſs through all the Bazars, crying out and trumpeting all night long. Yet for all this, ſome robberies there are now and then committed; and 'tis neceſſary always to be upon one's guard, to go to ſleep by times, that ſo you may be awake the reſt of the night, and not to truſt your ſervants too much to keep guard for you.

But let us now ſee, how many different ways the great Mogol is carried in the field.

Ordinarily he cauſeth himſelf to be carried on men's ſhoulders, in a kind of ſedan or litter, upon which is a Tact-ravan, that is, a field-throne, on which he is ſeated: and this is like a magnificent tabernacle, with pillars painted and gilded, which may be ſhut with glaſs, when 'tis ill weather; the four branches of the litter are covered with ſcarlet or purpled gold, with great gold and ſilk fringes; and at each branch there are two robuſt and well clothed porters, that change by turns with as many more that follow.

Sometimes, alſo, he goeth on horſeback, eſpecially when 'tis a fair day for hunting. At other times he rideth on an elephant, in a Mik-dember, or Hauze; and this is the moſt ſplendid appearance; for the elephant is decked with a very rich and magnificent harneſs; the Mik-dember, being a little ſquare houſe or turret of wood, is always painted and gilded; and the Hauze, which is an oval ſeat, having a canopy with pillars over it, is ſo likewiſe.

In theſe different marches he is always accompanied with a great number of Omrahs and Rajas following him cloſe and thick on horſeback, without any great order: and all thoſe that are in the army are obliged to be at the Am-kas at break of day, unleſs he do exempt them from it, upon account either of their peculiar office, or their great age. This march is very inconvenient to them, eſpecially on hunting days; for they muſt endure the ſun and duſt as the ſimple ſoldiers, and that ſometimes until three of the clock in the afternoon; whereas, when they do not attend the King, they go at eaſe in their Palekys, cloſe covered, if they pleaſe, free from the ſun and duſt; ſleeping in them couched all along as in a bed, and ſo coming in good time to their tent, which expects them with a ready dinner, their kitchen being gone the night before, after ſupper. About the Omrahs, and amongſt them, there is always a good number of horſemen well mounted, called Gourze-berdars, becauſe they carry a kind of ſilver mace of arms. There are alſo many of them about the right and left wings, that precede the perſon of the King, together with ſtore of foot-men. Theſe Gourze-berdars are choice men, of a good mien and a fair ſtature, appointed to carry orders, and having all of them great ſticks in their hands, whereby they put people aſide at a good diſtance, and hinder that no body march before the King to incommode him.

After the Rajas marcheth a train mixed of a great number of timbals and trumpets. I have already ſaid in another place, that this train conſiſts of nothing but of figures of ſilver repreſenting ſtrange animals, hands, ſcales, fiſhes, and other myſterious things, that are carried at the end of great ſilver ſticks.

At laſt, a great troop of Manſebdars, or little Omrahs, well mounted, and furniſhed with ſwords, arrows, and quivers, follow after all the former: and this body is much more numerous than that of the Omrahs, becauſe, beſides that all thoſe that are of the guard dare not fail to be at break of day, as the Omrahs, at the gate of the King's tent to accompany him, there are alſo many that come amongſt them to make their court, and to become known there.

The princeſſes, and the great ladies of the ſeraglio, are alſo carried in ſundry faſhions; ſome are carried, like the King, on men's ſhoulders, in a Tchaudoule, which is a kind of Tact-ravan, painted, gilded, and covered with great and coſtly net-work of ſilk of divers colours, enriched with embroidery, fringe, and thick pendant tufts. Others are carried in very handſome Palekys cloſed, that are likewiſe painted and gilded, and covered with that rich ſilken net-work. Some are carried in large litters by two ſtrong camels, or by two ſmall elephants, inſtead of mules: and in this manner I have ſometimes ſeen carried Rauchenara-Begum; when I alſo obſerved, that in the fore-part of her litter, being open, there was a little ſhe-ſlave, that with a peacock's tail kept off from her the flies and duſt. Laſtly, others are carried upon elephants richly harneſſed, and covered with embroidered deckings, and great ſilver bells, where theſe ladies ſit, raiſed, as it were, into the middle region of the air, four and four in Mik-dembers, latticed, which always are covered with ſilken net-work, and are no leſs ſplendid and ſtately than Tchaudoules and Tact-ravans.

I cannot forbear relating here, that in this voyage I took a particular pleaſure in beholding and conſidering this pompous march of the ſeraglio. And certainly nothing more ſtately can be imagined, than to ſee Rauchenara-Begum march firſt, mounted upon a luſty elephant of Pegu, in a Mik-dember, all ſhining of gold and azure, attended by five or ſix other elephants with their Mik-dember, almoſt as ſplendid as hers, filled with the principal ſhe-officers of her houſe; ſome of the moſt conſiderable eunuchs, richly adorned, and advantageouſly mounted, riding on her ſide, each with a cane in his hand; a troop of Tartarian and Kachemirian maids of honour about her, oddly and fantaſtically dreſſed, and riding on very pretty hackney-horſes; and laſtly, many other eunuchs on horſeback accompanied with ſtore of pages and lackeys, with great ſticks in their hands, to make way afar off. After this Rauchenara-Begum, I ſaw paſs one of the principal ladies of the court, mounted and attended in proportion: and after this, a third in the ſame faſhion; and then another, and ſo on to fifteen or ſixteen, all (more or leſs) bravely mounted and accompanied according to their quality, pay, and office. Indeed this long file of elephants to the number of fifty, or ſixty, or more, thus gravely marching with paces, as it were, counted, and withal this gallant train and equipage, does repreſent ſomething that is great and royal; and if I had beheld this pomp with a kind of philoſophical indifference, I know not whether I ſhould not have ſuffered myſelf to be carried away to thoſe extravagant ſentiments of moſt of the Indian poets, who will have it, that all theſe elephants carry as many hidden goddeſſes. 'Tis true, one can hardly ſee them, and they are almoſt inacceſſible by men; it would be a great misfortune to any poor cavalier whoſoever, to be found in the field too near them in the march; all thoſe eunuchs, and all the crew of ſervants are to the higheſt degree inſolent, and deſire nothing more than ſuch a pretext and occaſion to fall upon a man, and give him ſome baſtinadoes. I remember I was once thus unfortunately ſurprized, and certainly I had been very ill uſed, as well as many other cavaliers, if at length I had not reſolved to make my way out by my ſword, rather than ſuffer myſelf to be thus maimed, as they began to order the matter; and if by good luck I had not been provided with a good horſe, that carried me vigorouſly out of the preſs, when I put him on through a torrent of people, that was to be repaſſed. And it is grown in a manner a common proverb of theſe armies, that, above all, one muſt beware of three things: firſt, not to let himſelf to be engaged amongſt the troops of the choſen led horſe, they never failing to ſtrike: ſecondly, not to come into the places of hunting: thirdly, not to approach too near the women of the ſeraglio. Yet notwithſtanding, by

by what I hear, it is much leſs dangerous here than in Perſia; for there 'tis death to be found in the field in ſight of the eunuchs that attend them, though you were half a league diſtant from them. It is required, that as many men as there are in the villages and boroughs, where they paſs, do all abandon them, and retire afar off.

As to the hunting of the King, I knew not firſt how to imagine what is commonly ſaid, which is, that the great Mogol goes to hunt with an hundred thouſand men: but now I ſee, it may very well be ſaid, that he goes to hunt with above two hundred thouſand; nor is it a thing hard to comprehend. In the neighbouring places to Agra and Dehli, along the river Gemma as far as to the mountains, and even on both ſides of the high-way to Lahor, there is abundance of untilled lands, ſome of copſe-wood, and ſome of graſs above a man's height: in all theſe places there are great numbers of guards, inceſſantly roving up and down, and hindering all other people from hunting, except partridges, quails, and hares, which the Indians know to take with nets: ſo that every where in thoſe places there is very great ſtore of all kind of game. This being ſo, the hunting guards, when they know that the King is in the field, and near their quarters, give notice to the great hunting maſter, of the quality of the game, and of the place where moſt of it is; then the guards do line all the avenues of that quarter, and that ſometimes for above four or five leagues of ground, that ſo the whole army may paſs by, either this or that way, and the King being in his march may at the ſame time enter into it with as many Omrahs, hunters and other perſons as he ſhall pleaſe, and there hunt at his eaſe, now in one manner and then in another, according to the difference of the game. And now behold firſt, how he hunted the Gazelles or wild fawns with tamed Leopards.

I think, I have elſewhere told you, that in the Indies there is ſtore of Gazelles, that are in a manner ſhaped as our hinds or fawns; that theſe Gazelles commonly go in ſeveral troops, and that every troop, which never conſiſts of above five or ſix, is always followed by one only male, diſcernible by the colour. One of ſuch troops being diſcovered, they endeavour to make the leopard ſee them, who is held chained upon a little chariot. This crafty animal doth not preſently and directly run after them, but goes winding and turning, ſtopping and hiding himſelf, ſo to approach them with more advantage, and to ſurprize them: and as he is capable to make five or ſix leaps with an almoſt incredible ſwiftneſs, when he finds he is within reach, he lanceth himſelf upon them, worrieth them, and gluts himſelf with their blood, heart and liver: if he faileth (which often happens) he ſtands ſtill, and it would be in vain for him to attempt to take them by running after them, becauſe they run much faſter, and hold out longer than he. Then the maſter comes gently about him, flattering him, and throwing him ſome pieces of fleſh, and thus amuſing him, puts ſomething over his eyes to cover them, and ſo chains him, and puts him upon the chariot again. One of theſe leopards gave us once in our march this divertiſement, which frighted ſtore of people. A troop of Gazelles appeared in the midſt of the army, as they will do every day; it chanced that they paſſed cloſe to two leopards that were carried, as they uſed to be, upon their little chariot. One of them not blinded, made ſuch an effort that he burſt his chain, and darted himſelf after them, but without catching any of them: yet the Gazelles, not knowing which way to eſcape, being purſued, cried after, and hunted on every ſide, there was one of them that was forced to repaſs again near the leopard, who, notwithſtanding the camels and horſes that peſtered all the way, and contrary to what is commonly ſaid of this beaſt, that it never returns to its prey when it hath once failed of it, flew upon it and caught it.

The hunting of the Nilgaux or grey oxen, which I ſaid were a kind of elcks, hath no great matter in it. They are incloſed in great nets, that are by little and little drawn cloſer together, and when they are reduced to a ſmall compaſs of encloſure, the King, the Omrahs, and the hunters do enter and kill them at pleaſure with arrows, half-pikes, ſables, or muſquets; and ſometimes in ſo great numbers, that the King ſends quarters of them for preſents to all the Omrahs.

The game of the Cranes hath ſomething of divertiſement. 'Tis a pleaſure to ſee them defend themſelves in the air againſt the birds of prey; they ſometimes kill ſome of them; but at length, not being nimble in turning, many ſtrong birds maſter them.

Of all the games that of the Lion is the moſt royal, becauſe there is none but the King and princes that can exerciſe it (unleſs it be by a very particular leave); but it is alſo the moſt dangerous. The manner of it is this: when the King is in the field, and the hunting guards have diſcovered the place of the lion's retirement, they tie faſt an aſs thereabout, which the lion ſoon comes to devour, and without caring to look out for other prey, as oxen, cows, mutton, or ſhepherds, he goes to ſeek for drink, and returns to his ordinary lodging place, where he lies down and ſleeps until next morning, when he finds another aſs in the ſelf ſame place, which the hunters have faſtened there as the day before; and when they have thus baited and amuſed him ſeveral days in the ſame place, and now know that the King is nigh, they at length tye faſt another aſs, but whom they have made to ſwallow a quantity of opium, to the end that his fleſh may the better lull aſleep the lion, and then all the countrymen of the circumjacent villages ſpread large and ſtrong nets, made for that purpoſe, which they alſo by degrees reduce to a ſmall compaſs, as is practiſed in the hunting the Nilgaux. All things thus prepared, the King mounted on an elephant traped with iron, being attended by the great hunting maſter, ſome Omrahs riding alſo on elephants, by abundance of Gourze-berdars on horſeback, and by a numerous hunting-guard on foot, armed with half-pikes, approacheth to the nets from without, and with a great muſquet ſhoots at the lion; who when he finds himſelf wounded, comes directly to the elephant, as his cuſtom is; but he meets with thoſe big nets ſtopping him, and the King ſhoots ſo often at him, that at laſt he kills him. Yet in this laſt hunting there was a lion that leapt over thoſe nets, fell upon an horſeman whoſe horſe he killed, and then ran away; but the hunters met with him, and incloſed him again in the net, which cauſed a great diſturbance to the army; we were three or four days padling in ſmall torrents running down the mountains, betwixt under-wood and ſuch long graſs as that camels hardly can be ſeen therein; and happy were theſe that had ſome proviſion of victuals, for all was in diſorder: the Bazars could not range themſelves, and the villages were remote. The reaſon why they were to ſtop there ſo long, was, that as it is a good omen with the Indians when the King kills a lion, ſo it is a very ill one, when he faileth, and they think that the ſtate would run great hazard if they ſhould not maſter him. Hence 'tis alſo that they make many ceremonies upon the account of this hunting; for they bring the dead lion before the King in the general aſſembly of the Omrahs, and after he hath been well viewed, and exactly meaſured, 'tis recorded in the archives, that ſuch a king, at ſuch a time, ſlew a lion of ſuch bigneſs, of ſuch hair, of ſo long and large teeth and claws, not omitting the leaſt circumſtances.

I ſhall here only add a word in reference to what is commonly ſaid of the opium, that the aſs is made to ſwallow, viz. that one of the chief hunters aſſured me, that it was but a tale of the vulgar, and that the lion ſlept ſufficiently without it, when he had his belly full.

Now

Now to return to our march. When the great rivers, which in theſe quarters commonly have no bridges, are to be paſſed, there are made two boat bridges, about two or three hundred paces diſtant from one another; which they know well enough how to chain and faſten together. Upon them they caſt earth and ſtraw mingled together, which preventeth the ſliding of the animals. The firſt paſſing upon, and the coming from it are only dangerous, becauſe, that beſides the great crowd, which then commonly throngeth, and the great confuſion and embaraſſment, it often happens that pits or holes are made when it is moving earth; and then you ſhall have horſes and burthened oxen tumble one upon another, over whom people do paſs with an incredible diſorder; which would be yet greater, if all were to paſs in one day: but ordinarily the king encamped but half a league from the bridge, where he ſtays a day or two, and he never almoſt encampeth farther than half a league from the river on the other ſide of the bridge, that ſo the army may have at leaſt three days and three nights to paſs more conveniently.

Laſtly, as to the number of people that is found in the army, it is not ſo eaſy a thing to determine it. It is ſo differently ſpoken of, that one knows not what to judge of it. What I can tell you of it in the general, that is moſt probable, is this: that in this march there were at leaſt, as to ſoldiers and others, an hundred thouſand horſemen, and above an hundred and fifty thouſand animals, as horſes, mules or elephants; that there were near fifty thouſand camels, and almoſt as many oxen or aſſes, that ſerve to carry the grain, and other proviſions of theſe poor people of the Bazars, their wives and children: for they lug all with them, as our Bohemians do. Upon this meaſure, you may reckon pretty near the number of the ſerving people, ſuppoſing that nothing is there done but by the force of ſervants, and that I, who am but in the rank of a cavalier of two horſes, can hardly do my buſineſs with leſs than three men: ſome ſay, that in the whole army, there is ſcarcely leſs than between three or four hundred thouſand perſons. Others reckon more; others leſs. Nobody ever told them to determine the preciſe number. I can ſay nothing of certainty, but only that it is a prodigious and almoſt incredible number; but then you are to imagine, it is all Dehli, the capital city, that marcheth, becauſe that all the inhabitants of that town, living upon the court and the army, are obliged to follow them, eſpecially when the voyage is to be long, as this; or elſe they muſt ſtarve.

The difficulty is to know, whence, and how ſo great an army can ſubſiſt in the field, ſo vaſt a number of people and beaſts. For that, we muſt only ſuppoſe (which is very true), that the Indians live very ſoberly, and obſerve a very ſimple diet, and that of all this great number of cavaliers, there is not the tenth, no not the twentieth man, that in his march eats fleſh; provided they have their kichery, that is, their mixture of rice, and of other legumes, upon which they pour butter when they are boiled, they are content.

We are alſo to know, that camels endure labour, hunger and thirſt extremely well, live upon little, and eat almoſt any thing: and that as ſoon as the army encampeth any where, the camel-drivers let them go into the field to brouze, where they eat whatever they light upon. Beſides, that the merchants that entertain Bazars in Dehli, are obliged to entertain them in the field; and that all the ſmall merchants that keep ſhop in the Bahars of Dehli, keep them alſo in the army, either by force or out of neceſſity; and laſtly, that as to forage, all theſe poor people go roving up and down every where in the villages, to buy what they can get, and to gain ſomething by it; and their great and common refuge is, with a kind of trowel to raſpe or knock down whole fields, to beat and waſh what they have there gotten, and ſo to carry it to ſell to the

army, which they do ſometimes very dear, and ſometimes very cheap. I forgot to mention one thing that is remarkable, viz. that the king enters into the camp, now on one ſide, then on another; and to-day he paſſeth near the tents of certain Omrahs, and to-morrow near thoſe of others, which he doth not without deſign; for the Omrahs, which he paſſeth by ſo near, are obliged to meet him, and to make him ſome ſmall preſent or other; ſo that ſome will preſent him with twenty roupies of gold, which maketh thirty piſtoles; others with fifty, and ſo others in proportion, according to their generoſity, and the greatneſs of their pay.

For the reſt, you will excuſe me, that I do not obſerve to you the towns and boroughs that are between Dehli and Lahor. I have ſeen in a manner none of them, for I went almoſt always croſs the fields, and in the night, becauſe my Agah was not placed in the middle of the army, where often is the high-way, but very forward in the right wing. We went as well as we could by ſtar-light croſs the fields to gain the right wing of the camp, without ſeeking for the high-way; though ſometimes we found ourſelves much perplexed, and in lieu of three or four leagues, which is the ordinary diſtance of one encampment from another, we ſometimes made five or ſix; but when the day comes on, we ſoon found ourſelves where we ſhould be.

LETTER III. — *A Deſcription of Lahor, the Capital of Penje-ab, or the Kingdom of the Five Waters.*

SIR,

IT is not without reaſon, that this kingdom, of which Lahor is the capital city, is called Penje-ab, or the country of the five waters, becauſe there are actually five conſiderable rivers coming down from thoſe mountains, within which the kingdom of Kachemire is locked up, and that run croſs this tract of land to fall into the river Indus, diſcharging themſelves together into the ocean at Scymdi, towards the entry of the Perſian gulph. Whether Lahor be that ancient Bucephalos, I decide not. Mean time, Alexander is ſufficiently known here under the name of Sekander Filifous, that is, Alexander ſon of Philip; but as to his horſe, they know it not. The city of Lahor is built upon one of theſe five rivers, which is not leſs than our river Loire, and for which there is great need of a like bank, becauſe it maketh great devaſtation, and often changeth its bed, and hath but lately retired itſelf from Lahor for a quarter of a league; which very much incommodeth the inhabitants. The houſes of Lahor have this peculiar above thoſe of Dehli and Agra, that they are very high, but moſt of them are ruinous, becauſe it is now more than twenty years that the court is always at Dehli or at Agra, and that in theſe later years the rains have been ſo exceſſive, that they have overthrown many of them, whereby alſo much people hath been killed. It is true, there remains ſtill five or ſix conſiderable ſtreets, of which there are two or three that are above a league long; but in them alſo are many buildings found that fall down. The king's palace is no longer upon the river-ſide, as it was formerly, becauſe that the river hath left it. It is very high, and magnificent; yet thoſe of Agra and Dehli do much ſurpaſs it. It is now above two months that we are here, expecting the melting of the ſnow of the mountains of Kachemire, for a more convenient paſſage into that kingdom. But at length we are to depart to-morrow. The king hath been gone theſe two days. I have got a little Kachemirian tent, which I bought yeſterday. I was adviſed to do like others, and to leave here my ordinary tent, which is big and heavy enough, becauſe, they ſay, that between the mountains of Kachemire, whither we are now marching, it will be difficult to find room enough, and that the camels not

not having place enough to paſs, we ſhall be obliged to get our baggage carried by porters, and that ſo my large tent would coſt me much to carry. Adieu.

LETTER IV.

SIR,

I BELIEVED, that after we had overcome the heats of Moka, near Babel-mandel, I could defy thoſe of the reſt of the earth, but ſince theſe four days that the army left Lahor, I find I come very ſhort of my reckoning, and I have experimented, to the hazard of my life, that it is not without reaſon, that the Indians themſelves did apprehend the eleven or twelve days march of the army, from Lahor to Bamber, the entry of the mountains of Kachemire. I proteſt unto you, without any exaggeration, that the heats have been ſo exceſſive, that ſometimes they have reduced me to extremity, inſomuch that I knew not in the morning whether I ſhould live till night. The cauſe of this extraordinary heat is, that the high mountains of Kachemire being on the north of our road, keep from us all the cool wind that might come and refreſh us from that quarter, and do reflect the ſun-beams upon us, and leave the field burnt up and choaking. But to what purpoſe to play the philoſopher, and to ſeek reaſons for that, which perhaps will kill me to-morrow.

LETTER V.

SIR,

I PASSED, yeſterday, one of the greateſt rivers of the Indies, called the Lchenau. The excellency of its water, of which the great Omrahs make proviſion, in lieu of that of Ganges (whereof they have drunk hitherto), keeps me from believing this to be ſome river to paſs to hell, rather than to Kachemire, where they would make us believe we ſhould find ſnow and ice: for I find it grow worſe and worſe every day, and that the more we advance, the more heat we feel. It is true that I paſſed the bridge at noon-day, but I almoſt knew not which was beſt, to march in the field, or to keep one's ſelf ſtuffed up under a tent; at leaſt, I have ſucceeded in my deſign, which was, to paſs the bridge with eaſe, whilſt all men did repoſe themſelves, expecting to leave the camp towards evening, when the heat is not ſo violent: whereas if I had ſtaid as the reſt did, ſome miſchief perhaps might have befallen me. For it hath been, I hear, the moſt terrible confuſion, and the greateſt diſorder that ever was in any the like former paſſage from Dehli; the entring upon the firſt boat, and the going off from the laſt, having been made very difficult, becauſe it was mere moving ſand, which as people marched upon it and ſtirred it, did ſlide away into the water, and left a pit; inſomuch that a great number of camels, oxen and horſes were, in the crowd, overthrown and trampled under foot, and ſtore of blows diſtributed beſides. There are ordinarily, upon ſuch occaſions, ſome officers and cavaliers of the Omrahs, who, to make way for their maſters and baggage, are not ſparing of them. My navab hath loſt one of his camels, with the iron oven it carried; which maketh me apprehend, I ſhall be reduced to the bread of Bazar. Farewell.

LETTER VI.

SIR,

IT is too much curioſity, it is folly, or at leaſt temerity in an European to expoſe himſelf to ſuch heats and dangerous marches. It is putting one's ſelf into manifeſt peril

peril of life. Yet, notwithſtanding, misfortune is good for ſomething. Whilſt we ſtayed at Lahor, I was ſeized on by a flux, and by gripings, which did very much incommode me, cauſed by my conſtant lying upon a terraſs, and taking the cool of the night, as we uſed to do at Dehli without danger: but ſince we have been marching theſe eight or nine days, the ſweat hath diſſipated all theſe humours. My body is become a right ſieve, very dry; and I have no ſooner taken into my ſtomach a pint of water (for leſs will not ſerve our turn), but I ſee it at the ſame time iſſue out of my limbs, like a dew, to the very ends of my fingers. I believe I have this day drank above ten pints. And this is ſome comfort, that one may drink of it as much as one liſts without danger, provided it be good water.

LETTER VII.—*To the ſame.—Written from the Camp of the Army, marching from Lahor to Kachemire, the tenth of March in the Morning.*

SIR,

THE ſun is but juſt now riſing, yet he is intolerable; there is not a cloud in the ſky; nor a breath of wind; my horſes are ſpent, they have not ſeen a green herb ſince we came out of Lahor; my Indians, for all their black, dry and hard ſkin, ſink under it. My face, hands, and feet are peeled off, and my body is covered all over with pimples, that prick me as ſo many needles. Yeſterday one of our poor cavaliers, that had no tent, was found dead at the foot of a ſmall tree he had ſeized on. I doubt whether I ſhall outlive this day's journey; all my hope is in a little dry curdled milk, which I am going to dilute with water and ſugar, and ſome lemons, I have left, to make lemonade, farewell; the ink dryeth at the end of my pen, and the pen falls out of my hand. Farewell.

LETTER VIII.—*To the ſame.—Written from Bember, the entry of the Mountains of Kachemire, after having Two Days encamped there.—What Bember is; the Change of Carriages for the Mountains; the incredible Number of Porters, and the Order obſerved in the Army.*

SIR,

WE are at length arrived at Bember, the foot of a ſteep, black and burned mountain, and we are encamped in the channel of a large torrent dried up, full of ſand and ſtones burning hot. It is like an hot oven: and if it were not for the ſhower of rain we had this morning, and for the curdled milk, the lemons, and the fowl brought to us from the mountains, I know not what would have become of me, and you would perhaps never have ſeen this letter. But, God be thanked, I feel the air a little cooler; my ſtomach, ſtrength, and tongue are returned. So then take this account of our new kind of march and trouble.

Yeſter-night the king firſt of all, together with Rauchenara-Begum, and the other women of the ſeraglio, the Raja Ragnat that performs the office of the vizir, and Fazel-kan the high-ſteward, went away from this burning place, and laſt night the great hunting-maſter departed, with ſome of the greateſt and moſt neceſſary officers of the royal family, and many conſiderable women. This night it is our turn; my Navab, Danech-mend-kan, will go away, and Mahmet-Emir-kan, the ſon of that famous Emir-Jemla, of whom I have ſpoken ſo much in another place, will be of our company; and ſo will Dianet-kan, our good friend, with his two ſons, and many other Omrahs, Rajas, and Manſebdars: and after us, all the other lords, that are bound for Kachemire,

Kachemire, will be gone all in their turns, to avoid in theſe difficult and narrow ways of the mountains, the trouble and confuſion, during theſe five days of marching between this place and Kachemire. All the reſt of the court, as Feday-kan, the great maſter of the artillery, three or four great Rajas, and many Omrahs, are to ſtay here about, for a guard, during three or four months, until the king do return after the great heats are over. Some ſhall go to dreſs their tents on the one ſide of the river Tchenau, others in the neighbouring towns and boroughs, and others will be obliged to camp here in this fire of Bember.

The king, for fear of ſtarving this ſmall kingdom of Kachemire, firſt carries with him the leaſt number of women he can, the greateſt ladies, the beſt friends of Rauchenara-Begum, and thoſe that are moſt neceſſary for ſervice. Nor doth he carry more of the Omrahs and Militia than needs he muſt: and the Omrahs that have leave to come with him, cannot take with them all the cavaliers, but only 25 of 100; yet without comprehending therein the particular officers of their family. And that is to be religiouſly obſerved; becauſe there is an Omrah upon the guard at the entry of the mountains, that reckons all that paſs, one by one, and hinders the paſſing of that great number of Manſeb-dars and other cavaliers, that would fain go and enjoy the cool air of Kachemire; as alſo all thoſe ſmall merchants and little people of Bazar that ſeek to gain a livelihood. The king, for the carriage of neceſſaries and the women of the ſeraglio, taketh with him ſome of the ſtrongeſt and beſt elephants: theſe beaſts, though groſs and unweildy, are very ſure-footed, and in an ill way they march very warily, aſſuring themſelves firſt of one foot before they remove the other. He taketh alſo ſome mules with him; but camels, the moſt neceſſary, he cannot make uſe of in this paſſage; theſe mountains being too ſteep and craggy for their long ſhanked and ſtiff legs: porters muſt ſupply their places; and what number, think you, muſt there be, if the king alone, as they ſay, hath above ſix thouſand for his occaſions, and I, a private man, though I have left at Lahor my ordinary tent and much of my baggage, as every one hath done, even the king himſelf and the Omrahs, find myſelf obliged to have three of them? It is believed, there are already no leſs here than fifteen thouſand, partly of thoſe which the governor of Kachemire, and the Rajas, hereabout have compelled to be here, partly of thoſe that come hither of their own accord out of the neighbouring villages to earn ſomething; for a man is obliged, following the king's order, to give them ten crowns for an hundred pound weight. It is ſaid, that, in all, there are above thirty thouſand of them, without reckoning that a month ago the king and the Omrahs ſent away ſome baggage before, and the merchants all ſorts of commodities.

LETTER IX.—*An exact Deſcription of the Kingdom of Kachemire, and the preſent State of the neighbouring Mountains; together with an Anſwer to Five conſiderable Queſtions of a Friend.*

SIR,

THE hiſtories of the ancient kings of Kachemire tells us, that all that country was formerly nothing but a great lake, and that there was an old holy man, called Kacheb, that gave an outlet to the waters, by a miraculous cut he made in the mountain of Baramoule. This may be ſeen in the abridgement of theſe hiſtories, which Jehan-Guyre cauſed to be made, and which I am tranſlating out of the Perſian tongue. For my part, I would not deny, all this land to have once been covered with water; the like is affirmed of Theſſaly, and ſome other countries; but it is hard to believe, that this

opening is the work of one man, becauſe the mountain is very big and very high. I ſhould rather think, that ſome great earthquake (thoſe parts being ſubject enough to them) had opened ſome cavern under ground, which the mountain did ſink into, after the ſame manner as the opening of Babel-Mandel is made (if it be true what the Arabians of that country ſay of it), and as whole towns and mountains have been ſeen to be ſwallowed up in great lakes.

However it be, Kachemire is no lake now, but a very fair champaign, diverſified by many little hillocks, about thirty leagues long, and ten or twelve leagues broad; ſituated in the extreme of Indoſtan, north of Lahor, locked up within the mountains of Caucaſus, between thoſe of the kings of the great Tibet, the little Tibet, and the Raja Gamon, its next neighbours.

The firſt mountains ſurrounding it, I mean thoſe that are next to the plain, are of a middle height, all green with trees of paſture, full of all ſorts of cattle, as cows, ſheep, goats, horſes; and of game of divers kinds, as partridges, hares, gazelles, and of ſome animals yielding muſk. There are alſo abundance of bees, and (which is rare in the Indies) there are found no ſerpents, tigers, bears, lions, but very ſeldom. So that it may be ſaid, that theſe are not only very innocent mountains, but flowing with milk and honey, as were thoſe of the land of promiſe.

Beyond thoſe middle ſized mountains, there riſe others, very high ones, the top of which are always covered with ſnow, and appear above the ordinary clouds and miſts, always calm and clear, as well as mount Olympus.

Out of all theſe mountains do iſſue innumerable ſources and rivulets on all ſides, which the inhabitants know how to convey to their rice-fields, and even through raiſed ground unto their little hillocks; and which, after they have made a thouſand other little rivulets, and a thouſand caſcatas every where, come at laſt to meet, and to make a very fair river, that carryeth boats as big as our river of Seine; and after it hath gently turned about the kingdom, and paſſed through the midſt of the capital city, finds its out-let at Baramoule between two ſteep rocks; and having afterwards taken in many ſmall rivers that come down from the mountains, falls about Atex into the river Indus.

All theſe rivulets, deſcending from the mountains, make the plain and all thoſe hillocks ſo fair and fruitful, that one would take this whole kingdom for ſome ever-green garden, intermixed with villages and boroughs diſcovering themſelves between the trees, and diverſified by meadows, fields of rice, corn, and divers other legumes, of hemp and ſaffron; all interlaced with ditches full of water, with channels, with ſmall lakes and rivulets here and there. Up and down, every where, are alſo ſeen ſome of our European plants, flowers, and all ſorts of our trees, as apples, pears, prunes, apricots, nuts, vines. The particular gardens are full of melons, water-melons, ſkirrets, beets, radiſhes, all ſorts of our pot-herbs, and of ſome we have not.

'Tis true, there are not ſo many ſorts of fruit as with us, nor are they ſo excellent as ours; but I believe that that is not the fault of the ſoil, but that if they had as good gardeners as we, knowing to cultivate and graft trees, to chuſe proper places and proper ſtocks, and to ſend for grafts from foreign countries, they would have as many and as good as we; becauſe among that number of divers ſorts, which I often cauſed to be brought to me, I have frequently met with very excellent ones.

The capital city, which is of the ſame name with that of the kingdom, is without walls; 'tis three quarters of a league long, and half a league broad; ſituate in a plain about two leagues diſtant from mountains, which ſeem to make, as it were, a ſemi-circle, and ſtanding upon a lake of ſweet water of four or five miles in compaſs, which is

made up of five ſprings, and of rivulets running down the mountains, and diſgorgeth itſelf, by a navigable channel, into the river which paſſeth through the midſt of the town. This river hath, in the town, two wooden bridges over it, for communication. Moſt houſes are of wood, but well built, and of two or three ſtories high; not as if they had not very good free-ſtone there (many old idol-temples ruined, and other buildings made of it, being yet to be ſeen); but the abundance of wood, eaſily deſcending from the mountains by little rivers, which it is caſt into, maketh people find that way of building turn to better account. The houſes that ſtand upon the river have almoſt all of them their little garden, lying upon the water, which maketh a very pleaſant perſpective, eſpecially in the ſpring and ſummer, when men walk on the river-ſide. The other houſes that ſtand not upon the river, have alſo almoſt all of them ſome garden; and there are a good number of ſuch that have a channel anſwering to the lake, and a little boat to go and divert themſelves upon it.

In one end of the town there appears an hill, looſe from all the reſt, which maketh another very agreeable perſpective, becauſe on its declivity there ſtand very fine houſes with gardens, and on the top, a moſque and an hermitage well built, with a garden and ſtore of fine green trees; and 'tis upon the account of theſe trees and gardens, that in the language of the country 'tis called Haryperbet, as if you ſhould ſay, the mountain of verdure.

Oppoſite to this hill there is ſeen another, on which there is alſo a moſque, but a little one, together with a garden, and a very ancient building, which ſeems to have been a temple of idols, though they call it Tact Souliman, that is, the throne of Solomon, becauſe that Solomon, as the Mahometans ſay, cauſed it to be built when he came to Kachemire; but how they will prove that Solomon made this voyage, I know not.

The lake hath this peculiar, that 'tis full of little iſles, which are as many gardens of pleaſure, that appear all green in the midſt of the water, by reaſon of thoſe fruit-bearing-trees, and of the walks, on both ſides ſet with arbours, and becauſe they are ſurrounded with large leaved aſpen-trees, ſtanding at two foot diſtance from one another, the biggeſt whereof may be claſped about, but as tall as maſts of great ſhips, having only a tuft of branches at the top like palm-trees.

Beyond the lake, upon the ſide of the hills, there is nothing but houſes and gardens of pleaſure, the place having been found wonderfully proper for it, as being in a very fine air, in the view of the lake, the iſles and the town, and full of ſprings and rivulets.

The moſt admirable of all theſe gardens is that of the King, which is called Chahlimar. From the lake, one enters into it by a great canal, bordered with great green turfs. This canal is above five hundred common paces long, and runs betwixt two large alleys of poplars: it leadeth to a great cabinet in the midſt of the garden, where begins another canal far more magnificent, which runs with a little riſing unto the end of the garden. This canal is paved with large free-ſtone; its ſloping ſide covered with the ſame; and in the midſt of it there is a long row of jets of water, from fifteen to fifty foot. There are alſo, from ſpace to ſpace, great rounds of water ſerving for ſtore-houſes, whence many jets of water, variouſly figured, do ſpring up: and this canal ends at another great cabinet, which is almoſt like the firſt.

Theſe cabinets, which are in a manner made like domes, ſituate in the middle of the canal, and encompaſſed with water, and conſequently between thoſe two great alleys of poplars, hath a gallery that reigneth round about, and four gates oppoſite to one another, two of which do reſpect the alleys, with two bridges to paſs over, one on one ſide, and the other on the other; the other two look upon the oppoſite canals. Each cabinet

cabinet conſiſts of a great chamber in the midſt of four other leſſer chambers, which are in the four corners. All is painted and gilded within, the great chamber as well as the little ones, having ſentences with great letters in the Perſian tongue written upon them. The four gates are very rich; they are made of great ſtones with two columns, taken from thoſe ancient idol-temples ruined by Chah-Jehan. The price of theſe great ſtones and pillars is not well known, nor what kind of ſtone they be; though it appears ſufficiently, that 'tis a ſort of precious ſtone, finer than marble or porphiry.

From all that hath been ſaid, one may eaſily conjecture, that I am ſomewhat charmed with Kachemire, and that I pretend, there is perhaps nothing in the world like it for ſo ſmall a kingdom. It deſerves very well to reign over all thoſe neighbouring mountains as far as Tartary, and over all Indoſtan as far as Ceylon, as once it did: and 'tis not without ſome cauſe, that the Mogols call it the terreſtrial Paradiſe of the Indies; that Ekbar took ſo much pains to make himſelf maſter of it, and that his ſon Jehan-Guyre became ſo amorous thereof, that he could not leave it, and often ſaid, he would rather loſe all his empire, than Kachemire. And from the time that we arrived there, all the poets, both Kachemerians and Mogolians, ſtrove to make poems to the praiſe of this little kingdom, to preſent them to Aureng-Zebe, who gladly received and rewarded them. I remember, that among others, there was one, that exaggerating the extraordinary height of the mountains encompaſſing it, and rendering it almoſt inacceſſible any where, ſaid, that the top of theſe mountains was the cauſe, that the heavens did retire into the figure of a vault, as we ſee it; and that Kachemire being the maſter-piece of nature, and the king of the kingdoms of the world, it was ſuitable it ſhould be hard of acceſs, and ſo enjoy an undiſturbed peace and tranquillity, commanding all, and not being liable to be commanded by any. He added, that the reaſon why nature had ſurrounded it with mountains, of which ſome, namely the higheſt and moſt remote, were always white and covered with ſnow, the lowermoſt and the next to the plain, all green and covered with wood, was, becauſe that the king of the kingdoms of the world was to wear the moſt precious crown, the top whereof was to be of diamonds, and the bottom of emeralds. If the poet had added (ſaid I to my Naveh Danechmend-kan, who was willing to make me admire all thoſe poems), that all thoſe great countries of mountains that environ it, as the little Tibet, the ſtate of the Raja Gamon, Kachguer and Serenaguer, are to be comprehended under the kingdom of Kachemire, ſince, according to the hiſtory of the country, they once depended from it, and conſequently that the river Ganges on the one ſide, that of Indus on the other, the Chenau on a third, and the Gemma on the fourth, do iſſue out of the Kachemire; that theſe rivers, with ſo many others that run thence, do countervail the Gihon, the Piſon*, and the two others; and if at laſt he had concluded, that this was certainly the true terreſtrial paradiſe, rather than that in Armenia, this would have much enhanced the worth of all his commendations.

The Kachemirians have the reputation of being a very witty people, much more intelligent and dextrous than the Indians, and as fit for poeſy and ſciences as the Perſians. Beſides, they are very induſtrious, and willing to take pains: they make palekys, trunks, bedſteads, ſtandiſhes, boxes, ſpoons, and many other pieces, and all of good and very handſome workmanſhip, ſent over all the Indies. They know how to give it a good varniſh, and ſo dextrouſly to counterfeit the veins of a certain wood that hath very fine ones, by applying gold ſtrings upon it, that there is nothing finer. But what is peculiar and conſiderable in them, and which draws the trade and ſilver into the

* *Gen.* ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

country,

country, is that prodigious quantity of ſtuffs called chales, which they work there, and employ their little children in. Theſe chales are certain kinds of ſtuff an ell and an half long, and about an ell broad, which are embroidered at each end with a kind of embroidery about a foot large. The Mogols and Indians, both men and women, wear of them in winter upon their heads, paſſing them over their left ſhoulder like a mantle. They make two ſorts of them; one, of the wool of the country, which is finer than that of Spain; the other, of a wool, or rather of an hair, they call touz, taken from the breaſt of a wild goat of the great Tibet. Theſe latter are of a far greater price than the former: neither is there any caſtor ſo ſoft and delicate. The miſchief is, the worms get eaſily into it, unleſs you have a particular care often to unfold and air them. I have ſeen of theſe, which the Omrahs purpoſely cauſed to be made, which coſt an hundred and fifty rupies: of the others, that are made of the wool of the country, I have ſeen none that coſt above fifty.

'Tis obſerved of theſe chales, that, work them never ſo carefully in Patna, Agra, and Lahor, you ſhall never make the ſtuff ſo ſoft and fine, as in Kachemire; which is commonly imputed to the particular water of the country: as at Maſſipatam they make thoſe fine ſtuffs, which become fairer by waſhing.

The Kachemirians are alſo famous for their good complexion. They look as well as our Europeans, and have nothing of a Tartarian flat-noſed and little-eyed face, as thoſe of Kachguer, and moſt of the people of the great Tibet. The women, eſpecially, are very beautiful; and therefore all ſtrangers, that are new comers to the court of Mogol, are furniſhed from thence, that ſo they may have children whiter than the Indians, and which by this means may paſs for true Mogols. And certainly, if one may judge of the beauty of the retired women by that of the common people, met with in the ſtreets, and ſeen up and down in the ſhops, we muſt believe, that there are very handſome ones. At Lahor, where they have the repute of being proper and ſlender, and the handſomeſt of the brown laſſes of the Indies (as really they are), I uſed an art which is ordinary among the Mogols, which is, to follow ſome elephants, eſpecially thoſe that are richly harneſſed; for as ſoon as thoſe women hear the two bells hanging on the ſides of thoſe beaſts, they all put their heads out of the windows. The ſame trick I uſed here; and I made alſo uſe of another, in which I ſucceeded very well; it was deviſed by an old and famous maſter of a ſchool, whom I had taken to help me to underſtand a Perſian poet. He made me buy ſtore of comfits; and he being known and welcome every where, carried me into above fifteen houſes, telling them that I was his kinſman, newly come out of Perſia, that I was rich and to be married. As ſoon as we came into a houſe, he diſtributed comfits to the children, and preſently all came about us, women and children, great and ſmall, to have their ſhare, or to be ſeen. This curioſity alone coſt me many a good rupy; but it confirmed me, that in Kachemire there are as fair faces, as in any place of Europe.

There remains only to impart unto you what I obſerved moſt conſiderable between the mountains, from Bember hither, (with which perhaps I ſhould have begun;) and after having given you an account of ſome other little voyages I have been obliged to make in divers parts of this kingdom, you will learn all I could come to know of the reſt of the circumjacent mountains.

Concerning therefore, firſt, our voyage from Bember hither, it ſeemed to me ſurprizing enough, to find myſelf, from the firſt night that we parted from Bember, and entered into the mountains, paſs from a torrid to a temperate zone: for, we had no ſooner mounted this dreadful wall of the world, I mean, this high, ſteep, black and bald mountain of Bember, but that in deſcending on the other ſide, we found an air

that was pretty tolerable, freſh, gentle and temperate. But that which ſurprized me more in theſe mountains was, to find myſelf, in a trice, tranſported out of the Indies into Europe. For, ſeeing the earth covered with all our plants and ſhrubs, except iſſop, thyme, marjoram and roſemary, I imagined I was in ſome of our mountains of Auvergne, in the midſt of a foreſt of all our kinds of trees, pines, oaks, elms, plane-trees. And I was the more aſtoniſhed, becauſe in all thoſe burning fields of Indoſtan, whence I came, I had ſeen almoſt nothing of all that.

Among other things relating to plants, this ſurprized me, that one and a half days journey from Bember, I found a mountain that was covered with them on both ſides, but with this difference, that on the ſide of the mountain that was ſoutherly toward the Indies, there was a mixture of Indian and European plants, and on that which was expoſed to the north I obſerved none but European ones; as if the former had participated of the air and temper of Europe and the Indies, and the other had been merely European.

As to the trees, I admired this natural courſe of generations and corruptions; below in theſe bottoms, where perhaps no man ever was, I ſaw hundreds that were falling, or fallen, one upon another, dead and half rotten of age, and other young and verdant ones growing out of the foot of thoſe that were dead: ſome of them alſo I ſaw burnt, whether it was from lightning, or that in the heat of ſummer they had taken fire by rubbing themſelves againſt one another, when they were agitated by ſome hot and impetuous wind; or, as the country people ſay, that they take fire of themſelves, when they are grown old and dry.

I admired alſo thoſe natural caſcatas of water, which we found between thoſe rocks. We met, among others, one of them ſo wonderful, that doubtleſs it cannot be paralleled. One ſeeth afar off from the ſide of an high mountain, running down, a torrent of water, in a channel covered with trees, and precipitate itſelf in a trice to the bottom of a ſteep rock of a ſtupendous height, with a noiſe that is able to ſtrike one deaf, like a cataract. There was erected near it a theatre, upon a rock, which Jehan-Guyre had cauſed purpoſely to be made plain, that the court paſſing, might there repoſe themſelves, and from thence, with conveniency, behold this admirable workmanſhip of nature; which, as well as thoſe old trees I was juſt now ſpeaking of, ſeems to reſemble ſomething of great antiquity, and of the firſt production of the world.

All theſe divertiſements were blended with an odd accident. On the day that the King went upon the mountain of Pirepenjale, which is the higheſt of all, and whence one begins to diſcover afar off the country of Kachemire; on that day, I ſay, that the King aſcended this mountain, being followed by a long row of elephants, upon which ſit the women in Mik-dembars, and Embarys, one of thoſe elephants was frighted by beholding, as the Indians would have it, ſuch a long and ſteep aſcent, and fell back upon him that was next, and he upon the next, and ſo on to the fifteenth, ſo that not one of them being able to turn in this way, which was extremely rude and ſteep, they all tumbled into the precipice. It was good fortune for thoſe poor women, that the precipice itſelf was not very ſteep, ſo that there were but three or four of them killed; but the fifteen elephants remained upon the place. When theſe bulky maſſes do once fall under thoſe vaſt burdens they are loaden with, they never riſe again, though the way be never ſo fair. We ſaw them two days after, in paſſing by, and I obſerved ſome of them yet ſtirring their trunk. This accident put the whole army, which had marched four days along the mountains in file, into great diſorder, becauſe to recover theſe women and all that wreck, a ſtop was made for the remainder of that day and all the night, every one being neceſſitated to ſtop where he was, becauſe it was in many places

places impoſſible to advance or go back, and none had near him thoſe porters that carried his tent and victuals. As for myſelf, I was not in the worſt condition, having found means to creep out of the way, and to take the conveniency of a ſmall place to lie down in, for myſelf and my horſe. And, to my good luck, one of my ſervants that followed me, had a little bread, which we ſhared together. I remember, it was there where, ſtirring ſome ſtones, we found a great black ſcorpion, which a young Mogol of my acquaintance took, and ſqueezed it in his own hand, and then in the hand of my ſervant, and at laſt in mine, without our being ſtung by him. This young cavalier ſaid, that he had charmed him, as he had done many others before, by a paſſage of the Alcoran, which he would not teach me, becauſe, ſaid he, the power of charming would paſs to me and leave himſelf, as it had paſſed to him by quitting his teacher.

In traverſing this ſame mountain of Pirepenjale, where the elephants tumbled down, there occured thoſe things which called to my mind ſome of my former philoſophical thoughts. The firſt was, that in leſs than an hour we felt ſummer and winter; for in aſcending we did ſweat groſs drops, all men going on foot in a burning ſun; and when we came to the top of the mountain, we yet found the icy ſnow, that had been cut to open the way; there was a froſt upon a miſling rain, and there blew a wind ſo cold, that all people ſhook and ran away, eſpecially the ſilly Indians, who never had ſeen ice or ſnow, nor felt ſuch a cold.

The ſecond was, that in leſs than two hundred paces I met with two quite contrary winds; one from the north, which blew in my face aſcending, eſpecially when I came near the top, and another from the ſouth, which blew againſt my back in deſcending; as if this hill had protruded exhalations out of its bowels from all ſides, which coming forth had cauſed a wind that had deſcended and taken its courſe in thoſe two oppoſite dales.

The third was the meeting an old hermit, that had lived on the top of this mountain ſince the time of Jehan-Guyre, and whoſe religion was not known; though it was ſaid, that he did miracles, cauſed ſtrange thunders when he would, and raiſed ſtorms of hail, ſnow, rain, and wind. He looked ſomewhat ſavage-like, having a long and large white beard uncombed. He aſked alms ſomewhat fiercely; ſuffered us to take up water in earthen cups, he had ranged upon a great ſtone; made ſign with his hand, importing that we ſhould ſpeedily march away, and grumbled at thoſe that made a noiſe, becauſe, ſaid he to me, (when I was come into his cave, and had a little ſweetned his looks with half a roupy, which with much humility I put into his hand) a noiſe raiſeth furious ſtorms and tempeſts. Aureng-zebe, ſaid he further, did very well in following my counſel, and not permitting to make any noiſe: Chah-Jehan always took care of the ſame; but Jehan-Guyre once mocking at it, and cauſing trumpets and cymbals to ſound, was like to have periſhed here.

In reference to the little voyages I have made in divers parts of this kingdom, behold the prrticulars I took notice of as I paſſed. We were no ſooner arrived at Kachemire, but my Navab Danechmend-kan ſent me, together with one of his horſemen for a convoy, and a countryman, to one of the extremities of this kingdom, three ſmall days journey from hence, upon the relation made him, that this was the very time to ſee the wonders (for ſo they ſpeak of them) of a ſpring that is thereabout. Theſe wonders are, that in the month of May, the time when the ſnow begins but to melt, this fountain, for about the ſpace of fifteen days, regularly flows and ſtops thrice a-day, at break of day, at noon, and at night: its flowing ordinarily laſts three quarters of an hour, more or leſs, and that plentifully enough to fill a ſquare receptacle having ſteps to go down to it, and being about ten or twelve foot broad, and as many foot deep.

After

After the firſt fifteen days, its courſe begins to be leſs regular, and leſs copious; and at length, after a month or thereabout, it quite ſtops and runs no more for the reſt of the year, unleſs it be, that during ſome rains, it flows inceſſantly and without rule, as other fountains do. The Gentiles have on the ſide of the receiver a little temple of the idol Brare, which is one of their falſe deities; and thence it is that they call this fountain Send-Brary, as if you ſhould ſay, Water of Brare; and that thither they come from all parts in pilgrimage, to bathe and ſanctify themſelves in this miraculous water. Upon the origin of this water they make many fables, which I ſhall not recite to you, becauſe I find not the leaſt ſhadow of truth in them. During the five or ſix days of my ſtay there, I did what poſſibly I could to find the reaſon of this wonder. I did attentively conſider the ſituation of the mountain, at the foot of which this ſpring is found: I went to the very top with great pains, ſearching and prying every where. I obſerved that it extends itſelf in length from north to ſouth; that 'tis ſevered from other mountains, which are very near to it; that it is in the form of an aſs's back; that its top, which is very long, hath not much more than an hundred paces where it is largeſt; that one of the ſides of the mountain, which is covered with nothing but green graſs, is expoſed to the eaſt, yet ſo that the ſun comes not to ſhine out before eight a clock in the morning, becauſe of the other oppoſite mountains; and laſtly, that the other ſide, which is expoſed to the weſt, is covered with trees and buſhes. All this being conſidered, I did imagine, that the heat of the ſun, together with the particular ſituation, and the internal diſpoſition of the mountain, might very well be the cauſe of this pretended miracle; that the morning ſun, coming briſkly to ſtrike on the ſide oppoſite thereto, heats it, and melts part of the frozen waters, which, during the winter, when all was covered with ſnow, had inſinuated themſelves into the inner parts of the earth of this mountain; that theſe waters penetrating, and by little and little running down unto certain beds of quick rock, which retain and convey them toward the ſpring head, cauſe the flowing of the fountain at noon; that the ſame ſun, raiſed to the ſouth, and leaving that other ſide, now growing cold, for to ſtrike with its beams as it were perpendicularly, the top, doth alſo melt other frozen waters, which likewiſe run down by little and little as the other but by other turnings, unto thoſe rocky beds, and cauſe the flowing at night: and that laſtly, the ſun heating likewiſe this weſtern ſide, produceth the like effect, and cauſes the third flux in the morning; which is ſlower than the two others; either becauſe this weſtern ſide is remote from the eaſtern where the ſource is; or becauſe that being covered with wood, it is not ſo ſoon heated; or by reaſon of the cold of the night. Now I found this my reaſoning the more cogent, foraſmuch as it ſeems to agree with what is affirmed, that in the firſt days the water comes in greater abundance than in the latter, and that at laſt it ſtops, and runs not at all; as if indeed in the beginning there were of thoſe frozen waters great plenty in the earth than at laſt. It ſeems alſo to agree with what is obſerved, that there are ſome days in the beginning, in which one flux is found more abounding than the other, and ſometimes more at noon than in the evening or morning, or in the morning more than at noon; it commonly falling out ſo that ſome days there are hotter than others, or that ſome clouds ariſe which interrupt the equality of the heat, and conſequently make the flux unequal.

Returning from Send-brary I turned a little aſide from the road to go and lie at Achiavel, which is an houſe of pleaſure of the ancient kings of Kachemire, and at preſent of the great Mogol. That which moſt adorns it, is a fountain, the water whereof diffuſeth itſelf on all ſides round about that fabrick (which is not deſpicable) and into the gardens by an hundred canals. It breaks out of the earth, as if by ſome violence

violence it aſcended up from the bottom of a well, and that with ſuch an abundance as might make it to be called a river rather than a fountain. The water of it is admirably good, and ſo cold that one can hardly endure to hold one's hands in it. The garden itſelf is very fine, there being curious walks in it, and ſtore of fruit-bearing trees of apples, pears, prunes, apricocks and cherries, and many jets of waters of various figures, and ponds repleniſhed with fiſh, together with a very high caſcata of water, which by its fall maketh a great nape of thirty or forty paces long, which hath an admirable effect, eſpecially in the night, when under this nape there is put a great number of little lamps fitted in holes purpoſely made in the wall; which maketh a curious ſhew.

From Achiavel I went yet a little more out of my way to paſs through another royal garden, which is alſo very beautiful, and hath the ſame pleaſantneſs with that of Achiavel; but this is peculiar in it, that in one of its ponds there are fiſhes that come when they are called, and when you caſt bread to them; the biggeſt whereof have golden rings in their noſes, with inſcriptions about them, which, they ſay, that renowned Nour-Mehalle, the wife of Jehan Guyre, the grandfather of Aurenge-Zebe, cauſed to be faſtened in them.

I was no ſooner returned from Send-brary, but Danech-mend-kan, well ſatisfied with my voyage, made me undertake one more, to ſee another ſure miracle, as he called it, which ſhould be capable to make me ſoon change my religion, and turn Muſſelman. Go, ſaith he, to Baramoulay, which is not further from hence than Send-brary; there you ſhall find a moſque, in which is the tomb of one of our Pires or ſaints, which ſtill every day works miracles in curing ſick people, that flock thither from all parts: it may be, that you will believe nothing of all thoſe miraculous cures you ſhall ſee; but you will at leaſt believe one miracle, which is done every day, and you may ſee with your own eyes: and that is of a big round ſtone, which the ſtrongeſt man is hardly able to raiſe in the leaſt from the ground, but yet eleven men, by praying to that ſaint, lift up, as if it were a ſtraw, with the end of their eleven fingers, without any trouble at all, and without being ſenſible of any weight. Hereupon I began this journey alſo, accompanied with my horſeman and the country fellow, and being arrived at Baramoulay, I found it a place pleaſant enough. The moſque is ſufficiently well built, the tomb of the pretended ſaint well adorned, and round about it there was ſtore of people of great devotion, who ſaid they were ſick. Near the moſque there was a kitchen with large kettles full of fleſh and rice, which, in my opinion, was the magnet drawing the ſick people thither, and the miracle that cured them. On the other ſide was the garden and the chambers of the Mullahs, who with great conveniency and delight ſpend their life there, under the ſhadow of the miraculous ſanctity of this Pire, which they are not wanting to celebrate: but as I am always very unhappy in ſuch occaſions, he did not miracle that day upon any of the ſick. As for the great ſtone, which was the buſineſs I came for; there were eleven cheats of theſe Mullahs that crouded together in a round, and by their long veſts hindred me from ſeeing well in what manner they took and lifted it up, yet ſaid all, that they held it only with the end of one of their fingers, and that it was as light as a feather. For my part, who had my eyes open and looked on narrowly, I perceived well enough, that they took great pains, and they ſeemed to me, that they uſed alſo the thumb, which they held very firm upon the ſecond finger bent and cloſed: but yet I was not wanting to cry out as well as the Mullahs and all the other aſſiſtants, Karamet, Karamet, miracle, miracle; giving at the ſame time a roupy for the Mullahs, and with great ſhew of devotion praying them to favour me with ſuffering me once to be one of the eleven lifters up of the ſtone.

ſtone. They did heſitate long before they reſolved to permit it; but having given them another roupy, and made them believe I was perſuaded of the truth of the miracle, one of the eleven gave me his place; they doubtleſs imagined, that ten of them joined together would be ſufficient to do the buſineſs; though I ſhould not add much to it; and that they would ſo range themſelves and croud together, that I ſhould perceive nothing of their impoſture. But they found themſelves egregiouſly deceived, when they ſaw that the ſtone, which I would not ſupport but only by the end of my finger, always inclined and fell to my ſide, until at length I found it neceſſary to put my thumb to it, and to hold it with my finger as they did; and then we lifted it up from the earth, yet not without much pain. Notwithſtanding which, when I ſaw that they all looked upon me a-ſquint, not knowing what to make of me, I ſtill went on crying like the reſt, Karamet, miracle, miracle, and over and above caſting to them another roupy to ſecure myſelf from being ſtoned: and ſtealing away from among the crowd, I preſently took horſe, without eating or drinking, and left the ſaint and the miracles to thoſe that had faith enough to believe them: obſerving, as I paſſed along, that famous opening, which is an outlet to all the waters of this kingdom, of which I have already ſaid ſomething in the beginning of this book.

I left my way again, to approach to a great lake, which I ſaw afar off, through the middle whereof paſſeth the river that runs to Baramoulay. It is full of fiſh, eſpecially eels, and covered with ducks and wild-fowl, and many other river-fowl, and 'tis where the governor comes in winter, at which time 'tis covered with thoſe creatures to divert themſelves with fowling. In the midſt of this lake there is an eremitage with its little garden, which, as they ſay, doth miraculouſly float upon the water, and where the eremite paſſeth his life without ever going from it. Beſides which, they make a thouſand other ridiculous tales of it, which are not worth reciting, unleſs perhaps you will except what ſome have told me, that it was one of thoſe ancient kings of Kachemire, who out of curioſity cauſed this eremitage to be built upon thick beams faſtened to one another.

Thence I went to find out a fountain, which hath ſomething that's rare enough in it bubbling up gently, and riſing with ſome little impetuoſity, and making ſmall bubbles of air, and carrying with it, to the top, ſome ſmall ſand that is very fine, which goeth away again as it came, the water becoming ſtill, a moment after it, without ebullition, and without bringing up ſand; and ſoon after beginning afreſh as before, and ſo continuing its motion by intervals, which are not regular. But the wonder, as they ſay, conſiſts in this, that the leaſt noiſe, made by ſpeaking, or by knocking one's foot againſt the ground, moveth the water, and maketh it run and bubble as was ſaid. Yet I found plainly, that ſpeaking or knocking availeth nothing to produce that effect, and that it moveth as well when one ſaith nothing, as when one ſpeaks or knocketh. But now to give the true cauſe of it, that requireth more thinking than I have beſtowed upon it; unleſs one ſhould ſay, that the ſand, by falling down again, obſtructeth the narrow channel of this ſmall and weak ſpring, until the water, being cloſed up and kept in, make an effort to remove and raiſe again the ſand, and ſo to diſengage itſelf; or rather that ſome wind, pent in the channel of the ſpring, riſes by turns, as it comes to paſs in artificial fountains.

After we had conſidered this fountain, we entered into the mountains to ſee a great lake, which hath ice in ſummer, and looketh like a little icy ſea, having heaps of ice, made and unmade by the winds. Afterwards we paſſed through a certain place, called Seng-ſafed, that is, white ſtone; which is famous for being full all the ſummer long of all ſorts of flowers like a parterre, and for this obſervation, that when much people go thither, making a great noiſe and much ſtirring the air, there preſently falls a ſhower of

of rain. This is certain, that when, ſome years ſince, Chah-Jehan went thither, he was in danger of periſhing by the great and extraordinary rain ſurvening, though he had commanded, they ſhould make the leaſt noiſe they could. This agreed with what my eremite of Pirepengale had told me.

And now I was going to a grotto of odd congelation, which is two days journey from thence; but I received news, that after my ſo long abſence my Navah was troubled about me.

As to the condition of the neighbouring mountains round about, I have, ſince our being here, done what poſſibly I could to inform myſelf about them; but I have profited but little, for want of people that are intelligent and obſerve things; yet notwithſtanding I will not omit to relate to you what I have learned of it.

The merchants of Kachemire, that go every year from mountain to mountain, gathering fine wool to make thoſe ſtuffs I have above been ſpeaking of, do all agree, that between the mountains, which ſtill depend from Kachemire, there are found very fine places of good land, and that amongſt others there is one place, which pays its tribute in leather and wool, ſent for by the governor every year: and where the women are extreme handſome, chaſte and laborious; that there is alſo another farther off from Kachemire, which alſo pays its tribute in leather and wool, and hath very pretty, though but ſmall fertile plains, and moſt pleaſant vallies, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, apricocks and melons; as alſo in raiſins yielding very good wine; the inhabitants whereof have ſometimes refuſed to pay the tribute, relying upon the difficulty of acceſs to their country; but there hath always been a way found to enter and to reduce them. The ſame merchants agree alſo, that among the other mountains, that are more diſtant and depend no more from Kachemire, there are likewiſe found very pleaſant countries, peopled with very handſome whites, but ſuch as almoſt never come out from their homes; of which ſome have no kings, nor as far as could be perceived, any religion; only that ſome of them do eat no fiſh, counting them unclean.

I ſhall add here, what I was lately told by a good ancient man, that had married a wife of the ancient family of the Kings of Kachemire. He ſaid, that when Jehan-Guyre made a ſtrict inquiry after all thoſe that were of that family, he was afraid to be taken, and thereupon fled with three ſervants croſs theſe mountains, not knowing in a manner whither he went; that thus wandring he came at laſt into a very fine ſmall canton, where, when it came to be known who he was, the inhabitants came to viſit him and brought him preſents, and that, to make up their kindneſs, they brought to him in the evening one of the beautifulleſt of their young maidens, praying him that he would bed with her, becauſe they deſired very much to have iſſue of his blood: that paſſing from thence into another canton, not much diſtant from the former, the people likewiſe came to ſee him, and to preſent him; but that the kindneſs of the evening was far different from the other, in that theſe inhabitants brought to him their own wives, arguing that thoſe of the other canton were beaſts, becauſe that his blood would not remain in their houſe, ſince the maidens would carry the child with them into the houſe of him to whom they ſhould be married.

I may further add, that ſome years ſince, there being a diſſention riſen between the family of the King of the little Tibet, which borders upon Kachemire, one of the pretenders to the crown did ſecretly call for the aſſiſtance of the governor of Kachemire, who by order of Chah-Jehan gave him powerful ſuccours, and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in poſſeſſion of the country, on condition of an annual tribute to be paid in cryſtal, muſc, and wool. This petty king

could not forbear coming to ſee Aureng-Zebe, bringing with him a preſent of thoſe things I juſt now named; but he had ſo pitiful a train, that I ſhould never have taken him for what he was. My Navah entertained him at dinner, that he might receive the better information concerning thoſe mountains. I heard him ſay that his country on the eaſt ſide did confine with great Tibet; that it was about thirty or forty leagues broad; that there was indeed ſome little cryſtal, muſc, and wool, but for the reſt very poor; and that there were no gold mines, as was ſaid; that in ſome places there was very good fruit, eſpecially melons; that they had very hard winters and very troubleſome, becauſe of the deep ſnows; and that the people, which formerly had been heathen, were almoſt all become Mahometan, as himſelf, namely, of that ſect called Chia, which is that of all Perſia. Beſides, that ſeventeen or eighteen years ago Chah-Jehan had attempted to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom of the great Tibet, as formerly alſo had done the Kings of Kachemire; that his army after ſixteen days difficult march, always among mountains, did beſiege a caſtle which they took; that there remained no more for him to do, than to paſs a river, which is famous and very rapid, and thereupon to march directly to the capital town, which he would have eaſily carried, the whole kingdom being in a panick terror; but that the ſeaſon being far ſpent, the governor of Kachemire, who was the general of that army, did apprehend that he ſhould be ſurprized by the ſnow, and ſo returned, leaving in that caſtle a garriſon, which, whether it was for fear of the enemy, or from want of ſufficient proviſion, he could not ſay, ſoon abandoned it; which broke the deſign the governor had of returning thither the next ſpring.

Now that the King of this great Tibet knows that Aureng-Zebe is at Kachemire, and threatens him with war, he hath ſent to him an embaſſador, with preſents of the country, as cryſtal, and thoſe dear white cow-tails, by way of ornament faſtened to the ears of elephants, as alſo muſc, and a ſtone of Jachen of great price, becauſe of an extraordinary bigneſs. This Jachen is a blueiſh ſtone with white veins ſo hard that it is wrought with nothing elſe but the powder of diamond, highly eſteemed in the court of the Mogol. They make cups of it and other veſſels, of which I have ſome richly wrought with threads of gold, of very curious workmanſhip. The train of this embaſſador did conſiſt of three or four cavaliers, and ten or twelve tall men, dry and lean, having three or four hairs in their beards like the Chineſe, and plain red bonnets upon their heads like our ſeamen, the reſt of their garments ſuitable. I think there were four or five of them with ſwords, but the reſt marched behind the embaſſador without any rod or ſtick. He treated with Aureng-Zebe in his maſter's name, promiſing him that he would ſuffer a moſque to be built in the capital city, wherein prayers ſhould be made after the Mahometan way; that the money henceforth to be coined ſhould on the one ſide have the impreſs of Aureng-Zebe, and that he would pay him a certain annual tribute. But 'tis believed, that as ſoon as this king ſhall know that Aureng-Zebe is gone from Kachemire, he will laugh at all this treaty, as he did formerly at that which he had made with Chah-Jehan.

This embaſſador had in his ſuite a phyſician, which was ſaid to be of the kingdom of Laſſa, and of the tribe Lamy or Lama, which is that of the men of the law in that country, as the Brahmans are in the Indies; with this difference, that the Brahmans have no Caliph, or high-prieſt, but the Lamians have one that is not only acknowledged for ſuch by the kingdom of Laſſa, but alſo by all Tartary, and who is honoured and reverenced like a divine perſon. This phyſician had a book of receipts, which he would never ſell to me; the writing of it ſeemed, at a diſtance, ſomewhat like ours. We made him begin to write the alphabet, but he wrote ſo ſlowly, and his writing was ſo bad in reſpect of that in his book, that we ſoon judged this muſt needs be a poor doctor.

He was much wedded to the Metempſychoſis or tranſmigration of ſouls, and was full of admirable ſtories of it; among the reſt he related of his great Lama, that when he was old and ready to die, he aſſembled his council, and declared to them, that now he was paſſing into the body of a little child lately born, that this child was bred up with great care, and when it was about ſix or ſeven years old, they brought to it ſtore of houſhold-ſtuff, pel-mel, with his own, and that the child was able to diſtinguiſh thoſe that were or had been his, from that of others; which was, ſaid this doctor, an authentic proof of the tranſmigration. For my part, I thought at firſt he rallied, but I found at laſt that he ſpoke very ſeriouſly. I was once to ſee him at the embaſſador's, with a merchant of Kachemire that knew the language of Tibet, and was an interpreter to me. I made as if I would buy ſome ſtuffs he had brought to ſell, which were ſome kind of ratines of about a foot and a half broad; but it was really to learn ſomething of that country; yet it was no great matter I obtained from him. He only told me in general, that all the kingdom of the great Tibet was, in compariſon to his, a miſerable country, full of ſnow for more than five months of the year; that his king made often war with the Tartars; but he could never diſtinguiſh to me, what kind of Tartars they were. At length, after I had made a good many queſtions to him, without receiving any ſatisfaction upon them, I ſaw I loſt only my time with him.

But there is another thing, which is ſo certain, that nobody here doubts of it. It is not yet twenty years that there went caravans every year from Kachemire, which croſſed all thoſe mountains of the great Tibet, entered into Tartary and arrived in about three months at Cataja, notwithſtanding the very ill ways, and the rapid torrents; which latter are to be paſſed over cords ſtretched from one rock to another. Theſe caravans brought back muſc, chinawood, rhubarb, and mamiron, which laſt is a ſmall root exceeding good for ill eyes. Repaſſing over the great Tibet, they alſo loaded themſelves with the merchandiſe of that country, viz. muſc, criſtal and jachen; but eſpecially with ſtore of very fine wool of two ſorts, one of ſheep, and the other called Touz, which is rather, as I have ſaid, a kind of hair approaching to our caſtor, than a wool. But ſince the attempt which Chah-Jehan made on that ſide, the king of the great Tibet has altogether ſhut up the way, and ſuffers not any one from Kachemire to enter into his country: and thence it is, that the caravans at preſent go from Patna upon the Ganges, not paſſing through his country at all, but leaving it on the left-hand, and coming directly to the kingdom of Laſſa.

Concerning this kingdom, here called Kacheguer, which doubtleſs is that which our maps call Kaſcar, I ſhall relate to you what I was able to learn of it from the merchants of the country itſelf, who, knowing that Aureng-Zebe was to ſtay a-while at Kachemire, were come thither with a good number of ſlaves, of both ſexes, whom they had to ſell. They ſay, that the kingdom of Kacheguer lyeth eaſt of Kachemire, drawing a little northward; that the ſhorteſt way thither was to go directly to the great Tibet; but that paſſage being obſtructed, they were forced to take their way through the little Tibet: that firſt they went to a ſmall town called Gourtche, the laſt town depending from Kachemire, and four days journey diſtant from the ſame; that from thence, in eight days, they came to Eſkerdou, the capital of the king of the little Tibet; and thence in two days more to a ſmall town called Cheker, likewiſe belonging to the little Tibet, and ſituate upon a river very famous for being medicinal; that in fifteen days they came to a great foreſt upon the confines of the little Tibet, and in fifteen days more to Kacheguer, a ſmall town, once the ſeat of the king of Kacheguer, which is now at Jourkend, lying ſomewhat more to the north,

and

and ten days journey diſtant from Kacheguer. They added, that from the town of Kacheguer to Katay, it is no more but two months voyage; that every year there go caravans, bringing back all thoſe commodities I have named, and paſſing into Perſia through Uſbeck, as there are others that do paſs to Patna in Indoſtan. They ſaid moreover, that to go from Kacheguer to Katay, travellers muſt get to a town that is eight days journey from Coten, the laſt town of the kingdom of Kacheguer; that the ways from Kachemire to Kacheguer are very difficult; that among others there is a place, where, in what ſeaſon ſoever it be, you muſt march for about a quarter of a league upon ice. This is all I could learn of thoſe parts, which though indeed it be very much confuſed and very little, yet will it be found much, conſidering I had to do both with people ſo ignorant, that they almoſt know not to give a reaſon of any thing; and with interpreters, who, for the moſt part, know not how to make the queſtions to be underſtood, nor intelligibly to deliver the anſwers made thereto.

I thought once, I would have here concluded this letter, or rather this book, and taken my leave of you until I came to Dehli, whither we are now returning: but ſince I am in the vein of writing, and at ſome leiſure, I ſhall endeavour to give you ſome ſatisfaction to thoſe five particulars you demanded of me in your laſt letter, in the name of Monſieur Thevenot, that illuſtrious perſon, who daily giveth us more diſcoveries, without going out of his ſtudy, than we have learned of thoſe that have gone round the world.

The firſt of his demands is; whether it be true, that in the kingdom of Kachemire there are Jews ſettled there from immemorial times; and if ſo, whether they have the holy ſcripture, and if their old teſtament be altogether conform to ours?

The ſecond is; that I would give you an account of what I have obſerved touching the Monſons, or the ſeaſon of the ordinary rains in the Indies.

The third is; that I would give you my obſervations, and declare to you my thoughts concerning the wonderful regularity of the current of the ſea, and the winds in the Indies.

The fourth is; whether the kingdom of Bengal is ſo fertile, ſo rich, and ſo beautiful, as it is ſaid to be?

The fifth is; that I would at length decide unto you the old controverſy touching the cauſes of the increaſe of the Nile.

Anſwer to the firſt demand, concerning the Jews.

I ſhould indeed be very glad, as well as M. Thevenot, that there were Jews to be found in the valley of thoſe mountains, who might be ſuch, as I believe he would have them; I mean, of thoſe ten tribes tranſported by Salmanaſſer. But you may aſſure him, that if anciently there have been of them in this place (as there is ſome reaſon to believe there were,) there are none of them at preſent, and all the inhabitants of it are now either Gentiles or Mahometans; and that perhaps it is China where they may be found. For I have lately ſeen, in the hands of our reverend father, the Jeſuit of Dehli, ſome letters of a German Jeſuit, written from Pekin, taking notice, that he had there ſeen ſome of them that had preſerved the Jewiſh religion, and the Old Teſtament, that knew nothing of the death of Jeſus Chriſt, and that they would have even made this Jeſuit their Kacan, if he would have foreborn to eat ſwine's fleſh.

Mean time here alſo are not wanting ſeveral marks of Judaiſm. The firſt is, that at

the entering into this kingdom, after having paſſed the mountains of Pirepenjale, all the inhabitants I ſaw in the firſt villages ſeemed to me to be Jews in their garb and mein, and in ſomething peculiar, which maketh us often diſcern nations from one another. I am not the only perſon that hath had this thought; our father, the Jeſuit, and many of our Europeans had the ſame before me. The ſecond is, that I have obſerved, that among the meaner ſort of the people of this town, though they be Mahometans, yet the name of Mouſa, that is Moſes, is much uſed. The third, that commonly they ſay, that Solomon came into their country, and that it was he that cut the mountain of Baramoule to give an outlet to the waters. The fourth, that they ſay, Moſes died at Kachemire, and that his tomb is one league diſtant from this town. The fifth, that they pretend, that that little and very ancient edifice, which appears from hence upon an high mountain, was built by Solomon, and that thence they call it to this very day the Throne of Solomon. So that I would not deny, but that ſome Jews may have penetrated hither; and that in length of time they may have loſt the purity of their law, turned idolaters, at laſt Mahometans. In ſhort, we ſee ſtore of the Jewiſh nation that have paſſed into Perſia to Lar, Iſpahan, and alſo into Indoſtan, on the ſide of Goa and Cochin. I have been informed, that there were of them in Æthiopia, even gallant and military men, and ſome of them ſo conſiderable and potent, that there was one of them, fifteen or ſixteen years ago, that had attempted to make himſelf king of a little country of the mountains of a very hard acceſs; if it be true, what two embaſſadors of the king of Æthiopia, that were lately in this court, related to me.

Anſwer to the ſecond demand, about the ſtated rains in the Indies.

The ſun is ſo ſtrong and violent in the Indies all the year long, and principally for the ſpace of eight months, that he would burn all, and render the country barren and uninhabitable, if providence had not particularly provided and diſpoſed things in ſo admirable a way, as in the month of July, when the heats are moſt violent, rains begin regularly to fall, which continuing for three months together, do temper the earth, and render it very fruitful, and ſo qualify the air that it may be endured. Yet are not theſe rains ſo regular, that they fall always juſt at the ſame time; of which I have made many obſervations in different places, and principally at Dehli, where I lived a long while. The like is found in other countries; and there is always ſome difference in the time from year to year: for ſometimes they begin or end a fortnight or three weeks ſooner, ſometimes later; and there are alſo ſome years, in which they are not ſo plentiful as in others; inſomuch that two years together it did almoſt not rain at all, which cauſed much ſickneſs, and great famine. Beſides, there is alſo this difference, in reſpect of countries different and remote from one another; that theſe rains ordinarily begin ſooner, or are more plentiful in one than in the other. For example, in Bengal and along the coaſt of Coromandel, as far as to the iſle of Ceilan, they begin and end a month ſooner than towards the coaſt of Malabar: and in Bengal theſe rains are pouring down for four months, and ſometimes continue for eight days and nights together without intermiſſion; whereas at Dehli and Agra they are never ſo ſtrong, nor ſo durable, there paſſing ſometimes two or three whole days without any rain; and ordinarily the whole morning, from break of day until about nine or ten o'clock, it rains but very little or nothing. But the moſt conſiderable difference I have obſerved, is, that the rains in divers places come from different quarters of the world; as about

Dehli

Dehli they come from the eaſt, where lies Bengal; whereas, on the contrary, in the parts of Bengal, and upon the coaſt of Coromandel, they come from the ſouth; and upon the coaſt of Malabar they proceed almoſt always from the weſt.

I have alſo obſerved another particular, about which they all agree in thoſe parts; viz. That according as the heat of the ſummer comes ſooner or later, is more or leſs violent, and laſts longer or a ſhorter time; the rains alſo come ſooner or later, are more or leſs plentiful, laſt longer or a ſhorter time.

Theſe obſervations have given me ground to believe, that the heat of the earth and the rarefaction of the air muſt be the principal cauſe of theſe rains, and draw them; foraſmuch as the air of the ſeas, which lie near round about the lands, being colder, more condenſed and more groſs, filled with clouds which the great heats of the ſummer raiſe from the waters, and which the winds drive and agitate, diſchargeth itſelf eaſily upon the land, where the air is hotter, more rarified, in more motion and leſs reſiſting than upon the ſeas, ſo as that this diſcharge is more or leſs tardy and abundant, according as the heat comes ſooner and is more violent.

Suitable to the ſame obſervations, I was perſuaded, that if the rains begin ſooner upon the coaſt of Coromandel than upon that of Malabar, it is by reaſon that the ſummer begins there ſooner, it being poſſible that there it may do ſo for ſome particular reaſons which perhaps would not be hard to find, if the country were well examined: for we know, that according to the different ſituation of a land in reſpect of ſeas or mountains, and according as it is more ſandy, or hilly, or woody, the ſummer comes there either ſooner or later, and with more or leſs violence.

I am further perſuaded, that it is no wonder, that the rains come from different quarters; that upon the coaſt of Coromandel, for example, they come from the ſouth, and upon that of Malabar from the weſt; becauſe that in all appearance it muſt be the neareſt ſeas that ſend them, and the coaſt of Coromandel is nearer to the ſea, which lyeth ſoutherly in reſpect of it, and is more expoſed to it, as the coaſt of Malabar is to the weſt of it, lying towards Babel-mandel, Arabia, and the gulf of Perſia.

Laſtly, I have imagined, that if at Dehli, for example, the rains come from the eaſt, it may yet be that the ſeas which are ſoutherly to it are the origin of them; but that they are forced by reaſon of ſome mountains, or ſome other lands where the air is colder, more condenſed and more reſiſting, to turn aſide and diſcharge themſelves another way, where the air is more rarified, and where conſequently they find leſs reſiſtance.

I forgot to tell you, that I alſo obſerved at Dehli, that there it never rains to purpoſe, till for many days there have paſſed ſtore of clouds weſtward; as if it were neceſſary that thoſe ſpaces of air which are beyond Dehli weſtward, ſhould be firſt filled with clouds, and that theſe clouds finding there ſome obſtacle, as it may be ſome air leſs hot and leſs rarified, and conſequently more condenſed and more able to reſiſt, or ſome other contrary clouds and winds repelling them, ſhould become ſo thick, ſo burthenſome and ſo heavy, that they muſt fall down in rain, after the ſame manner as it often enough falls out, when the wind driveth the clouds againſt ſome high mountain.

Anſwer to the third demand, concerning the regularity of the current of the ſea, and of the winds in the Indies.

As ſoon as the rains do ceaſe (which ordinarily comes to paſs towards the month of October,) it is obſerved, that the ſea taketh its courſe ſouthward, and that the cold northern wind ariſeth. This wind blows for four or five months without intermiſſion,

termiſſion, and without ſtorms, always keeping the ſame equality as to its ſtrength and quarter, unleſs it change or ceaſe a day or ſo by accident, but then it returns again unto its former place and temper. After that time, for two months or thereabout, the other winds do reign without any rule. Theſe two months being paſt, which is called the intermediate ſeaſon, or, according to the Hollanders, the wavering or changing ſeaſon, the ſea returns back from ſouth to north, and the ſouth wind riſeth to reign alſo in his turn for four or five months, as the current of the ſea doth; ſo that there paſs two months of intermediate ſeaſon; during which navigation is very difficult and dangerous whereas during the two ſeaſons it is very eaſy, pleaſant, and without peril, except it be about the end of the ſeaſon of the ſouth-wind. Hence you may find cauſe not to wonder, if you hear that the Indians, though elſe very timorous and inexpert in the art of navigation, do notwithſtanding make pretty long and conſiderable voyages; as when they ſail from Bengal to Tanaſſery, Achem, Malaque, Sian and Makaſſar; or to Maſlipatan, Ceilan, the Maldives, Moka, and Bender-Abaſſy; becauſe they take their time to go with one good ſeaſon, and to return with the other. 'Tis true, that oft enough they are ſurprized and caſt away; but that is, when they cannot diſpatch their affairs in good time, or fail of taking their meaſures. Our Europeans alſo do ſometimes loſe themſelves, though they be far better ſeamen, bolder and more underſtanding, and their ſhips better condition'd and equipp'd.

Of theſe two intermediate ſeaſons, that which maketh the ſouth-wind is incomparably more dangerous than the other, and much more ſubject to tempeſts and ſtorms: and even in the ſeaſon itſelf this wind is ordinarily much more impetuous and unequal than that of the north. And here I muſt not omit to give you a remark, which is, that about the end of the ſeaſon of the ſouth-wind, during the time of the rain, although there be a great calm out at ſea, yet 'tis very tempeſtuous near the coaſts, to the diſtance of fifteen or twenty leagues, whence the ſhips of Europe, or others, when they will approach the Indian coaſts, for example, of Surat, or Maſlipatan, muſt be very careful of taking their time to arrive juſt after the rains; or elſe they run great hazard of being ſplit and loſt upon the coaſt.

This is very near what I could obſerve of the ſeaſons in theſe parts; of which I much wiſh I could give you a good reaſon. I ſhall venture to tell you, that it came into my thoughts, firſt, that the air, which environs the globe of the earth, ought to be eſteemed to have a ſhare in it, as alſo the water of the ſea and rivers, foraſmuch as both the one and the other gravitate upon this globe, tend to the ſame centre of it, and ſo are in ſome manner united and faſtened to it; ſo that from theſe three bodies, the air, the water and the earth, there reſults, as it were, one great globe. Next, that the globe of the earth being ſuſpended and balanced, as it is, in its place, in that free and unreſiſted ſpace, where the Creator thought good to place it, would be capable to be eaſily moved, if ſome adventitious body ſhould come againſt it and hit it. Thirdly, that the ſun having paſt the line to move towards one of the poles, for example, the Arctic, coming to caſt its rays that way, maketh there impreſſion enough to depreſs a little the Arctic pole, and to do that more and more according as it advanceth towards the Tropic; letting it riſe again by little and little, according as he returns towards the line, until by the force of his rays he do the like on the ſide of the Antartic pole.

If theſe ſuppoſitions, joined to that of the diurnal motion of the earth, were true, it were not, methinks, without reaſon what is commonly affirmed in the Indies, viz. that the ſun conducts and carries with him the ſea and wind. For, if it be true, that having paſſed the line to go towards one of the poles, he cauſeth a change in the direction of the axis of the earth, and a depreſſion in the pole on that ſide, the other pole muſt needs

Dehli they come from the eaſt, where lies Bengal; whereas, on the contrary, in the parts of Bengal, and upon the coaſt of Coromandel, they come from the ſouth; and upon the coaſt of Malabar they proceed almoſt always from the weſt.

I have alſo obſerved another particular, about which they all agree in thoſe parts; viz. That according as the heat of the ſummer comes ſooner or later, is more or leſs violent, and laſts longer or a ſhorter time; the rains alſo come ſooner or later, are more or leſs plentiful, laſt longer or a ſhorter time.

Theſe obſervations have given me ground to believe, that the heat of the earth and the rarefaction of the air muſt be the principal cauſe of theſe rains, and draw them; foraſmuch as the air of the ſeas, which lie near round about the lands, being colder, more condenſed and more groſs, filled with clouds which the great heats of the ſummer raiſe from the waters, and which the winds drive and agitate, diſchargeth itſelf eaſily upon the land, where the air is hotter, more rarified, in more motion and leſs reſiſting than upon the ſeas, ſo as that this diſcharge is more or leſs tardy and abundant, according as the heat comes ſooner and is more violent.

Suitable to the ſame obſervations, I was perſuaded, that if the rains begin ſooner upon the coaſt of Coromandel than upon that of Malabar, it is by reaſon that the ſummer begins there ſooner, it being poſſible that there it may do ſo for ſome particular reaſons which perhaps would not be hard to find, if the country were well examined: for we know, that according to the different ſituation of a land in reſpect of ſeas or mountains, and according as it is more ſandy, or hilly, or woody, the ſummer comes there either ſooner or later, and with more or leſs violence.

I am further perſuaded, that it is no wonder, that the rains come from different quarters; that upon the coaſt of Coromandel, for example, they come from the ſouth, and upon that of Malabar from the weſt; becauſe that in all appearance it muſt be the neareſt ſeas that ſend them, and the coaſt of Coromandel is nearer to the ſea, which lyeth ſoutherly in reſpect of it, and is more expoſed to it, as the coaſt of Malabar is to the weſt of it, lying towards Babel-mandel, Arabia, and the gulf of Perſia.

Laſtly, I have imagined, that if at Dehli, for example, the rains come from the eaſt, it may yet be that the ſeas which are ſoutherly to it are the origin of them; but that they are forced by reaſon of ſome mountains, or ſome other lands where the air is colder, more condenſed and more reſiſting, to turn aſide and diſcharge themſelves another way, where the air is more rarified, and where conſequently they find leſs reſiſtance.

I forgot to tell you, that I alſo obſerved at Dehli, that there it never rains to purpoſe, till for many days there have paſſed ſtore of clouds weſtward; as if it were neceſſary that thoſe ſpaces of air which are beyond Dehli weſtward, ſhould be firſt filled with clouds, and that theſe clouds finding there ſome obſtacle, as it may be ſome air leſs hot and leſs rarified, and conſequently more condenſed and more able to reſiſt, or ſome other contrary clouds and winds repelling them, ſhould become ſo thick, ſo burthenſome and ſo heavy, that they muſt fall down in rain, after the ſame manner as it often enough falls out, when the wind driveth the clouds againſt ſome high mountain.

Anſwer to the third demand, concerning the regularity of the current of the ſea, and of the winds in the Indies.

As ſoon as the rains do ceaſe (which ordinarily comes to paſs towards the month of October,) it is obſerved, that the ſea taketh its courſe ſouthward, and that the cold northern wind ariſeth. This wind blows for four or five months without intermiſſion,

termiſſion, and without ſtorms, always keeping the ſame equality as to its ſtrength and quarter, unleſs it change or ceaſe a day or ſo by accident, but then it returns again unto its former place and temper. After that time, for two months or thereabout, the other winds do reign without any rule. Theſe two months being paſt, which is called the intermediate ſeaſon, or, according to the Hollanders, the wavering or changing ſeaſon, the ſea returns back from ſouth to north, and the ſouth wind riſeth to reign alſo in his turn for four or five months, as the current of the ſea doth; ſo that there paſs two months of intermediate ſeaſon; during which navigation is very difficult and dangerous whereas during the two ſeaſons it is very eaſy, pleaſant, and without peril, except it be about the end of the ſeaſon of the ſouth-wind. Hence you may find cauſe not to wonder, if you hear that the Indians, though elſe very timorous and inexpert in the art of navigation, do notwithſtanding make pretty long and conſiderable voyages; as when they ſail from Bengal to Tanaſſery, Achem, Malaque, Sian and Makaſſar; or to Maſlipatan, Ceilan, the Maldives, Moka, and Bender-Abaſſy; becauſe they take their time to go with one good ſeaſon, and to return with the other. 'Tis true, that oft enough they are ſurprized and caſt away; but that is, when they cannot diſpatch their affairs in good time, or fail of taking their meaſures. Our Europeans alſo do ſometimes loſe themſelves, though they be far better ſeamen, bolder and more underſtanding, and their ſhips better condition'd and equipp'd.

Of theſe two intermediate ſeaſons, that which maketh the ſouth-wind is incomparably more dangerous than the other, and much more ſubject to tempeſts and ſtorms: and even in the ſeaſon itſelf this wind is ordinarily much more impetuous and unequal than that of the north. And here I muſt not omit to give you a remark, which is, that about the end of the ſeaſon of the ſouth-wind, during the time of the rain, although there be a great calm out at ſea, yet 'tis very tempeſtuous near the coaſts, to the diſtance of fifteen or twenty leagues, whence the ſhips of Europe, or others, when they will approach the Indian coaſts, for example, of Surat, or Maſlipatan, muſt be very careful of taking their time to arrive juſt after the rains; or elſe they run great hazard of being ſplit and loſt upon the coaſt.

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If theſe ſuppoſitions, joined to that of the diurnal motion of the earth, were true, it were not, methinks, without reaſon what is commonly affirmed in the Indies, viz. that the ſun conducts and carries with him the ſea and wind. For, if it be true, that having paſſed the line to go towards one of the poles, he cauſeth a change in the direction of the axis of the earth, and a depreſſion in the pole on that ſide, the other pole muſt needs

be raiſed, and that conſequently the ſea and the air, being two fluid and heavy bodies, run down in this inclination: ſo that it would be true to ſay, that the ſun advancing towards one pole, cauſeth on that ſide two great regular currents, viz. that of the ſea, and that of the air which maketh the monſon wind, as he cauſeth two oppoſite ones, when he returns towards the other pole.

Upon this ground, methinks, it might be ſaid, that there are no other but two main oppoſite fluxes of the ſea, one from the ſide of the pole Arctic, the other from that of the Antartic; that if there were a ſea from one pole to the other, that paſſed through our Europe, we ſhould ſee, that theſe two currents would there be regular every where, as they are in the Indies, and that that which hinders this regularity of the flux from being general, is, that the ſeas are intercepted by lands, which impede, break, and vary their courſe; in like manner as ſome ſay, that the ordinary flux and reflux of the ſea is hindered in thoſe ſeas that lie in length, as the Mediterranean doth from eaſt to weſt. And ſo likewiſe might it be ſaid upon the ſame foundation, that there are but two principal oppoſite winds or fluxes of the air, and that they would be univerſally regular, if the earth were perfectly ſmooth and equal, and one part like another every where.

An anſwer to the fourth queſtion, concerning the fertility, riches, and beauty of the kingdom of Bengal.

All ages have ſpoken of Egypt, as of the beſt and fruitfuleſt part of the world; and writers will not grant, there is any country comparable to it: but as far as I can ſee by the two voyages I have made in the kingdom of Bengal, I am of opinion, that that advantage belongs rather to it, than to Egypt. It bears rice in that abundance, that it not only furniſhes its neighbours, but many very remote parts. 'Tis carried up the river Ganges to Patna; and 'tis tranſported by ſea to Maſlipatan, and to many other ports of the coaſt of Cormandel. Beſides, 'tis ſent away into foreign kingdoms, and principally into Ceilon and the Maldives. Further, it alſo abounds in ſugar, ſo that it furniſhes with it the kingdoms of Golkonda and Karnates, where there grows but very little. Arabia alſo and Meſopotamia are thence provided with it, by the way of Moka and Baſſora; and Perſia itſelf, by Bander-Abaſſy. Moreover, Bengal is alſo the country of good comfits, eſpecially in thoſe places where the Portugueze are, who are dextrous in making them, and drive a great trade with them. They ordinarily make ſtore of thoſe big pome-citrons, as we have in Europe; and a certain root, which is longiſh, like ſarſaparilla, and very delicate; and of that common fruit of the Indies called amba, and of ananas, and the ſmall miribolans, which are excellent; as alſo of lemons and ginger.

'Tis true, that the country of Bengal yields not ſo much corn as Egypt; but if that be a defect, it is imputed to its inhabitants that eat very little bread, and much more rice than the Egyptians: yet it always bears what is ſufficient for the country, and to afford excellent biſcuits, very cheap, for the proviſion of our European ſhips, Engliſh, Dutch, and Portugueze. You may there have, almoſt for nothing, thoſe three or four kinds of legumes, which together with rice and butter, are the moſt uſual food of the meaner people. And for a rupy, which is about half a crown, you may have twenty good pullets or more; geeſe and ducks in proportion. There are alſo kids and ſheep in abundance, and ſuch ſtore of Pork, that the Portugueze, ſettled there and accuſtomed to the country, live almoſt on nothing elſe but that; and the Engliſh and Dutch victual their ſhips with it. There is alſo plenty of many ſorts of fiſh, both freſh and ſalt: and in a word, Bengal is a country abounding in all things; and 'tis for this very

very reaſon, that ſo many Portugueze, Meſticks, and other Chriſtians are fled thither from thoſe quarters, which the Dutch have taken from them. For the Jeſuits and Auguſtinians, that have great churches there, wherein they exerciſe their religion with all freedom, did aſſure me, that in Ogouli alone there were no leſs than eight or nine thouſand ſouls of Chriſtians; and (which I will eaſily believe) that in the reſt of that kingdom there were above twenty-five thouſand. And 'tis this affluence of all thoſe things neceſſary for life, joined to the beauty and good humour of the women natives, that hath occaſioned this proverb amongſt the Portugueze, Engliſh and Hollanders, viz. that there are an hundred open gates to enter into the kingdom of Bengal, and not one to come away again.

As to the commodities of great value, and which draw the commerce of ſtrangers thither, I know not whether there be a country in the world, that affords more and greater variety; for, beſides the ſugar I have ſpoken of, which may be numbered amongſt the commodities of value, there is ſuch ſtore of cottons rnd ſilks, that it may be ſaid, that Bengal is, as it were, the general magazine thereof, not only for Indoſtan or the empire of the great Mogol, but alſo for all the circumjacent kingdoms, and for Europe itſelf. I have ſometimes ſtood amazed at the vaſt quantity of cotton cloth of all ſorts, fine and others, tinged and white; which the Hollanders alone draw from thence; and tranſport into many places, eſpecially into Japon and Europe; not to mention what the Engliſh, Portugal and Indian merchants carry away from thoſe parts. The like may be ſaid of the ſilks and ſilk-ſtuffs of all ſorts; one would not imagine the quantity that is hence tranſported every year; for this country furniſhes generally all this great empire of Mogol, as far as Lahor and Caboul, and moſt of the other foreign parts, whither cotton cloth is carried. 'Tis true, that theſe ſilks are not ſo fine as thoſe of Perſia, Syria, Sayd and Barnt; but then there is alſo a great difference in the price; and I know from good hands, that whoſoever ſhall take care of chooſing them well, and of getting them well wrought, may have very good ſtuffs made of them. The Hollanders alone have ſometimes ſeven hundred or eight hundred men of the natives at work in their factory of Kaſſem-Bazar; as the Engliſh and other merchants have theirs in proportion.

It is alſo in Bengal, where that prodigious quantity of ſalt-petre is found, which is ſo conveniently carried down the river Ganges from Patna, and where the Engliſh and Dutch load whole ſhips full for many places of the Indies, and for Europe.

Laſtly, 'tis Bengal, whence the good lacca, opium, wax, civet, long pepper do come; and even butter is to be had there in ſo great plenty, that though it be a groſs commodity, yet notwithſtanding 'tis thence tranſported into divers places.

It cannot be denied that the air, in regard of ſtrangers, is not ſo healthy there, eſpecially near the ſea: and when the Engliſh and Hollauders firſt came to ſettle there, many of them died; and I have ſeen in Balaſor two very fine Engliſh ſhips, which having been obliged, by reaſon of the war of the Hollanders, to ſtay there above a year, were not able to go to ſea, becauſe moſt of their men were loſt. Yet ſince the time they have taken care and made orders, as well as the Hollanders, that their people ſhall not drink ſo much Bouleponges, nor go ſo often aſhore to viſit the ſellers of arrack and tobacco, and the Indian women; and ſince they have found, that a little wine of Bourdeaux, Canary or Chiras is a marvellous antidote againſt the ill air, there is not ſo much ſickneſs amongſt them, nor do they now loſe ſo many men. Bouleponge is a certain beverage made of arrack, that is, of ſtrong water, black ſugar, with the juice of lemon-water and a little muſcadine upon it; which is pleaſant enough to the taſte, but a plague to the body and to health.

And to the beauty of the country, you are to know, that all Bengal, taking it near an hundred leagues in length on both ſides of Ganges, from Raje-mehale unto the ſea, is full of great channels, formerly cut out of the river Ganges with vaſt labour, reaching far into the country for the conveniency of tranſporting commodities, and the water itſelf, which by the Indians is counted the beſt in the world. Theſe channels are on both ſides lined with well peopled villages and boroughs of Gentiles, and the large fields, lying near them, bear abundance of rice, ſugar, corn, legumes, muſtard, ſezamum for oil, ſmall mulberries of two or three foot high, to feed ſilk worms. But then the vaſt number of great and ſmall iſles that are in the midſt of Ganges, and fill all that great ſpace of ſix or ſeven days journey, (as there is in ſome places of this river from one ſide to the other;) this giveth an incomparable beauty to the country: for, they are very fertile, filled with fruit-bearing trees, Ananas', and all ſorts of verdure, and interlaced with a thouſand little channels, which you cannot ſee the end of, as if they were ſo many water mails all covered with trees. The worſt of it is, that many of theſe iſles that are next the ſea, are now abandoned, by reaſon of thoſe Corſairs, the Franguis of Rakan, elſewhere ſpoken of; and that they have at preſent no other inhabitants but tigers (which ſometimes ſwim over from one iſland to the other), and gazelles, and hogs, and poultry grown wild. And 'tis upon the account of theſe tigers, that for people travelling between theſe little iſles in ſmall boats, as uſually they do, 'tis dangerous in many places to land; beſides, great care is to be had, that the boat, which in the night is faſtened to trees, be not too near the bank; for there are now and then ſome men ſurprized; and I have heard it ſaid, that tigers have been ſo bold as to come into the boats, and to carry away men that were aſleep, chuſing the biggeſt and fatteſt of them, if one may believe the water-men of the country.

I remember, I made once a voyage of ten days, from Pipli to Ogouli, between thoſe iſles and channels; which I cannot forbear to relate to you, becauſe there paſſed not a day without ſome extraordinary accident. My chaloupe of ſeven oars was no ſooner got out of the river Pipli, and advanced 3 or 4 leagues into the ſea along the coaſt, to gain the iſles and channels, but we ſaw the ſea covered with fiſhes like huge carps, purſued by a ſhoal of dolphins. I made my men row that way, and ſaw that moſt of thoſe fiſhes lay along the coaſt as if they were dead; that ſome advanced a little, others played and tumbled as if they were drunk. We all laboured to take ſome of them, and we caught 24 with our hands without any difficulty. Viewing them, I obſerved, that out of all their mouths there came out a bladder (like thoſe that are in carps,) which was full of air, and reddiſh at the end. I imagined eaſily, that this muſt be the bladder which kept them from ſinking; but I could not conceive, why it ſhould thus come out of their mouth, unleſs it were that they had been long and cloſe purſued by thoſe dolphins, and had made ſo great an effort to fly away as to make this bladder thus ſwell, and colour, and to hang out of their mouth. I afterwards told this thing to an hundred ſeamen, but they could not believe it, and I never found but one Dutch pilot, who told me, that ſailing once upon the coaſt of China, he had met with the like, and that preſently they put out their boat to ſea, and took, as I did, with their hands abundance of fiſhes.

The day after, about even, we came among thoſe iſles, and after we had looked for a place where 'twas likely no tigers would come, we landed, made a fire, dreſſed a couple of pullets, and our fiſh, which was excellent. Preſently after ſupper I made my men row until night, and for fear of loſing our way between thoſe channels in the dark, we retired out of the great channel, and found a good ſhelter in ſome ſmall creek, where we faſtened our boat to a thick branch of a tree, far enough from the

land, for fear of tygers. In the night, when I was watching, there fell out a philoſophical accident, of which kind two had happened to me before at Dehli. I ſaw a rainbow of the moon, which I ſhewed to all my company, and which very much ſurpriſed two Portugueze pilots I had taken into my boat at the deſire of a friend, who had never ſeen nor heard of ſuch a thing.

The third day we went a-ſtray between theſe channels, and if we had not met with ſome Portugueſes making ſalt in one of the iſles, that directed us in our way, I know not what would have become of us. But behold another philoſophical accident. In the night, being got again under ſhelter in a little channel, my Portugueſes that ſtill were concerned about the rainbow of the laſt night, and whom that obſervation had made more curious to behold the heavens, awakened me, and ſhew me another, as fair and as well formed as that was, which I had ſhewed them. Mean time I would not have you think, that I miſtook an Iris or rainbow for a Corona, or crown. There is no month almoſt but at Dehli theſe lunar rainbows are ſeen in the ſeaſon of the rains, when the moon is high above the horizon: and I found that it muſt be ſo; having ſeen of them three or four nights one after another, and ſometimes double ones. They were not circles about the moon, but oppoſite to her, and in the like poſition with ſolar rainbows: and as often as I have ſeen them, the moon was weſtward, and the rainbow eaſtward. The moon was alſo near full; which, in my opinion, is neceſſary; becauſe at other times ſhe would not have light enough to form any. Laſtly, theſe rainbows were not ſo white as the crowns uſe to be, but much more coloured, inſomuch that there might be diſcerned in them ſome diſtinction of colours. And thus you ſee, how I have been more happy than the ancients, who, according to Ariſtotle, had obſerved none ſuch before him.

The fourth day about evening we retired out of the great channel, as we uſed to do, into a very fair place of ſafety; but had one of the moſt extraordinary nights that ever I knew. There was not a breath of wind, and the air was ſo hot and ſtuffing that we could ſcarce breathe. The buſhes round us were ſo full of thoſe little ſhining worms, that they ſeemed to be on fire; and there aroſe fires here and there, which were like flames, and frightened my ſeamen, who ſaid, they were devils. Among the reſt there aroſe two, that were very extraordinary; one was a great globe of fire, which in falling and ſpinning laſted above the time of ſaying a Pater-noſter; and the other, which laſted about a quarter of an hour, was like a little tree all in a flame.

The night of the fifth day was terrible and dangerous. There aroſe ſo great a ſtorm, that though we were under the ſhelter of trees, and that our ſmall boat was well faſtned, yet notwithſtanding all that, the wind broke our cable, and was caſting us into the great channel, where we had infallibly periſhed, if I had not, together with my two Portugueſes, preſently laid hold on the branches of ſome trees, where we held faſt for above two hours, whilſt the ſtorm laſted: for there was no aſſiſtance to be expected from my Indian oar-men, whom fright had made incapable to help us in this occaſion. But, what was moſt troubleſome and amazing, there fell a rain as if it had been poured down with buckets, which filled our boat, and was accompanied with ſuch lightning and thunder-claps, very near our head, that every moment we thought we ſhould ſink.

The remainder of our voyage unto the ninth day, when I arrived at Ogouli, we paſſed very well and with pleaſure; for I could not be ſatisfied with beholding ſuch beautiful countries: mean time my trunk and all my baggage was wet, my pullets dead, my fiſh ſpoiled, and all my biſcuit drunk with water.

Anſwer

Anſwer to the Fifth Queſtion, about the increaſe of the Nile.

I do not know, whether I ſhall acquit myſelf, in reſpect of this Fifth Queſtion, as it were to be wiſhed: but I ſhall faithfully impart to you what I have ſet down of it, after I had twice obſerved the Nile's increaſe, and carefully examined the ſame, and taken notice withal of ſome things in the Indies, which have afforded me greater aids for it, than that learned man could have, that hath ſo ingenioſly written of it, though he never ſaw Egypt but in his ſtudy.

I have already ſaid in another place, that at the time when the two ambaſſadors of Ethiopia were at Dehli, my Agah Danechmend-kan, who is extraordinarily curious, ſent often for them, to inform himſelf, in my preſence, of the condition and government of their country; and one day, amongſt other things, we occaſioned them to diſcourſe of the ſource of the Nile, which they call Abbabile; whereof they ſpake to us as a thing ſo known that no body doubted of it, and where one of theſe ambaſſadors, and a Mogolian that was returned with him out of Æthiopia, had been in perſon. They told us, that it taketh its origin in the country of Agaus, and iſſueth out of the earth at two big bubbling ſprings, near one another, which form a ſmall lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that at the coming out of this lake it is then already a pretty river, and that from place to place it receiveth other rivers which enlarge it. They added, that it runs bending, and forming a great peninſula, and that after ſeveral Caſcata's from ſteep rocks, it falls into a great lake, which is not above four or five days journey from its ſource, in the country of Dumbia or Dembea, three little days journey from Gonder, the metropolis of Æthiopia; that having traverſed that lake, it iſſueth thence ſwelled with all the waters that fall there, paſſeth through Sonnar, the principal city of the King of Funges or Barbaris, tributary to the King of Æthiopia, running on and making the cataracts, and ſo entering into the plains of Meſſer which is Egypt.

After we had learned theſe particularities of the ſource and courſe of the Nile, I aſked him, (to judge whereabout the ſource of the Nile might be) towards which part of the world they believed the country of Dumbia, wherein is Gonder, to be, in reſpect of Babel-mandel? But they knew not what to anſwer to this, but only, that they went always weſtward; and eſpecially the Mahometan ambaſſador (who was obliged to know better, and to take more notice of the poſition of the world, than the Chriſtian, becauſe the Turks are obliged, in ſaying their prayers to turn themſelves towards Mecca) did aſſure me that I was not at all to doubt thereof; which did aſtoniſh me very much, becauſe, according to their deſcription, the ſource of the Nile ſhould be much on this ſide of the equinoctial, whereas all our maps, with Ptolemy, place it a good way beyond it.

We alſo aſked them, at what time it did uſe to rain in Æthiopia, and whether there were regular ſeaſons of rain as in the Indies? To which they anſwered, that it rained almoſt never upon that coaſt of the Red-Sea, from Suaken, Arkiko, and the iſle of Maſouva to Babel-mandel, no more than it doth at Moka, which is on the other ſide, in the Happy Arabia; but that in the heart of the country, in the province of Agaus, and in that of Dumbia and the circumjacent places it rained much for two of the hotteſt months of the ſummer, and at the ſame time when it rained in the Indies; which was alſo, according to my computation, the very time of the increaſe of the Nile in Egypt. They ſaid further, that they knew very well, it was the rain of Ethiopia, which

which ſwelled the Nile, overflowed Egypt, and fertilized the ground of it by the ſlime it carried upon it; and that it was even therefore, that the kings of Ethiopia pretended a tribute to be due to them out of Egypt, and that, when the Mahometans made themſelves maſters of it, ill treating the Chriſtians of the country, they had a mind to turn the courſe of the Nile another way, viz. into the Red Sea, thereby to ruin Egypt and to render it infertile; but that this deſign miſcarried by reaſon of the great difficulties in effecting the thing.

All theſe particulars, which I had already learned, when I paſſed over to Moka, from a dozen merchants, that come there every year in the name of the King of Ethiopia to attend the Indian trading veſſels, are conſiderable to make us judge, that the Nile increaſeth not but by the rains which fall without Egypt towards the ſource of that river: but the paricular obſervations, I have made upon two increaſes of this river, make them yet more ſo; for, in reference to all thoſe ſtories, that are made of it, as, that 'tis on a determined day it begins to increaſe; that on the firſt day of its increaſe there falls a certain dew, which maketh the plague ceaſe, ſo that nobody dieth any more of it after that hath once fallen; and that there are peculiar and hidden cauſes of the overflowing of the Nile: in reference, I ſay, to theſe ſtories, I have found during the ſaid two inundations, that they are but tales fancied and amplified by the people of Egypt, naturally inclined to ſuperſtition, and amazed to ſee a river ſwell in ſummer in a country where it rains not: and I have found, that 'tis no otherwiſe with the Nile than 'tis with other rivers, that ſwell and overflow by plentiful rains, without any ſuch fermentations of the nitrous ſoil of Egypt, which ſome have ſuggeſted as the cauſe thereof.

I have ſeen it ſwelled above a foot, and very turbid, near a whole month before that pretended determined day of its increaſe. I have obſerved during its increaſe, and before the channels were opened, that when it had grown for ſome days a foot or two, it afterwardsd decreaſed little by little, and then began to increaſe anew, and ſo went on to increaſe and decreaſe without any other meaſure but that of the rains that fall nigh the ſource, and, as is often ſeen in our river of Loire, according to the fall of more or leſs rain in the mountains whence it flows, and the days or half-days of fair weather there.

In my return from Jeruſalem, going up from Damietta to Cairo, I chanced to be upon the Nile about a month before the pretended day of the dew-fall, and in the morning we were all wet of the dew fallen in the night.

I have been in Roſette at ſupper with Monſieur de Bermon, vice-conſul of our nation, eight or ten days after this day of the dewfall, when three perſons were ſtruck with the plague, of whom there died, two within eight days, and the third, which was M. de Bermon himſelf, had perhaps not eſcaped, if I had not pierced his plague-ſore; which preſently infected myſelf like others; ſo that, if I had not forthwith taken ſome butter of Antimony, I might have been, as well as they, an example of the little certainty there is in the plague after the dew; but this emetic medicine in the beginning of the evil did wonders, and I kept but three or four days within doors, during which, I remember, my Bedouin that ſerved me made no ſcruple to drink, in my preſence, the remainder of my broth, to encourage me, and from his principle of predeſtination, to laugh at the fear we have of the plague. Yet experience ſhews, that after the day of the dew the plague is commonly not ſo dangerous as before, but the dew contributes nothing to that; tis only in my opinion, that then there is a greater opening of the pores, which gives a vent to the malign and peſtiferous ſpirits, that were ſhut up in the body.

Moreover,

Moreover, I have carefully enquired of ſome maſters of boats, that had gone up as far as the ends of the plains of Egypt, that is, to the very rocks and cataracts; who aſſured me, that when the Nile did overflow in the plains of Egypt, where that pretended fermenting nitrous earth is, 'tis at the ſame time much ſwelled between thoſe mountains of the cataracts, where, in all appearance, there is no ſuch nitrous earth.

Beſides, I have made diligent inquiry of thoſe negroes of Sonnars, that come to ſerve at Cairo, and whoſe country, being tributary to the King of Ethiopia as I have ſaid, lies upon the Nile between the mountains above Egypt; and they have aſſured me, that at the ſame time when the Nile is high and overflowing in Egypt, 'tis ſo alſo with them by reaſon of the rains then falling in their mountains, and higher up in the country of Habeche or Ethiopia.

The obſervations I have made in the Indies concerning the regular rains that fell at the ſame time when the Nile ſwells in Egypt, are alſo very conſiderable in this matter, and may make you imagine, that the Indus, Ganges, and all the other rivers of thoſe parts are ſo many Niles, and the land, that is near their fall into the ſea, ſo many Egypts. This was my thought of it in Bengal, and what follows are the very words I ſet down about it.

That great number of iſles which are found in the gulf of Bengala at the mouth of the river Ganges, and which by lapſe of time are joined to one another, and at length with the continent, put me in mind of the mouths of the Nile, where I have obſerved almoſt the ſame thing; ſo that as 'tis ſaid, after Ariſtotle, that Egypt is the workmanſhip of the Nile, ſo it may be ſaid, that Bengal is the work of the Ganges, only with this difference, that as the Ganges is incomparably bigger than the Nile, ſo he carrieth with him towards the ſea a far greater quantity of earth; and ſo forms greater and more iſlands than the Nile; and that the iſlands of the Nile are deſtitute of trees, whereas thoſe of Ganges are all covered with them, becauſe of thoſe four months of conſtant and plentiful rains that fall in the heart of the ſummer, and render it needleſs to cut channels in Bengal, to water and enrich the earth, as they do in Egypt. It is juſt ſo with Ganges and the other rivers of Indoſtan, as with the Nile; this and thoſe increaſe in ſummer by the means of rain, which ordinarily fall at that time; except that then, and almoſt never, there are no rains in Egypt; but a little towards the ſea, and that it rains not about the ſource of the Nile; whereas in the Indies it rains in all the countries, through which any rivers paſs; except the kingdom of Scymdi towards the Perſian gulf, where is the mouth of the river Indus; it happening that in ſome years it doth not rain there at all, though for all that the Indus ſwells there, and the fields are watered by the means of cut channels, juſt as in Egypt.

For the reſt, concerning the deſire of M. Thevenot, to impart to you my adventures of the Red Sea, of Suez, of Tor, of mount Sinai, of Gidda (that pretended holy land of Mahomet, half a day's journey diſtant from Mecca), as alſo of the iſle of Camarane and Louhaya, and of whatever I could learn at Moka of the kingdom of Ethiopia, and of the moſt commodious way to enter into it; theſe particulars, I ſay, I ſhall in time draw fair out of my manuſcripts if God permit.

Some Particulars forgotten to be inſerted in my firſt Book, to perfect the Map of Indoſtan, and to know the Revenue of the Great Mogol.

TO undeſtand the better what follows, 'tis requiſite to know the ſignification of theſe terms, viz.

1. Soubah, that is government and province.

2. Pragna, that is, the principal town, borough or village that hath many others depending from it, where rents are paid to the King, who is abſolute lord of all the land of his empire.

3. Serkar, that is the exchequer of the King's treaſure.

4. Kazine, that is, treaſure.

5. Roupie, the money of the country, equivalent to 29 or 30 pence.

6. Lecque, that is, an hundred thouſand Roupies.

7. Courour, that is, an hundred Lecques.

1. Jehan-Abad, or Dehli, is the firſt Soubah; it hath ſixteeen Serkars in its dependance, and 230 Pragnas: it yields to the King nineteen millions and five hundred twenty-five thouſand Roupies.

2. Agra, otherwiſe called Akber-abad, is the ſecond. It hath 14 Sekars, and 260 Pragnas; yielding to the King twenty-five millions two hundred and twenty-five thouſand Roupies.

3. Lahor hath 14 Serkars, and 314 Pragnas, bringing in to the King the rent of twenty-four millions ſix hundred and ninety-five thouſand Roupies.

4. Haſmer, which belongs to a Raja, yields to the King a tribute of twenty-one millions nine hundred and ſeventy thouſand Roupies.

5. Guſarate, the capital whereof is Amadavad, hath 9 Serkars, and 190 Pragnas; yielding to the King thirteen millions three hundred and ninety-five thouſand Roupies.

6. The kingdom of Caudahar belongs to the King of Perſia; but the Pragnas that remain united to the crown of the Great Mogol, are 15, and yield in rent 1992500 Roupies.

7. Maloüa hath 9 Serkars, 190 Pragnas; bringing in 9162500 Roupies.

8. Patna, or Beara, hath 8 Serkars, and payeth the rent of 9580000 Roupies.

9. Elabas hath 17 Serkars, and 260 Pragnas; rendring 9470000 Roupies.

10. Haoud hath 5 Serkars, and 149 Pragnas: it yields 6430000 Roupies.

11. Moultan hath 4 Serkars and 96 Pragnas: brings in 11840500 Roupies.

12. Jagannat, in which is comprehended Bengal, hath 11 Serkars, and 12 Pragnas; it yields 7270000 Roupies.

13. Kachemire hath 5 Serkars, and 45 Pragnas; yields 350000 Roupies.

14. Caboul hath 35 Pragnas, and brings in 3272500 Roupies.

15. Tata hath 4 Serkars and 54 Pragnas, and giveth 2320000 Roupies.

16. Aureng-abad, formerly Daulet-abad, hath 8 Serkars, and 79 Pragnas: yields 17227500 Roupies.

17. Varada hath 20 Serkars and 191 Pragnas; yielding 15875000 Roupies.

18. Candeys, whoſe principal town is Brampour, hath 3 Serkars, and 103 Pragnas: it brings in 18550000 Roupies.

19. Talengand, which borders upon the kingdom of Golkonda on the ſide of Maſſipatan, hath 43 Pragnas, and payeth in rent 6885000 Roupies.

20. Baganala, on the confines of the lands of the Portugueſes, and the mountains of Seva-gi (that Raja which plundered Surat), hath 2 Serkars, and 8 Pragnas; paying the rent of 500000 Roupies.

According to theſe particulars, which I take not to be the moſt exact or the moſt true, the Great Mogol's yearly revenue of his lands alone would amount to above two Kourours of Roupies.

EXTRACT FROM TAVERNIER's VOYAGES.

CHAP. I.—*Of Diamonds, and the Mines and Rivers where they are found; and in the firſt place of the Author's Journey to the Mine of Raolconda.*

THE diamond is the moſt precious of all ſtones, and it is the trade to which I am the moſt attached. In endeavouring to acquire a perfect knowledge of them I viſited all the mines, and one of the two rivers where they are found; and as the idea of danger has never impeded me in my travels, the dreadful picture given me of theſe mines, as being placed in the moſt barbarous countries, only attainable by the moſt dangerous roads, was neither capable of frightening or deterring me from my deſign. I have conſequently viſited the four mines mentioned in the following deſcription, and one of the two rivers from whence diamonds are procured, and have neither met with thoſe difficulties nor that barbarity, which ſome perſons, but ill acquainted with the nature of theſe countries, had taught me to expect. I can alſo ſay that I have ſet an example for others, and am the firſt European who have ſhewn the way to theſe mines to the Franks, as theſe are the only parts of the earth where diamonds are found.

The firſt of the mines I viſited, is ſituated in the territories of the King of Viſapour in the province of Carnatica, the place is called Raolconda, it is five days' journey from Golconda, and eight or nine from Viſapour. As the kings of Golconda and Viſapour were formerly ſubjects of the Mogul, and governors of theſe provinces, which they poſſeſs in conſequence of their revolt, it may be ſaid, and is ſaid by many perſons, that diamonds are found in the kingdom of the Great Mogul. It is but two hundred years ſince or thereabouts, that the mine of Raolconda has been diſcovered, according to the information I received from the people of that country.

All around the place where the diamonds are found, the earth is ſandy and full of rocks and coppice woods, nearly ſimilar to the environs of Fontainbleau. In theſe rocks are ſeveral veins, ſometimes half an inch in breadth, and ſometimes an entire inch, and the miners have little iron rods bent at the end, which they thruſt in theſe veins to draw out the ſand or earth, which they put into veſſels, and it is amongſt this earth that the diamonds are found. But becauſe theſe veins are not always regular, ſometimes riſing and ſometimes falling, they are obliged to break the rocks in order to follow their track. After they have opened them all, and collected the earth or ſand they contain, they waſh it two or three times, and ſeek for the diamonds. It is from this mine that the diamonds of the fineſt water are procured; but the worſt is, that in order to facilitate the ſeparating the ſand from the rock, they give ſuch forcible ſtrokes with a great iron lever, that ſhocking the diamonds it cauſes them to be flawed; This is the cauſe of ſo many damaged ſtones being found in this mine; for when the miners ſee a ſtone where the crack is a little large, they cleave it, a practice in which they are more ſkilled than we. If the ſtone is clear they only turn it on the wheel, taking no pains to ſhape it for fear of diminiſhing its weight. But if it has ſome little flaw, or any ſmall ſpecks of red or black ſand, they cover the ſtone with facets, in order to conceal its defects; and if it has ſome very ſmall flaw, they cover that alſo by

the edge of one of the facets. But it muſt be obſerved, that as the merchant likes better to ſee a black ſpot than a red one in a ſtone; when they meet with a ſtone having a red ſpot, they burn it, which cauſes it to appear black. With this artifice I became at length ſo well acquainted, that on ſeeing a quantity of ſtones produced from the mine, ſome of which had facets, and particularly thoſe with ſmall facets, I was well aſſured ſuch ſtones had ſome little ſpeck or flaw.

There are a number of diamond cutters belonging to this mine, each of which has one wheel only, which is of ſteel, and is nearly the ſize of our plates. They place but one ſtone on each wheel, which they keep continually ſupplying with water, till they have found the way of the ſtone. That done, they take oil and are not ſparing of the diamond powder, it being cheap, cauſing the ſtone to run quicker, and they load the ſtone with more of it than is uſual with us. I have ſeen one hundred and fifty pounds of lead put upon one ſtone; it was, it is true, a large ſtone, and weighed one hundred and three carets after it was cut, which was done on a mill after our faſhion, and the great wheel was turned by four negroes. The Indians are not of the ſame opinion with us, and do not believe it is the burden which occaſions the flaws in the ſtones. If theirs take no flaw, it is becauſe they have always a little boy, who, with a ſmall ſpatula of wood held in his hand, continually ſupplies the wheel with oil and diamond powder: to which may be added, their wheel goes not ſo faſt as ours, becauſe the wooden wheel which works that of ſteel is not much more than three feet in diameter.

They have not the art of giving that fine poliſh to the ſtones, as we do in Europe; which I ſuppoſe is owing to their wheel not running ſo ſmooth as ours. For it being of ſteel, they, when it requires to be rubbed with emery, which is neceſſary every twenty-four hours, are obliged to take it from the tree, and in replacing it are not able to make it run ſo ſmooth as it ſhould do. If as with us they had iron wheels, for which no emery is required but the file is uſed; as there is no occaſion to take the wheel from the tree in order to file it, they might then give a finer poliſh to their ſtones than they are at preſent able to do. I have before obſerved, that it is neceſſary every twenty-four hours to rub the wheel with emery, or to file it, and it would if the workman is not idle be better if it was done every twelve hours. For when the ſtone has run a certain time, that part of the wheel on which it turned becomes ſmooth as glaſs, and if freſh furrows are not made with emery or the file the powder will not ſtay on it; without which ſo much work cannot be done in two hours as in one with it.

Though the diamond is naturally hard, and has in it a ſort of knot ſimilar to that in wood, yet the Indian diamond cutters always cut the ſtone, which Europeans find great difficulty in doing, and frequently will not undertake, chooſing rather to give ſomething to the Indians for ſhaping it.

To return to the order of the mines. Traffic is there carried on liberally and with fidelity. On all that is bought, a duty of two per cent. is paid to the King, who alſo derives a revenue from the merchants for permiſſion to dig the mines. Theſe merchants, after having in company with the miners examined the ſpots where the diamonds are found, ſelect a place of about two hundred feet in extent, where they employ fifty and ſometimes a hundred miners, according to the expedition required. From the time they commence mining, the merchants for fifty men pay daily to the King two pagodas, and four when a hundred are employed.

Theſe poor people gain no more than three pagodas a-year, and muſt be expert at their trade to acquire even that. As their wages are ſo ſmall, they make no ſcruple in ſearching among the ſand to conceal if poſſible a ſtone for their own profit, and being entirely naked with the exception of a ſmall cloth around their middle, they

dexterouſly endeavour to ſwallow them. The chief of the merchants one day pointed out to me a miner that had worked for him ſeveral years, who had ſecreted a ſtone that weighed a mengelin, which is nearly equal to two of our carats. He had hid it in the corner of his eye, from whence it was taken on diſcovering the theft. To prevent this knavery, over every fifty miners, there are always from twelve to fifteen perſons employed by the merchants, to ſee that they ſteal nothing. If they by chance find a ſtone that weighs beyond 7 or 8 mangelins they carry it to the head miner, who rewards them with a *ſarpo* which is a piece of linen cloath to make a cap, of the value of from twenty-five to thirty-pence, which is generally accompanied with half a pagoda in ſilver, and ſometimes a pagoda when they don't give them rice, and a diſh of ſugar.

The merchants who reſort to the mine to trade, remaining at their homes, every morning about ten or eleven o'clock, the maſter miners after they have dined (for the Banians never ſtir from their houſes till they have waſhed their bodies and broken their faſt) bring the diamonds for their inſpection. If the quantity is large and there be amongſt them ſtones of the value of from two thouſand to perhaps fifteen or ſixteen thouſand crowns, they leave them in truſt for ſeven or eight days or more with the merchant for his conſideration. When he has examined the ſtones, the ſeller again viſits him, and he muſt then if he wiſhes to purchaſe, conclude the bargain immediately; otherwiſe the owner takes them away tied in the corner of his girdle, or cap, or ſhirt, and he never ſees the ſame ſtones again, at leaſt they are mixed with others if he comes to viſit you with another collection. When the bargain is concluded, the buyer gives a note for the amount, drawn on the cheraf, who is the perſon that pays and receives all bills of exchange. If it is agreed to pay in three or four days, and a longer delay is required, he muſt pay at the rate of one and a half per cent. per month intereſt. In general when they know the merchant to be ſafe, they like better to receive a bill of exchange for Agra, Golconda, or Viſapour, but more eſpecially for Surat, where as being the greateſt Indian port, they go to buy the merchandize exported in foreign veſſels, which tells to their advantage.

It is a pleaſing ſight of a morning to ſee the young children of the merchants and others, from the age of ten to fifteen or ſixteen, all aſſembled under a great tree, which is in the market-place; each with a quantity of diamonds in a little bag hung on one ſide, and on the other a purſe faſtened to his faſh, in which ſome have from five to ſix hundred pagodas of gold. There they ſit waiting till ſome perſon comes to offer them diamonds for ſale, either from that or any other mine. When any thing is brought, it is put into the hands of the oldeſt, who is regarded as the chief of the band; he after examining it, puts it into the hands of the next, and ſo on from one to another till it returns to his own, without any one ſpeaking a word. He then enquires the price of the merchandize, in order to purchaſe it if poſſible, and if by chance he buys it too dear it is at his own loſs. When evening comes, theſe children collect together all they have bought in the courſe of the day, and after examining the different ſtones, ſeparate them according to their water, weight, and clearneſs, then affixing on each a price nearly according with what they can ſell them for to ſtrangers, they, by comparing it with the price given, ſee what advantage remains to themſelves. Laſtly, carrying them to ſome of thoſe great merchants who have always large aſſortments on hand, the profit is divided amongſt them, only he that is the head or chief receives one quarter per cent. more than the reſt. Although ſo young they are nevertheleſs ſuch good judges of the value of ſtones, that if one of them ſhould happen to purchaſe any thing, on which he is willing to loſe half per cent. there is always

always one ready to give him the money; and in offering them a parcel of ſtones conſiſting perhaps of a dozen, they ſeldom fail to ſelect four or five with ſome flaw, or ſpeck or defect in the corners.

In general theſe Indians are much attached to ſtrangers, and eſpecially to thoſe they call Fringuis. As ſoon as I had arrived at the mine I was welcomed by the governor of the place, who was alſo commander of the province for the King of Viſapour. This was a Mahometan, who loaded me with careſſes, aſſured me I was welcome, and obſerved that as no doubt I had brought gold with me, (for at all the mines of Golconda and Viſapour they make uſe of new pagodas only, which is a particular ſpecies of gold), I had only to depoſit it in my chamber where it would be perfectly ſecure, and he himſelf would be anſwerable for the whole of my effects. In addition to the ſervants I had brought with me, he preſented me with four others, commanding them to keep a ſtrict watch over my gold day and night, and do whatever I deſired of them. A little while after I had taken my leave, he deſired me to be brought to him; when entering his preſence, I ſent for you again, ſaid he, to aſſure you once more that you have nothing to fear; eat, drink, and ſleep, and take care of your health. I had alſo forgot to caution you againſt defrauding the King of his duty, to whom you muſt pay two per cent. on all that you buy. Don't you, continued he, do as ſome Mahometans that come to the mine, who leaguing with the merchants and courtiers to cheat the King of his duty, ſay they have bought for ten thouſand pagodas only, when they have very likely purchaſed to the amount of fifty thouſand. Then beginning to buy, I ſaw that there was a very great profit, the market being on the whole twenty per cent. better than at Golconda; added to which they ſometimes diſcover very large ſtones.

One day towards evening a Banian but ill apparelled, having nothing but a ſaſh round his body, and an old handkerchief on his head, civilly accoſted me and ſeated himſelf down by my ſide. In that country they pay but little attention to dreſs, and ſome who have only an old wrapper round their loins, have nevertheleſs a large quantity of diamonds concealed about them. I civilly ſaluted the Banian on my part, who after he had been ſome time ſeated, enquired by my interpreter if I wiſhed to buy ſome rubies? the interpreter replied, that he might ſhew them me, on which he drew from his ſaſh a quantity of ſmall cloths, in which were about twenty ruby rings. After having well examined them, I cauſed him to be told they were too ſmall for me, and that I was in ſearch of large ſtones. Nevertheleſs, recollecting that I had been requeſted by a lady at Iſpahan to buy her a ruby ring of about one hundred crowns value, I bought one of theſe, which coſt me ſomething near four hundred francs. I was very well aware it was not worth more than three hundred, but willingly ventured a hundred franks in the idea that he had not accoſted me on account of theſe rubies only; and judged rightly by his look that he wiſhed to be alone with me and my interpreter, in order that he might ſhew me ſomething better. As the time of prayer with the Mahometans drew near, three of the ſervants that the governor had given me retired, leaving the fourth to wait on me, whom I found means to get rid off, by ſending him to buy us ſome bread, which I knew would take him a conſiderable time. For the people of this country being all idolators are accuſtomed to live on rice and eat no bread, which any one that wants muſt ſend for at a conſiderable diſtance to a fortreſs of the King of Viſapour, which is inhabited by none but Mahometans. The Banian then being left alone with me and my interpreter, after many formalities drew off his turban, and untwiſted his hair which according to their cuſtom was faſtened up to his head. He then drew from his hair a ſmall piece of linen cloth in which was incloſed a diamond weighing 48½ of

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our carats, of fine water, of a pommel ſhape, three quarters clear, excepting a little flaw on one ſide, which ſeemed to be of ſmall depth. The other quarter was damaged with red points.

As I was examining the ſtone, the Banian obſerving the attention with which I ſurveyed it, ſaid to me, don't trouble yourſelf to examine it now, you ſhall ſee it to morrow morning at leiſure when you are alone. When a quarter of a day has paſſed, (it is thus they ſpeak), you will find me at the outſide of the town, when if you wiſh to have the ſtone you can bring me the money, at the ſame time telling me what ſum he would take for it. For it muſt be obſerved by the bye, that after a quarter of the day has paſſed, theſe Banians, men as well as women, return to the city or town where they live, having previouſly quitted it, as well to ſatisfy the ordinary calls of nature, as to waſh their bodies and attend their prieſts at prayer. The Banian had appointed me to meet him at this time, not being willing that any perſon ſhould ſee us together. I did not fail to attend, taking with me the ſum he had demanded, except two hundred pagodas which I ſet apart; but at laſt after ſome diſpute I was obliged to give him another hundred. At my return to Surat, I ſold this ſtone to a Dutch captain, by which I gained an honeſt profit.

Three days after I had made this purchaſe, there came to me a meſſenger from Golconda on the part of an apothecary named Boete, whom I had left at Golconda to receive and take care of a part of my money, which in caſe the cheraf paid in rupees he was to get changed for pagodas of gold. The day ſucceeding that on which he received payment, he was taken with ſo violent a diarrhœa, that he died in a few days. In the letter which he wrote me, he informed me of his ſickneſs, and of his having received my money, which was all in my chamber concealed in bags, and not expecting to live more than two days, he urged me to haſten my return, as not thinking it perfectly ſecure in the hands of the ſervants I had left with him. As ſoon as I had received his letter, I repaired to the governor in order to take leave of him; at which he was much ſurpriſed and aſked me if I had expended all my money? I replied, that I had not yet ſpent half of it, and had ſtill twenty thouſand pagodas left. He then ſaid, he would if I was willing employ it for me, at the ſame time aſſuring me I ſhould loſe nothing by any purchaſes of his making. He alſo aſked me to let him ſee what I had bought, although previouſly very well informed on that head, from the cuſtom of the ſellers being obliged to give him an account of what they ſell, in order that the king may not loſe the two per cent. payable on all that is bought. I then ſhewed him what I had purchaſed, at the ſame time declaring what it had coſt me, which was entered in the book of the Banian who receives the King's duty. I likewiſe paid him the two per cent on the amount, which having received, he ſaid he ſaw plainly that the Franguis were honeſt people, of which he was ſtill better perſuaded on my producing the ſtone of 48¾ carats; ſaying, Signior, that is not entered in the book of the Banian, and there is no one in the city knows of my buying it, neither would you yourſelf have known it, but for my own confeſſion, for I do not wiſh to defraud the King of his duty; there is what is due according to the price I gave for the ſtone. The governor ſeemed much ſurpriſed and pleaſed with the whole proceeding, praiſed me much, told me I had acted like an honeſt man, and that no other merchant in the country, either Mahometan or idolater would have behaved in a ſimilar manner on ſuch an occaſion. On that he ſent for ſome of the richeſt merchants in the place, and after relating the circumſtance, deſired them to bring the fineſt ſtones they had got, which they accordingly did, and by that means I diſpoſed of my twenty thouſand pagodas in an hour or two. The bargain being concluded, and the money paid, he told the merchants that

having to do with a man of honour, they ſhould preſent me with ſomething as a remembrance, on which with a good grace they gave me a diamond of near an hundred crowns value, and the governor himſelf preſented me with a turban and ſaſh.

Here I have to remark the ſingular and curious manner which the Indians, idolaters as well as Mahometans, adopt in diſpoſing of every ſort of merchandize. All paſſes in profound ſilence, not a word being ſpoke. The ſeller and the buyer are ſeated oppoſite to each other like two tailors, and one of the two opening his ſaſh, the ſeller taking the right hand of the buyer covers it with his, under which, in the preſence of perhaps ſeveral other merchants met together in the ſame room, the bargain is concluded ſecretly without any one's knowledge. The buyer and ſeller making uſe of neither mouth nor eyes, carry on the traffic with their hands only, which is done in the following manner. When the ſeller takes the whole of the buyer's hand, that ſignifies a thouſand, and as many times as he preſſes it, ſo many thouſand pagodas or rupees are required, according to the matter in queſtion. When he takes the five fingers only, it ſignifies five hundred, and if one finger, only one hundred. When he takes hold of half the finger juſt by the middle joint, it ſtands for fifty, while the tip of the finger to the firſt joint ſignifies ten. This is all the myſtery uſed by theſe Indians in their traffic, and it oftentimes happens that at a place where there are ſeveral people together, one article is ſold ſeven or eight times without any of the company knowing at either time what it is.

In regard to the weight of the ſtones, they are never deceived except when they buy them in ſecret, for at all public ſales there is a man expreſsly employed by the King, without deriving any private advantage, to weigh the diamonds, who declaring the weight, the buyer and ſeller take it at his word, as having no intereſt to favour either party.

Having concluded my buſineſs at the mine, the governor gave me ſix horſe ſoldiers to conduct me in ſafety to the confines of his government, which extends as far as the river that ſeparates the kingdom of Viſapour from that of Golconda. The paſſage of this river is very difficult, it being wide, deep, and rapid, and has neither bridge nor boats, and in order to paſs it they employ the ſame means I have elſewhere ſpoken of in paſſing other Indian rivers, as well for men, as for their luggage, carriages, cattle and horſes. A circular veſſel from ten to twelve feet in diameter, made of oſier twigs like our baſkets, and covered on the outſide with bull hides, ſerves in the place of a boat, and their manner of tranſporting paſſengers over I have before obſerved. They could eaſily build good barks or erect a bridge acroſs this river; but the Kings of Golconda and Viſapour will not allow it, becauſe it divides the two kingdoms. Every evening the boatmen on both ſides the river are obliged to give in to two petty governors, who are ſtationed on each ſide about a quarter of a league from the river, an exact account of all paſſengers, beaſts of burden, and merchandize that has paſſed over in the courſe of the day.

When I arrived at Golconda, I found the apothecary Bœte had been dead three days, and the chamber in which I had left him put under two ſeals, the one of the Cadi, who acts as chief juſtice, and the other of the Cha-Bander, who acts as provoſt of the merchants. An officer of juſtice attended day and night at the door of the chamber in company with the valets I had left with the defunct. Immediately on my arrival, notice was ſent to the Cadi and Cha-Bender, who preſently ſent to fetch me. After ſaluting them, the Cadi demanded whether the money found in the chamber of the defunct belonged to me, and how I could prove it? I replied, I had no better way of proving it than by producing the letters of exchange I had brought to the Cheraf, and that ſince my departure he had by my order paid the money to the defunct; that I had afterwards

afterwards written to him deſiring, that in caſe the Cheraf payed the money in ſpecie, he would get it exchanged for pagodas of gold and bring them to me. Upon hearing this, they ſent for the two Cherafs who had paid the money, who both agreed as to the truth of my ſtatement, on which the Cadi ordered his lieutenant to go with me to my chamber, and ſee that the ſeals had not been removed from any of the bags. Accordingly he did not leave me till I had declared that all was right and nothing wanting. I then returned with him to make the ſame declaration before the Cadi and Cha-Bander, and thank them for the trouble they had taken, as alſo to ſign a paper they had written in the Perſian language, by which I declared myſelf perfectly ſatisfied. The lieutenant then told me I muſt pay the charges of Boetes' interment, as alſo that of the perſon who had ſealed the bags, and the officer who had guarded the door of the chamber; all which amounted to nine roupees only, or four crowns and a half of our money, which is much leſs than would have been charged in moſt European countries.

CHAP. II.—*An Account of the Author's Journey to the other Mines, with a deſcription of the Manner in which the Diamonds are found.*

ABOUT ſeven days from Golconda, going due eaſt, there is another diamond mine, which by the people of the country is called Gani, and by the Perſians Coulour. It is ſituated near a large town through which paſſes the river I croſſed in coming from the other mine, and at about the diſtance of a league and a half from the town, are ſeveral high mountains in the form of a creſcent. The place where the diamonds are found, is in a plain ſituated between the town and the mountains, and the nearer they approach to the latter, the larger ſtones they find; but when they aſcend too high it produces nothing.

It is not more than a hundred years ago, ſince this mine was firſt accidentally diſcovered by a poor man, who digging a ſpot of ground in order to ſow ſome millet, found a native ſtone weighing nearly twenty-five carats, which he being unacquainted with the value of, and ſeeing it ſhine bright, carried to Golconda, where fortunately he addreſſed himſelf to a perſon who traded in diamonds. This merchant on hearing from the countryman where he had found the ſtone, was much ſurpriſed at ſeeing a diamond of that ſize, as hitherto the largeſt they were acquainted with weighed no more than from ten to twelve carats. The noiſe of this diſcovery ſoon ſpread itſelf throughout the country; and ſeveral of the town, who were people of property, began to dig up the earth, where they found and ſtill find large ſtones in a greater quantity than at any other mine; ſo much ſo, that at this preſent time, they find many weighing from ten to forty carats, or ſometimes even larger, and amongſt others the great diamond that weighed nine hundred carats before it was cut, which Mirgimolas preſented to Aurengezeb, as I have before obſerved.

But while the Coulour mine is remarkable for the large ſtones found it, it is to be regretted that in general they are not clear, partaking in their colour the quality of the ſoil in which they are found. If the ground is marſhy and damp, the ſtone is of a black caſt, if it be red, it approaches to red alſo, while in other places it borders on green, and ſometimes on yellow, according to the ſoil, which is greatly diverſified between the town and the mountains. On moſt of theſe ſtones after they are cut, there appears to be a greaſy caſt, which is occaſioned by their continually putting their hand to their handkerchief to wipe it.

As to what relates to the water of the ſtones, it muſt be obſerved, that whereas in Europe we examine the rough ſtones by day, in order to judge of their water and the ſpots which may be found on them; the Indians on the contrary do it by night, and in a hole which they make in a wall of a foot ſquare, they place a lamp with a large wick, by the light of which they judge of the water and clearneſs of the ſtone held between their fingers. The water which they call celeſtial is the worſt of all, and it is impoſſible to know it while the ſtone is unpoliſhed, but as little can be diſcovered on the wheel, the infallible ſecret of judging its water, is to carry it under a thick tree, where by the ſhade of the verdure they eaſily diſcover whether it is blue.

The firſt time I viſited this mine, it employed nearly ſixty thouſand perſons, men as well as women and children in various offices, the men to dig, and the women and children to carry away the earth, for in working this mine they take a method totally different from that uſed at Raolconda.

As ſoon as the miners have pointed out the place for them to work, they ſelect another ſpot of ground of equal extent, or even larger, and after making it perfectly ſmooth, encompaſſed it with a wall of about two feet high, and at the foot of this little wall, they make at every other ſtep openings to carry off the water, which they incloſe till they wiſh to let it out. This place being ſo prepared, thoſe who are appointed to work, aſſemble all together, men, women, and children, with the maſter that employs them, accompanied by a party of his relations and friends. He brings with him a ſtone figure of the god they worſhip, which being fixed in the earth they all adore it, by proſtrating themſelves three times before it, their prieſt in the mean time accompanying them with a prayer. This being finiſhed, he makes a certain mark on all their foreheads with a paſte compoſed of ſaffron and gum, upon which he alſo ſticks ſeven or eight grains of rice. Then after waſhing their bodies with water which each brings in a pot, they all arrange themſelves in order, to partake of the feaſt which the maſter provides them at the commencement of their work to put them in ſpirits, and encourage them to be faithful to him. This feaſt conſiſts of nothing elſe than a plate of rice for each, which is diſtributed to them by the Bramin, becauſe every Idolater is allowed to eat what comes from the hand of their prieſt, although, ſuch is their ſuperſtition, that they will not eat any thing of their wives preparing, chooſing rather to prepare their own victuals. The diſh on which the rice is ſerved to them is nothing more than leaves ſewed together, which ſomewhat reſembles our walnut leaves. To this alſo is added about a quarter of a pound of butter in a ſmall braſs cup, mixed with ſome ſugar.

The repaſt finiſhed, all begin to work, the men digging the earth, and the children carrying it to the place I have before ſpoke of, as previouſly prepared for it. They dig to the depth of ten, twelve, or fourteen feet, but as ſoon as they meet with water there is no hope of ſucceſs. All the earth being carried to this place, men, women, and children taking pitchers of water from the pit they have dug, throw them on it, in order to moiſten it, ſo letting it remain for a day or two according to the hardneſs, till it is perfectly ſoft. That done, they open the holes they have made in the wall to give paſſage to the water, when throwing ſtill more on it, they by that means draw away all the mud, ſo that nothing remains but the ſand. There is ſome earth requires to be waſhed two or three times, when letting the whole dry in the ſun, which by reaſon of its great heat is ſoon done, they take certain baſkets, made ſomewhat like our ſifters, into which putting the earth, they ſift it as we do grain, by which the ſmall duſt is ſeparated from it.

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Having in this manner ſifted all the earth, they ſpread it out with a ſort of rake, keeping it as ſmooth as poſſible. Then with a billet of wood in the ſhape of a large peſtle, of about half a foot broad at the bottom, they all begin to beat the earth, from one end to the other, which they do twice or thrice, when putting it again into the baſkets they ſift it once more, after that they ſpread it out as before, and laſtly collect it altogether in one ſpot in order to ſearch for the diamonds, in doing which, they are ſuperintended in the ſame manner as at Raolconda.

Formerly, inſtead of billets of wood to beat the earth with, they made uſe of pebbles, which was the occaſion of ſo many flaws in the ſtones.

In regard to the King's duty, the ſum they pay annually to the miners employed, and the reward they beſtow on any one's bringing to the maſter a larger ſtone than ordinary, the ſame cuſtom is obſerved as at Raolconda. Until latterly they made no difficulty in buying diamonds externally of a green colour, becauſe when cut they appear white, and of a very fine water.

Within this thirty or forty years, they have diſcovered a mine between Coulour and Raolconda, but the King cauſed it to be ſhut up on account of the impoſitions practiſed, which I will explain in a few words. At this mine they found ſtones that externally preſented this green cruſt, large and tranſparent, and which appeared even finer than the others, but when they came to grind them they broke in pieces. Nevertheleſs, when they grind them with a diamond of the ſame nature, produced from the ſame mine, they do not break, but if placed on the wheel immediately fly in pieces. This is the reaſon they are careful not to buy any which have been ground, for fear of being deceived, and it is owing to the diſcovery of this impoſition, as I have before obſerved, that the King has cauſed the mine to be ſhut up.

During the time that Meſſieurs Fremelin and Francis Breton were preſidents for the Engliſh company at Surat, a Jew, named Edward Ferdinand, a free merchant, that is to ſay, not belonging to any particular company, entered into a partnerſhip with theſe two gentlemen for the purchaſe of a ſtone, a ſhort time after the mine was diſcovered. This ſtone was clear, of a good ſhape, and weighed forty-two carats. Edward coming to Europe, Meſſieurs Fremelin and Breton delivered the ſtone into his hands to ſell it to the beſt advantage he could on their account. On his arrival at Leghorn, he ſhewed it to ſome Jews, his friends, who offered him for it near twenty-five thouſand piaſtres, but he not being willing to take leſs than thirty thouſand, and they not agreeing to give it, he carried the ſtone to Venice in order to get it cut. It had been well ground without receiving any damage, but no ſooner was it placed on the wheel than it broke in nine pieces. I was myſelf once deceived with one of theſe ſtones which weighed two carats, and broke in ſmall pieces on the wheel when it was half cut.

CHAP. III.—*Continuation of the Author's Journey to the Diamond Mines.*

I NOW come to the third mine, which is the moſt ancient of all, and ſituated in the kingdom of Bengala. This mine may be called Soumelpour, being the name of a large town, near the place where the diamonds are found, or rather Gouel, which is that of the river, in whoſe ſand they are diſcovered. The land through which this river takes its courſe, is part of the territory of a Rajah who formerly was tributary to the Great Mogul, having revolted during the wars which took place between Cha-Gehan and Gehan-guire, his father. As ſoon as Cha-Gehan was raiſed to the throne, he ſent to demand tribute of this Rajah, as well for the preſent as the paſt, when, he

ſeeing that his revenues would not enable him to pay it, quitted the plain country, and intrenched himſelf with his ſubjects in the mountains. On the news of the Rajah's refuſal, Cha-Gehan, who had no idea of his retiring to the mountains, but thought rather, he would obſtinately defend himſelf, led an army into his country, where he had been taught to believe he would meet with quantities of diamonds. But it happened quite the contrary, for thoſe he ſent into the Rajah's territories found neither diamonds, nor people, nor ſubſiſtence, the Rajah having cauſed all the grain his ſubjects were unable to carry away to be burnt, ſo that the greater part of Cha-Gehan's army periſhed with famine. The iſſue of this enterpriſe was, that the Rajah returned to his country on condition of paying annually a ſmall tribute to the Great Mogul.

The following is an account of the road in going from Agra to the mine.

From Agra to Halabas, coſſes - - - - - - 130
From Halabas to Banarous, coſſes - - - - 33
From Banarous to Saſeron, coſſes - - - - 4

From Agra to Saſeron you keep always to the eaſt; but in going from Saſeron to to the mine, you turn to the ſouth, when you preſently meet with a large town, coſſes 21. This town is in the territories of the Rajah before mentioned, to whom alſo belongs the land through which the river where the diamonds are found takes its courſe.

From this town you come to a fortreſs called Rodas, coſſes - - 4

This is one of the ſtrongeſt places in all Aſia, being built on a mountain, having ſix large baſtions and twenty-ſeven pieces of cannon, with three moats full of water, in which are good fiſh. There is but one way to gain the ſummit of this mountain, on which is a plain nearly half a league in extent, where they ſow corn and rice, and is ſupplied with more than twenty ſprings which water the earth, and all around the mountain, from the bottom almoſt to the top there are nothing but precipices for the moſt part covered with wood. The Rajahs generally maintain a force of ſeven or eight hundred men in this fortreſs, but at preſent it belongs to the Great Mogul, who gained it through the addreſs of that great Captain Mirgimola, of whom I have ſo often had occaſion to ſpeak.

The laſt Rajah left three ſons, who betraying each other, the eldeſt was poiſoned, the ſecond fled to the court of the Great Mogul, who gave him the command of four thouſand horſe, and the youngeſt remained in poſſeſſion of the country, on paying the ſame tribute as his father. All the Indian kings, ſucceſſors of Tamerlane, have beſieged this place without being able to take it, and two of theſe Kings died in the town of Saſeron.

From the fortreſs of Rodas to Soumelpour, coſſes - - - 30.

Soumelpour is a large town, the houſes of which are made with earth, and covered with branches of the cocoa tree. In travelling theſe laſt 30 coſſes, you paſs through nothing but woods, rendered extremely dangerous on account of robbers, who knowing the merchants never go to the mine without money, ſometimes lay wait to murder them. The Rajah lives about half a coſs from the town, and his dwelling is under tents erected on a charming eminence, at the foot of which runs the Gouel, and it is in this river, which takes its ſource from the high mountains on the ſouth ſide, afterwards loſing itſelf in the Ganges, that the diamonds are found.

The following is the method of ſearching for diamonds in this river. After the rainy ſeaſon has paſſed, which generally laſts till December, they yet wait all the month of January till the river be clear; becauſe then in ſeveral places it is not more than two feet deep, leaving much of the ſand diſcovered. About the end of January

or beginning of February, from the town of Soumelpour, as alſo from another, which is twenty coſſes above on the ſame river, and ſome ſmall villages on the plain, there iſſue about eight thouſand perſons of both ſexes and all ages capable of labour. Thoſe who are expert, know by the appearance of the ſand whether there are any diamonds in it, and when they ſee amongſt it ſmall ſtones which very much reſemble what we call thunder ſtones, they begin to ſearch the river at the Town of Soumelpour, and always in returning go up as far as the mountains from whence it iſſues, which are about fifty coſſes diſtant from the town. At thoſe places where they think there are diamonds, they examine the ſand in the following manner.

Firſt they ſurround it with ſtakes, facines, and earth, as is done in building the arch of a bridge, to drain off the water and leave the place dry, then they draw out the ſand, yet not digging more than two feet deep. All this ſand is carried and ſpread in a large place prepared on the bank of the river and encompaſſed with a ſmall wall of about a foot and a half high, at the foot of which holes are made, and when they have brought as much ſand into this place as they think proper, they throw water on it to waſh it, after which, the ſame method is purſued as at the Coulour mine.

From this river all the fine ſtones are produced, which are called native, but it is ſeldom that they find a large ſtone. Several years have elapſed ſince any of theſe ſtones nave been ſeen in Europe, on which account many dealers have thought the mine was exhauſted, which is not the caſe, though for a long time nothing has been drawn from this river on account of the wars.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of another diamond mine in the province of Carnatica, which Mirgimola, general of the army and prime miniſter to the King of Golconda, commanded to be ſhut up, not allowing it to be worked any more, becauſe the ſtones found in this mine, or rather in the ſix mines, (for there are ſix cloſe to one another,) were all black or yellow, neither of them producing a clear ſtone.

Laſtly, in the iſland of Borneo, which is the largeſt iſland in the world, there is a river called Succadan, whoſe ſand produces fine ſtones, having the ſame hardneſs as thoſe of the river Gouel, or the above mines before mentioned. General Vandime one day ſent me ſix from Batavia to Surat, weighing from 3 to 4 carats each, which he thought were not ſo hard as thoſe found in other mines, and had therefore ſent them to me to know the truth, but in this he was miſtaken, ſince there is no difference between them. When I was at Batavia, one of the heads of the company ſhewed me a native ſtone weighing 25½ carats, quite perfect, found in this river Succadan, but according to the price he told me it had coſt him, he had paid 50 per cent. more than I would have given, although it is true I have always heard theſe ſtones mentioned as being very dear. The principal reaſon which prevented me from going to this river of Borneo, is that the Queen of the iſland not allowing ſtrangers to export the diamonds, there is great difficulty in getting them away, and the few which they contrive to bring ſecretly, are ſold at Batavia. Here, doubtleſs, it will be aſked why I mention the Queen of Borneo only, and not the King. The cauſe is, that in this kingdom women alone reign, men not being allowed, by reaſon that the people are extremely fearful of not having a legitimate heir to the throne, and as the huſband cannot be certain that the children his wife brings him are really his, while the wife on the contrary, is always certain as to her own children, they like better to have a woman rule over them, on whom they confer the title of Queen, while her huſband being her ſubject, has no more power than what ſhe chooſes to inveſt him with.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the various ſorts of Weights uſed at the Mines for weighing the Diamonds; of the different Gold and Silver Coins there current; of the ſeveral Roads leading to the Mines, and of the Rule they have to aſcertain the price of Diamonds.*

I NOW come to ſpeak of ſome particulars obſerved in the diamond trade, which I doubt not will be acceptable to the reader, no one having before written on this ſubject.

In the firſt place, I come to ſpeak of the various ſorts of weights in uſe, as well at the mines as in the other parts of Aſia.

At the Raolconda mine they weigh by mangelins, and the mangelin there is $1\frac{3}{4}$ of a carat, that is to ſay ſeven grains.

At the mine of Gani or Coulour they uſe the ſame as at Raolconda.

At the mine of Soumelpour in Bengala, they weigh by the ratis, which is $\frac{7}{8}$ of a carat, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and they uſe the ſame weights throughout the Great Mogul's empire. In the kingdoms of Golconda and Viſapour they likewiſe make uſe of the mangelin, but in theſe places it is only $1\frac{1}{4}$ of a carat. The Portugueſe alſo uſe the ſame kind of weight in Goa, but there it is only five grains.

I come in the next place to ſpeak of the coins uſed for buying diamonds in the Indies.

Firſt, at the kingdom of Bengala in the territory of the Rajah before mentioned, being tributary to the Great Mogul, they make their payments in roupees.

At the two mines, which are in the kingdom of Viſapour, in the neighbourhood of Raolconda, the payment is made in new pagodas, which the King cauſes to be coined in his name, as being entirely independent of the Great Mogul. The new pagodas are not always of the ſame value, ſometimes going for three roupees and a half, ſometimes for more, and ſometimes for leſs, riſing and falling according to the courſe of trade, and the agreement entered into by the money changers with the princes and governors.

At the Coulour or Gani mine, which belongs to the King of Golconda, the payment is alſo made in new pagodas, which are of the ſame value as thoſe of the King of Viſapour. Although they are ſometimes obliged to buy them at from one to four per cent. more, on account of their being better gold, and their not taking any other at this mine. Theſe pagodas are made by the Engliſh and the Dutch, who are privileged by the King, either of his own accord or from neceſſity, to coin them in their forts. Thoſe of the Dutch coſt one or two per cent. more than the Engliſh, becauſe they are of a finer ſtandard, and the miners like them much better. But as the merchants in general are prepoſſeſſed with the falſe opinion, that the people at the mine are rude and almoſt like ſavages, as alſo that the roads from Golconda to the mines are very dangerous, they generally remain at Golconda, where thoſe who ſpeculate in mining have their correſpondents, who ſend them the diamonds. They pay there in old pagodas, coined ſeveral centuries ago, bearing the impreſſions of the various princes who reigned in the Indies before the Mahometans had got footing there. Theſe old pagodas paſs for four rupees and a half, that is one roupee more than the new ones, although they have no more gold in them, and of courſe do not weigh more, which might occaſion ſome ſurpriſe, did I not explain the cauſe, which is, that the cherafs or money changers to influence the King in their favour, pay him annually a large ſum, they themſelves deriving a great profit; for the merchants never receive any of theſe pagodas, without having one of the money changers to examine them, ſome being defaced, others of a bad ſtandard,

ſtandard, and ſome again ſhort of weight, ſo much ſo, that were they to take them without examining, they would be conſiderable loſers, and for the trouble of perfecting them, incur a charge of from one to perhaps five or ſix cent. added to which they give the changers a quarter per cent. for their trouble. When the miners are paid, they alſo never receive theſe pagodas without the changer's preſence, who points out the good and the bad, taking as before a quarter per cent. for himſelf. But to ſave time, when they are about to make a conſiderable payment, of perhaps a thouſand or two thouſand pagodas, the changer on receiving his duty, incloſes them in a little ſack, on which he fixes his mark, and when they are about to pay the merchant for his diamonds, they bring him with the bag to the changer, who ſeeing his mark unaltered, aſſures him that he has examined the contents, and will be anſwerable for any that are not good.

With regard to the roupees, they take indifferently both thoſe of the Great Mogul and the King of Golconda, becauſe ſuch as are coined by the King bear the Mogul's impreſſion, as they agree.

Beſides, the Indians have more wit, and are more refined than people think. The pagoda is a thick little piece of gold, not bigger than the nail of the little finger, and as from their ſize it is impoſſible to clip them without its being known, they have the addreſs to bore little holes all round, from whence they get to the value of about three or four pence in gold duſt, and they know how to conceal it ſo cleverly, that no one can perceive they have been touched. Moreover, when they go to buy any thing in a village, or when they paſs a river, if a roupee is given to them in change, they directly light a fire and put it in, when if it comes out white they keep it, if on the contrary it is black they return it, for all the money in the Indies is of the firſt ſtandard, and if any be brought from Europe, it muſt be carried to the mint. I muſt alſo obſerve, that they are much deceived, who (as a merchant would have perſuaded me during my firſt travels) imagine it is quite enough to carry to the mines, ſpices, tobacco, looking glaſſes, and other trifles of that ſort, in order to receive diamonds in exchange; but I have had convincing proof to the contrary, and can poſitively affirm, that the merchants who ſell the diamonds at the mine will take nothing but fine gold of the beſt quality.

Laſtly, with reſpect to the roads we muſt paſs to arrive at the mines.—In ſome modern accounts, which are a little fabulous, we are told, as I have before obſerved, that they are dangerous and difficult, abounding with lions, tigers, and ſavages; but I found them quite different to what they had been repreſented, meeting with no wild beaſts, and the people full of kindneſs and frankneſs towards ſtrangers. As to Golconda, they can have been but little acquainted with the map of that country, to be ignorant of its ſituation; but from Golconda to Raolconda, which is the principal mine, the road is leſs known, and the following is the route I have taken. In this country the roads are meaſured by the gos, one of which is equal to four French leagues.

From Golconda to Canapour, gos - - - - - - 1
From Canapour to Parquel, gos - - - - - - - 2½
From Parquel to Cakenol, gos - - - - - - - 1
From Cakenol to Canol-Candanor, gos - - - 3
From Canol-Candanor to Setapour, gos - - - 1
From Setapour to the River, gos - - - - - - 2

This river is the frontier of the kingdoms of Golconda and Viſapour.

From the River to Alpour, gos - - - - - - - ¾
From Alpour to Canal, gos - - - - - - - - ¾
From Canal to Raolconda, where the mine is, gos 2½

So that in all, from Golconda to the mine, it is 17 gos, which is equal to 68 French leagues.

From Golconda to the Colour or Gani Mine, by the ſame meaſure, they reckon $13\frac{3}{4}$ gos, which is equal to 55 of our leagues.

From Golconda to Almaſpinde, gos - - - - - $3\frac{1}{2}$
From Almaſpinde to Kaper, gos - - - - - - - 2
From Kaper to Montecour, gos - - - - - - - $2\frac{1}{2}$
From Montecour to Naglepar, gos - - - - - - 2
From Naglepar to Eligada, gos - - - - - - - $1\frac{1}{2}$
From Eligada to Sawaron, gos - - - - - - - 1
From Sawaron to Mellaſerou, gos - - - - - - 1
From Mellaſerou to Ponocour, gos - - - - - - $1\frac{1}{4}$

From Ponocour you have only the river to paſs to arrive at Coulour or Gani.

I come now to an important article, known to but few perſons in Europe.

A Rule to aſcertain the exact Price or Value of Diamonds of any Weight, from three to One Hundred Carats and upwards.

I ſhall ſay nothing of diamonds weighing leſs than three carats, their value being ſo well known.

In the firſt place you muſt learn how much the diamond weighs, and ſee if it is perfect, if it is a thick ſtone, well ſquared and got all its corners, and alſo if it is of a fine white lively water, and without ſpots or flaws. If it is a ſtone cut facet wiſe, which is generally called a roſe, you muſt obſerve that it is of a good round or oval form, if it be of a proper breadth, and not of an aukward form; and laſtly, that it has the water and other properties above mentioned.

A diamond of this nature, weighing a carat, would be worth one hundred and fifty livres, or more, and the queſtion is, to ſhow, by an example, how much a ſtone of the ſame perfection, weighing twelve carats would be worth? The following method will ſerve to explain this.

Multiply the twelve again by twelve, which will produce one hundred and forty-four, then multiply the one hundred and forty-four by one hundred and fifty, which is the value of the ſtone weighing one carat, and the produce will be, twenty-one thouſand ſix hundred livres.

Example of the foregoing rule.

12
12

144
150

7200
144

21,600 livres.

Which is the value of the diamond weighing twelve carats.

But it is not alone ſufficient to know the value of perfect diamonds, ſince we ſhould alſo be able to tell the worth of thoſe that are not perfect, which may be learnt by the ſame method, as for example:

Let

Let us ſuppoſe an imperfect diamond is offered you, weighing fifteen carats, which is not of a good water, or of a bad ſhape, or full of ſpots or flaws. A ſtone of this quality weighing a carat, would not be worth more than ſixty livres, or from that to eighty or one hundred at moſt, according to the beauty of the diamond. You muſt then multiply the weight of the diamond, which is fifteen carats, by fifteen, then again multiply the produce, which will be two hundred and twenty-five, by the value of the ſtone weighing one carat, which for example is eighty livres, and the produce, which will be eighteen thouſand livres, is the value of the diamond weighing fifteen carats.

Example of the foregoing rule:

15
15
75
15
225
80
18,000 livres.

By this the great difference between a perfect and an imperfect ſtone is eaſily perceived; for if the ſtone of fifteen carats was perfect, the ſecond multiplication would be by one hundred and fifty, which is the value of a perfect ſtone weighing one carat; and then the diamond, inſtead of eighteen thouſand livres, would amount to thirty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty; that is, to fifteen thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty livres more, than an imperfect diamond of the ſame weight.

According to the foregoing rule, the following eſtimate may be formed of the value of the two largeſt cut diamonds in the world; the one in Aſia belonging to the Great Mogul, and the other in Europe, in the poſſeſſion of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany.

That belonging to the Great Mogul, weighs 279 $\frac{9}{16}$ carats, is of a perfectly fine water, good ſhape, and has but one ſmall flaw, which is on the edge of the bottom of the ſtone.

Without this little flaw, the firſt carat might be valued at 160 livres, but on account of that I have put it at 150 only, at which calculation, according to the rule laid down, it amounts to the ſum of 11,723,278 livres, 14 ſols, and 3 liards. Had this diamond weighed 279 carats only, it would have amounted but to 11,676,150 livres, theſe $\frac{9}{16}$ making a difference of 47,128 livres, 14 ſols, 3 liards.

The diamond belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, weighs 139 $\frac{1}{2}$ carats, is clear, of a fine form, and cut on all ſides facet-wiſe, but as it ſomewhat approaches to a lemon colour, I have eſtimated the firſt carat at 135 livres only, according to which calculation it amounts to 2,608,335 livres.

As a concluſion to the remarks contained in this chapter, I have to obſerve, that according to the language uſed at the mines the diamond is called Iri; in Turkiſh, Perſian and Arabic, they call it Almas, while in all the European languages, it is known by the name of diamond only.

Thus have I in a few words diſcovered all the information I have been able to collect on this ſubject during my ſeveral journies to the mines; and if by chance ſome other perſon has written on this matter before me, they muſt neceſſarily have derived their intelligence from my communication.

CHAP. V.—*Of coloured Stones, and the Parts where they are found.*

THERE are but two places in the Eaſt in which coloured ſtones are found, that is the kingdom of Pegu, and the iſland of Ceylon. The firſt is at a mountain about a dozen days journey from Siren, on the north-eaſt, and is called Capelan. This is the mine which produces the greateſt quantity of rubies and ſpinels, otherwiſe called the mother of rubies, yellow topazes, blue and white ſapphires, jacinths, amethyſts, and other ſtones of different colours. Amongſt theſe of a hard nature they find others of various colours, but very ſoft, which in the language of the country are called Bacan, but they are in little eſtimation.

Siren is the name of the city in which the King of Pegu has his reſidence, and Ava is the port of his kingdom. From Ava to Siren you go up the river in large barks, which are very flat. It is about ſixty days voyage, and cannot be performed on land by reaſon that you have to travel through woods full of lions, tigers, and elephants. This is one of the pooreſt countries in the world, producing nothing but rubies, and thoſe not in ſo great a number as is generally believed, ſeeing that taking one year with another the exportation does not amount to one hundred thouſand crowns. In the number of theſe ſtones you rarely meet with a fine one weighing three or four carats, by reaſon of the great difficulty in conveying them away till the King has ſeen them, who always retains all the fine ones he meets with. Whence it happens, that in all my voyages, I had a very conſiderable profit to derive from European rubies brought to Aſia; and the relation of Vincent le Blanc, who boaſts of having ſeen rubies in the King's palace as big as eggs, is very doubtful.

The following is an account of the price of ſome rubies, that might paſs for fine ones, which I have in my various travels ſeen for ſale by merchants who came from the mine, when I was at Maſſipatan and Golconda. All rubies are ſold by a weight called a ratis, which is three grains and a half, or ſeven eights of a carat, and the payment is made in old pagodas, of which I have ſpoke in the preceding chapter.

	Pagodas.
A ruby weighing one ratis has been ſold for	20
A ruby weighing 2 ratis and $\frac{1}{8}$ - - -	85
A ruby weighing 3 ratis and $\frac{1}{4}$ - - -	185
A ruby weighing 4 ratis and $\frac{5}{8}$ - - -	450
A ruby weighing 4 ratis - - - -	525
A ruby weighing 6 ratis and $\frac{1}{2}$ - - -	920

When a ruby weighs more than ſix ratis and is perfect, it will fetch almoſt any price.

In this country they call all coloured ſtone rubies, only diſtinguiſhing them by the colour itſelf. Thus in the language of Pegu, the ſapphire is a blue ruby, the amethyſt a violet ruby, the topaz a yellow ruby, and ſo on with all others.

In trading they are ſo greedy of gain, that they will not ſhew you a parcel of rubies, of however little value, without you promiſe beforehand to make them a ſmall preſent, ſuch as a turban or ſaſh, in caſe you do not buy, but if you behave liberal to them, they will ſhew you the whole of their merchandize, when you may generally buy to advantage.

The other part of the Eaſt, from which rubies and other coloured ſtones are produced, is a river in the iſland of Ceylon. It runs from the high mountains which are

about the middle of the iſland, and as it is greatly ſwelled by the rains, three or four months after they have fallen and the water is low, the poor people go and ſearch amongſt the ſand, where they find rubies, ſapphires, and topazes. All the ſtones found at this river are generally finer and clearer than thoſe of Pegu.

I had forgot to obſerve, that in the mountains which run from Pegu to the kingdom of Camboya, there are places where rubies are found, though they are more of balays than the others, with many ſpinels, ſapphires, and topazes. In theſe mountains gold mines are alſo met with, and it is from this place that the fine rhubarb is produced, which is held in high eſtimation, becauſe it does not ſpoil ſo ſoon as that which grows in other parts of Aſia.

There are alſo two other places in Europe in which coloured ſtones are found, that is Bohemia and Hungary. In Bohemia is a mine, containing certain flint ſtones of various ſizes, ſome as big as eggs, and others as large as the fiſt, which on breaking are found to encloſe rubies as hard and fine as thoſe of Pegu. I remember being one day at Prague with the viceroy of Hungary, to whoſe ſuite I belonged, when he, waſhing with General Walleſtein, Duke of Fridland, before ſitting down to table, ſaw on the finger of the general a ruby, of which he greatly praiſed the beauty: but his admiration was further increaſed on the general's informing him that the mine which yielded thoſe ſtones was in Bohemia, and in fact on the viceroy's departure he preſented him with about a hundred of theſe pebbles in a baſket. As we were on our return into Hungary, the viceroy ordered them to be broke, but in all the number there was only two that each contained a ruby; the one, a large ſtone, might weigh near five carats, and the other about one carat.

In Hungary there is alſo a mine in which alone opals are found, it being the ſole place on earth that produces them.

The turquoiſe is only found in Perſia, being produced from two mines, one called the old rock, about three days journey from Meched, approaching to the north-weſt near a large town called Nichabourg; and the other which they call the new mine, at about five days journey from the ſame place. Thoſe found at the new mine are of a bad blue approaching to white, they are but little valued, and a great number of them may be purchaſed for a ſmall ſum. But for ſeveral years paſt the King of Perſia has forbid any one digging in the old rock except for himſelf, becauſe there being no goldſmiths in that country, but thoſe who work in thread or wire, and who underſtand nothing of enamelling on gold, as people that have few deſigns or patterns, he inſtead of enamel, cauſes his ſabres, poignards, and other articles to be ornamented with theſe turquoiſes from the old rock, which they cut and fix in the collets in the ſhape of various flowers and figures, according to fancy. This ſtrikes the eye as a tedious minute work, but is without any deſign.

Laſtly, with reſpect to the emerald, it is an ancient miſtake of many well-informed perſons, that they are found originally in the Eaſt, and even to this day the greater part of the jewellers and goldſmiths, as ſoon as they ſee an emerald of a high colour approaching to black, are accuſtomed to call it an oriental emerald, in which they are miſtaken. I confeſs that I have not yet been able to diſcover thoſe places on our continent, from whence theſe ſtones are procured, but I am well aſſured that they are never brought from the Eaſt, nor in the continent of Aſia, nor any of its iſles, and that having made a diligent enquiry in all my travels, I have never been able to meet with any perſon that could point out any part of Aſia in which they were found. It is true that ſince the diſcovery of America, they have often brought by the ſouth ſeas ſome unpoliſhed ſtones from Perou to the Philippine iſlands,

iſlands; from whence they have paſſed into Europe; but that neither authoriſes us to call them oriental, or to ſuppoſe they were produced in the Eaſt, ſeeing that before this diſcovery and paſſage they were accuſtomed to trade in emeralds all over Europe, but now that they have quitted this route, they ſend them all by the north ſea to Spain. In the year 1660, I ſaw them purchaſed in India twenty per cent. cheaper than they could have been bought in France.

But with regard to this navigation, and the American trade to the Phillippine iſlands, it muſt be obſerved that the Americans export from theſe iſlands, as well as from Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Goa, and other places, all ſorts of linen cloth, quantities of precious ſtones, as diamonds, rubies, &c. with various works in gold and ſilver, ſilk ſtuffs and Perſian carpets. Yet it is alſo neceſſary to notice, that as they are not permitted to ſell any thing directly to the Americans, but only to thoſe who reſide at the Manilles, it is of them they purchaſe theſe articles on their return; and even if any one ſhould obtain permiſſion to depart from Goa to Spain by the way of the South Sea, he would be obliged to pay from eighty to one hundred per cent. as far as the Philippines, without being allowed to purchaſe any thing, and the ſame again from the Philippines to New Spain.

CHAP. VI.—*Of Pearls, and the Places where they are found.*

PEARLS are found both in the eaſtern and weſtern ſeas, and as well for the ſatisfaction of the reader, as alſo to omit nothing on this ſubject, although I have never been in America, I ſhall here take notice of all thoſe places that contain pearl fiſheries, beginning with thoſe of the eaſt.

In the firſt place, there is a pearl fiſhery round the iſland of Bahren in the Perſian gulf, which belongs to the King of Perſia, and there is a good fortreſs, garriſoned with three hundred men. The water they uſe in this iſland, and alſo on the Perſian coaſt, is ſalt and of a bad taſte, and it is only the natives of the country that can drink it. With reſpect to ſtrangers, it coſts them a conſiderable ſum to get it good, for they have to draw it from the ſea at a diſtance of from half a league to two leagues beyond the iſland. Thoſe that go to fetch it are commonly five or ſix in a bark, from which one or two of them dive to the bottom of the ſea, having a bottle or two hung at their girdle, which they fill with water, and then cork them tight; for at about two or three feet from the bottom of the ſea the water is ſweet and of the very beſt quality. When thoſe who are let down have filled their bottles, they pull a ſmall cord which has one end faſtened to ſome perſon in the boat, and it ſerves as a ſignal for their comrades to draw them up.

While the Portugueſe were in poſſeſſion of Ormus and Maſcaté, every terate or bark that went out to fiſh was obliged to have a paſſport which coſt fifteen abaſſis, and they continually employed ſeveral brigantines to ſink thoſe that had not got them. But ſince the Arabs have retaken Maſcaté, and the Portugueſe have no ſtrength on the gulf, every man that goes a fiſhing pays to the King of Perſia five abaſſis only, whether his ſucceſs be good or bad. The merchant alſo pays ſome ſmall triſle to the King on every thouſand oyſters.

The ſecond pearl fiſhery is over againſt that of Bahren, on the coaſt of Arabia the Happy, near the city of Catifa, which as well as the ſurrounding country belongs to an Arabian prince. All the pearls that are fiſhed in theſe places, are generally ſold in the Indies, becauſe the Indians are not ſo difficult as we, and buy indifferently the rough

ones as well as the ſmooth, taking the whole at a fixed price. They alſo carry ſome to Balſora, while thoſe that are carried to Perſia and Muſcovy, are ſold at Bander-Congo, two days journey from Ormus. In all theſe places I have mentioned, as well in other parts of Aſia, they like better to ſee the water of a yellow caſt than white, becauſe they ſay that thoſe pearls in which the water is a little tinged like gold, always retain their brightneſs, and never alter: while thoſe that are white, ſeldom laſt longer than thirty years without changing; when, owing as well to the warmth of the country as the heat of the body, they take a dull yellow colour.

Before taking leave of the gulf of Ormus, I ſhall ſpeak a little more in addition to what is mentioned in my account of Perſia, of the admirable pearl in the poſſeſſion of the Arabian prince that took Meſcaté from the Portugueſe, on which occaſion he aſſumed the name of Imenhect prince of Maſcaté, being before called Aceph Ben-Ali, prince of Norenuaé. This, though but a ſmall province, is the fineſt in all Arabia the Happy, containing every thing neceſſary for the life of man, but particularly fine fruits, and above all, moſt excellent grapes, from which they can make very good wine. It is this prince that poſſeſſes the fineſt pearl in the whole world, not on account of its ſize, for it weighs but 12 carats and $\frac{1}{16}$, nor for its perfect roundneſs, but becauſe it is ſo bright and tranſparent, that you can almoſt ſee the light through it. As the gulf over againſt Ormus is little more than twelve leagues from Arabia the Happy, on the Perſian ſide, and the Arabs are at peace with the Perſians, the prince Maſcaté came to viſit the Khan of Ormus, by whom he was magnificently treated, at the ſame time inviting the Engliſh, Dutch, and French, amongſt which number I was one. At the cloſe of the entertainment, the prince drew out this pearl from a little purſe, which he wore ſuſpended from his neck, and ſhewed it to the Khan and all the company. The Khan would have bought it, to preſent to the King of Perſia, and offered as far as two thouſand tomins, but the prince would not ſell it, ſince which I croſſed the ſea in company with a Banian merchant, ſent by the Great Mogul to this prince, with an offer of forty thouſand crowns for his pearl, but which he alſo refuſed. This ſtory ſhews us that with reſpect to jewels, thoſe which are very fine, ſhould not always be brought to Europe, but rather, as I have before noticed, carried from Europe to Aſia, where they highly value thoſe jewels and pearls, which are of extraordinary beauty, with the exception of the Chineſe and Japaneſe, who ſet no eſteem upon them.

Another place in the Eaſt remarkable for a pearl fiſhery is in the ſea which waſhes a large town called Manar in the iſland of Ceylon. Theſe are the fineſt with reſpect to water and roundneſs of all the other fiſheries, but they rarely find any that weigh more than three or four carats.

Alſo on the coaſt of Japan there are large pearls, and of fine water, but very rough, however they never fiſh for them, becauſe, as I have already obſerved, the Japaneſe hold jewels in no eſtimation.

Notwithſtanding the pearls found at Bahren and Catifa approach a little upon the yellow, they are yet, as I have already remarked, in as much eſteem as thoſe of Manar, and throughout all the Eaſt they ſay they are ripe, and never change their colour.

I now come to the weſtern fiſheries, which are all in the great gulf of Mexico, extending along the coaſt of New Spain, where there are five, ſtretching from eaſt to weſt.

The firſt is along the iſland of Cubagua, which is not more than three leagues in circuit, and about five diſtant from Terra Firma. It is placed at ten degrees and a half in the northern latitude, and is about one hundred and ſixty leagues from St. Domingo, in the iſland of Hiſpanolia. The land is here quite barren, and deſtitute of every

every thing, particularly of water, which the inhabitants are obliged to fetch from Terra Firma. This iſland is noted throughout the weſt for producing the greateſt number of pearls, though the largeſt never exceed five carats.

The ſecond fiſhery is at the iſland of Marguerite, that is to ſay, the iſland of pearls, and is about a-league's diſtance from Cubagua, which it much ſurpaſſes in ſize. It contains every thing eſſential for life, except water, in which like Cubagua it is deficient, and they go to fetch it from the river Cumana, near New Cadiz. This fiſhery, though not the largeſt of the five found in America, is yet reckoned the principal one, by reaſon that its pearls ſurpaſs the others in perfection, as well for water as in ſize. One of theſe pearls I had formerly in my poſſeſſion, which was finely ſhaped like a pear, and of clear water, it weighed fifty-five carats, and I ſold it to Cha-Eſt-Kan, the Great Mogul's uncle.

Many perſons are much ſurpriſed at pearls being carried from Europe to the Eaſt, where they are found in great quantities; but it muſt be conſidered that the eaſtern fiſheries never produce any ſo large as the weſt, to which may be added, that all the kings and great lords in Aſia, give a much better price than Europeans, not only for pearls, but all ſorts of jewels when they are any ways uncommon, diamonds alone excepted.

The third fiſhery is at Comogote alſo near Terra Firma. The fourth is at Rio de la Hacha, along the ſame coaſt.

The fifth and laſt is at Saint Martha, ſixty leagues from Rio de la Hacha. All theſe three fiſheries produce pearls of a large ſize; but they are in general ill ſhaped and of a lead coloured water.

With regard to the pearls of Scotland, and thoſe found in one of the rivers of Bavaria, although necklaces are made of them to the value of one thouſand crowns and upwards, yet they will not bear a compariſon with thoſe of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

I believe no one that has preceded me in writing on pearls, has taken any notice of the fiſhery that within theſe few years has been diſcovered on the coaſt of Japan, many of which pearls brought from thence by Dutchmen I have ſeen. They are of a very fine water, and ſome of them large, but are all rough. The Japaneſe, as I have obſerved elſewhere, hold them in no eſtimation, and it is not unlikely, were they diſpoſed to ſearch, that they might meet with ſome ſand banks containing finer.

Before cloſing this chapter, I wiſh to make an important remark reſpecting pearls and the difference of their water, ſome being very white, others bordering upon yellow, and ſome again of a blackiſh or lead colour. With reſpect to the latter, they are found only in America, and their colour is owing to the nature of the bottom, which contains more mud than in the Eaſt. In a cargo that the late Monſieur du Jardin, the famous jeweller, had in the Spaniſh galleons, he found ſix pearls perfectly round, but black as jet, which, taking the one with the other, weighed twelve carats. He gave them to me, in company with other articles to carry to the Eaſt and endeavour to ſell, but I brought them back to him, not having been able to find any perſon who was pleaſed with them. As to thoſe which have a yellow caſt, this ariſes from the pearl fiſhers ſelling the oyſters to the merchants by heaps, who ſometimes keep them as long as fourteen or fifteen days until they open of themſelves when they take out the pearls; during which time ſome of theſe oyſters loſing their moiſture, ſpoil and waſte, by means of which infection the pearl turns yellow, which is ſo true, that in all the oyſters that have preſerved their moiſture, the pearls are always white. The reaſon why they keep them till they open of themſelves is, that if opened by force as we do our ſhell-oyſters, they would run the riſk of damaging or breaking the pearl. The oyſters at

Manar

Manar open naturally five or six days ſooner than thoſe in the Perſian Gulf, becauſe the heat is greater at Manar, which is in the tenth degree of north latitude, than at the iſland of Bahren, which is about twenty-ſeven degrees: thus amongſt thoſe pearls that come from Manar there are few yellow. In ſhort, all the eaſtern nations are exactly of our taſte with regard to whiteneſs, and I have always obſerved that they like the whiteſt pearls, the whiteſt diamonds, the whiteſt bread, and the whiteſt women.

CHAP. VII. *Shewing in what Manner the Pearls are engendered in Oyſters, how they fiſh for them, and at what Time.*

I AM well aware that, according to the opinion of ſome ancient authors, not very converſant in theſe matters, pearls have commonly been thought to be engendered by the dew from heaven, and that never more than one is found in each oyſter, all which experience has ſhewn to be erroneous. With reſpect to the firſt, the oyſters are found only at the bottom of the ſea, where the dew cannot penetrate, they being ſometimes, as I ſhall preſently ſhew, obliged to dive for them as low as twelve fathoms; and in regard to the other, it is certain, that as many as ſix or ſeven pearls have been found in one oyſter; nay, I myſelf have had one that contained to the number of ten, regular in a train of formation. They were not it is true all of the ſame bigneſs; becauſe they engender in the oyſters in the ſame manner as eggs in the belly of a fowl, where as the largeſt egg being moſt advanced towards the oriſice, comes out firſt, leaving the ſmaller ones behind till further perfected, ſo likewiſe in the oyſters the largeſt pearl firſt preſents itſelf, leaving the ſmaller ones not yet arrived at perfection under the oyſter at the bottom of the ſhell, until they have attained their natural ſize. But yet I do not mean from this to infer that it is a general rule, as, on the contrary, many oyſters are met with containing no pearls at all.

It muſt not be imagined that theſe pearl divers derive any great advantage from their labour, for if the poor people thus occupied had any thing elſe to employ them, they would willingly quit this trade, which they follow only to keep them from ſtarving. I have, in my account of Perſia, before obſerved, that from Balſora as far as Cape Jaſque, on both ſides the Perſian Gulf, the earth produces nothing. The people are there ſo poor, and live in a manner ſo pitiable, that they ſee neither bread nor rice, living entirely on dates and ſalt-fiſh, as they muſt go twenty leagues up the country before they meet with any herb.

They fiſh in the oriental ſeas twice a year, firſt in March and April, and ſecondly, in Auguſt and September, and the time for felling them is from June till November. But this fiſhery is not carried on every year, becauſe thoſe who undertake it wiſhing to learn beforehand, whether or not it will tend to their advantage; ſend out to the place where they fiſh ſix or ſeven barks, when each of them bringing back about a thouſand oyſters, they open them, and if in every thouſand, pearls are not found to the value of five ſanos, which is about equal to half-a-crown of our money, it is a ſign that the fiſhery will not be productive, and theſe poor people would not be able to make good the expences they are put to, ſince as well to cloath as ſupport them during the time of the fiſhery, they borrow money at three and four per cent. per month; ſo that if the thouſand oyſters does not produce pearls to the amount of at leaſt five ſanos, they fiſh none that year. The merchants that buy theſe oyſters muſt do it at a venture, taking their chance as to their contents. This, when they find large pearls, turns out fortunate, although it happens but

ſeldom

ſeldom, eſpecially at the Manar fiſhery, where, as I have already obſerved, none but ſmall ones are found, the moſt part of them being ſuch as are ſold by the ounce. They have ſeveral as large as half a grain or a grain, but it is a great thing when they find one to weigh two or three carats. There are ſome years that a thouſand oyſters are worth ſeven fanos, and that the fiſhery amounts to an hundred thouſand piaſtres or more. When the Portugueſe were in poſſeſſion of Manar, they impoſed a duty on every bark, and ſince the Dutch have taken poſſeſſion of it, from every diver they receive eight piaſtres, and ſometimes nine, which, in a profitable year, has brought them in as much as ſeventeen thouſand two hundred reals. The reaſon why the Portugueſe took this tribute of theſe poor people, as likewiſe why the Dutch continue it, is to defray the expence of defending them againſt the Malavares their enemies, who, coming in armed barks, endeavour to take them for ſlaves. All the time the fiſhery is carried on, the Dutch have two or three armed barks at ſea, on the ſide that the corſairs come from, by which means they are enabled to work in peace. Theſe divers are for the moſt part idolaters, although there are ſome Mahometans who have their barks by themſelves. They never mix together, and the Dutch receive more from theſe latter than the former, for beſides that the Mahometans pay as much as the idolaters, they alſo give the produce of one day's fiſhery, which day is at the choice of the Dutch.

The more it rains in the courſe of the year, the more productive it is for the fiſhery, but many perſons imagine that the deeper water the oyſter is found in, ſo much is the pearl the whiter, becauſe the water is not ſo hot, the ſun not penetrating to the bottom, but this is an opinion I beg leave to contradict. They fiſh in from four to twelve fathom water, which fiſhery is carried on upon the banks, where there are ſometimes as many as two hundred and fifty barks, in the greater part of which there is but one diver, ſome of the largeſt only having two.

Theſe barks ſail from the coaſt every morning before ſun riſe, with a conſtant breeze from the land, which laſts till ten o'clock. After dinner they return with a breeze from the ſea, which ſucceeds that of the land, regularly ſpringing up about eleven or twelve o'clock as ſoon as the other has ceaſed. The banks on which they fiſh, are five or ſix leagues out in the ſea, and when there, the following is the method uſed to procure the oyſters.

Under the arms of thoſe who dive, they faſten a cord, one end of which is held by them that remain in the bark, while to their great toe a ſtone is tied of eighteen or twenty pounds weight, the cord alſo being held by thoſe in the bark. Then they have a net made like a ſack, the mouth being encircled with a hoop to keep it open, and this net is faſtened like the reſt. The diver is now let down into the ſea, where directly he gets to the bottom, which he very ſoon does by means of the ſtone faſtened to his toe, he immediately unties it, and thoſe who are in the bark draw it up. He now keeps filling the net with the oyſters as long as he can hold his breath, which when he finds beginning to fail him, he pulls the cord faſtened under his arms, and that ſerving as a ſignal to thoſe in the boat, they draw him up as quick as poſſible. The divers at Manar are much cleverer at fiſhing, and remain longer under the water than thoſe of Bahren and Catifa, neither cloſing up their noſtrils with pincers, nor putting cotton in their ears to hinder the water from entering, as they do at the Perſian Gulf.

After the diver is drawn into the bark, they drag up the net with the oyſters, when he remains about half a quarter of an hour, as well to allow them time to take out the oyſters as to give him time to breathe, which done he returns again to the bottom of the ſea in the ſame manner as before, repeatedly continuing ſo to do for the ſpace of ten or twelve hours, when they make for land. Some that are in want of money ſell what

what they have immediately, whilſt thoſe that have wherewith to live, keep them till the fiſhing ſeaſon is over. They leave the oyſters to open of themſelves, which they do as ſoon as they begin to ſpoil. Some of the ſhells are four times as large as thoſe we have at Rouen, but as the oyſters are of an inſipid, unpleaſant taſte, they always throw them away.

As a concluſion to this diſcourſe on pearls, it muſt be obſerved, that throughout all Europe, they ſell them by the carat, which is four grains, the ſame as in diamonds, whereas in Aſia, they have various weights. In Perſia they weigh their pearls by the Abas, which is one eighth leſs than our carat, while in the Indies, and throughout all the Great Mogul's territories, as alſo in the kingdoms of Golconda and Viſapour, they weigh them by the ratis, which is likewiſe one eighth leſs than the carat.

Goa was formerly the greateſt mart in Aſia for diamonds, rubies, ſapphires, topazes, and other ſtones. Here all the miners and merchants reſorted to ſell the fineſt productions of the mines, becauſe they were at free liberty to diſpoſe of them as they pleaſed, whereas in their own country, upon ſhewing any thing particular to any of the kings or princes they were obliged to accept juſt what he choſe to give them. Goa was alſo famous for the great trade there carried on in pearls, as well thoſe brought from the iſland of Bahren in the Perſian Gulf, as from Manar on the coaſt of Ceylon, and alſo thoſe from America. It muſt be obſerved, that at Goa and all other Portugueze poſſeſſions in the Indies, they weigh their pearls with a particular weight, not uſed at any other place either in Europe, Aſia, or America. I make no mention of Africa, becauſe this trade is not known there, the women in that part of the world contenting themſelves, in the place of jewels, with ſome grains of falſe coral or yellow amber, of which they make collars and bracelets to ornament their legs and arms.

Notwithſtanding the Portugueze, in all their Indian poſſeſſions, ſell the pearls by a weight called chegos; they nevertheleſs buy them of the merchants according to the cuſtom of their various countries, either by the carat, abas, or ratis.

A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE EAST INDIES,

BEING

The Obſervations and Remarks of Capt. ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

Who ſpent his Time there from the Year 1688 to 1723; trading and Travelling, by Sea and Land, to moſt of the Countries and Iſlands of Commerce and Navigation, between the Cape of Good Hope, and the Iſland of Japon*.

To his Grace, JAMES, Duke of Hamilton, Chatlerault and Brandon, Marquis of Clydſdale, Earl of Arran, Lanerk and Cambridge, Lord Avon, Polmount, Machanſchyer, and Innerdale, and Baron of Dutton, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Thiſtle.

MY LORD,

I HAVE known ſome ſcribblers, or authors, dedicate their works to great men, who they hardly knew any more of than their illuſtrious names; but my ambition or preſumption has a juſter plea in claiming your Grace's patronage, ſince you have been pleaſed to honour me with ſeveral inſtances of your favour; therefore, I humbly preſume to lay theſe curſory obſervations that I made in my travels to the Eaſt Indies, at your Grace's feet; and if they find acceptance, I ſhall not much mind the cenſure of criticks, or ſatyriſts: for I am perſuaded, that the very name of ſo illuſtrious a patron will be ſufficient to protect and defend me.

If I had thought, while I was in India, of making my obſervations or remarks public, and to have had the honour of preſenting them to ſo noble a patron, I had certainly been more careful and curious in my collections, and of keeping memorandums to have made this work more complete: but it muſt now appear, to ſome diſadvantage, (for want of thoſe ornaments) in its native ſimple dreſs, as it came poſting through a weak and treacherous memory with little elegancy.

I have ſeen the elaborate works of ſeveral ingenious pens, who had travelled through many countries, in maps, that I have travelled to by ſea and land; they may have many advantages to recommend their works that I want; yet, few (if any) ever had the living acquaintances that I have had, to inform or inſtruct them in many particulars relating to the ancient, or preſent ſtate of their countries, whoſe vernacular languages can beſt illuſtrate their hiſtories, ſome of which I underſtood.

All that have travelled in thoſe countries before me, have omitted ſome things worthy of obſervation, and have remarked ſome things impertinent enough; and, as I take the liberty to cenſure them, I expect the ſame treatment from thoſe that may travel after me, and for the very ſame fault.

Thoſe five or ſix and thirty years that I ſpent in the Eaſt Indies, ſtrolling from place to place, gave me opportunites to know ſome topographical, hiſtorical, and theogonal parts of this work, from the natives, of their reſpective countries, who may be preſumed to be better acquainted with their own traditions and cuſtoms, than ſtrangers, who are often at a loſs for want of language.

* Edin. 1727, 2 vols. 8vo.

I will

Engraved by George Cooke, by Permission of M. Orme, from B. Solvyns's Costume of Hindostan.

A Woman of Distinction. A Chittery. A Dybuck.

London Published by Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown Paternoster Row Jan.y 1.st 1810

I will not apologize (as many) for my weakneſs or unfitneſs for this undertaking, for I aſſure your Grace, if I had not thought myſelf pretty well qualified for it, I had never ſet about it.

And, as my travels have been moſt along the ſea-coaſts, I have deſcribed the harbours, rivers, and dangers of them, pretty punctually. I hope thoſe remarks may be uſeful to ſome of my fraternity, who may have occaſion to go into thoſe ſeas; and though they may get better pilots than I, yet they cannot be the worſe of my remarks.

I will not trouble your Grace with encomiums, either on yourſelf, or your illuſtrious anceſtors, for your names and characters are ſo well known all over Europe, and in ſome parts farther off, by diſtinguiſhing marks, that it would be but preſumption in me to offer to add any thing to them; but pleaſe to accept of my beſt wiſhes for the welfare of your Grace, and your illuſtrious family and kindred; and that the Almighty may protect and direct you in a virtuous life, and make you a peculiar favourite in the court of heaven, ſhall always be the ſincere prayer of,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt devoted, and moſt affectionate humble Servant,

Alexander Hamilton.

PREFACE.

A BOOK without a preface, now a-days, is as unfaſhionable as a lady to pretend to be dreſt a-la-mode without a hoop, or a nice beau without a ſnuff-box: therefore I am reſolved to be in the faſhion at any rate, if I do appear a little aukward in my performance, and I will make no other apology, but the thread-bare one, (that many ſcriblers have done before me) that it was at the requeſt, and by the perſuaſions of ſome particular friends and acquaintances, that I commit theſe obſervations and remarks to writing.

I know ſuch a miſcellany as this muſt be, will hardly find favour with every body, however if it pleaſe my friends, I ſhall not be very ſolicitous about what others may ſay of it, or me; and, if there are any notable errors, or miſtakes in the work, (which is more than I know of, if there is) yet take all the piece together, without vanity, I preſume you will find it more particular, correct and extenſive, than any of this kind, at leaſt, of any that ever I ſaw; and if any things are mentioned or advanced, that may ſeem dubious or fabulous, the beſt way that I know, how to cure your ſcruples or doubts is, to take a trip to thoſe countries whence they come, and inform yourſelves better than I have done; and when ye return to Britain, and convict, or convince me of my miſtakes, I will readily acknowledge them, and beg pardon.

But I'll neither do the one nor the other, if I am arraigned before the tribunal of map travellers, or who have only the ſanction of other men's journal, or memoirs to qualify them judges; and, although ſome amuſe the world with large and florid deſcriptions of countries that they never ſaw, and of cuſtoms they never ſaw uſed, yet, ſince their ſtock of knowledge is all on tick, the want of being eye and ear witneſſes very much depreciates their accounts; beſides, common experience teacheth us, that time alters religions, cuſtoms, commerce, economy, &c. in all countries; therefore, as theſe obſervations are the moſt modern, conſequently they are the nearer related to the times we live in.

I knew a reverend gentleman, in anno 1690, who came to Bombay in India, chaplain

the brighteſt light, while theirs is to be groped out by the dark glimmerings of very fallible reaſon; yet, for all theſe diſadvantages, I have known many of them practiſe very much holineſs in their lives by the help of morality, ſo that ſome animadverſion on our advantages, compared with their diſadvantages, may be, in ſome meaſure, both uſeful and delightful to all thinking men, except the atheiſt, whoſe numbers, I hope, are very few among us, and I never met with one in India.

What relates to navigation, in deſcribing the ſeas, and dangers lying in them, and the ſea-coaſts, with the dangers and harbours on them, is purely calculated for the uſe of my fraternity, who may have occaſion to navigate in thoſe ſeas, or on thoſe coaſts, but to others, who have no call that way, they are almoſt uſeleſs.

The commerce on the continent and the iſlands, with the account of their productions, fertility or ſterility, are merely deſigned for the aſſiſtance of ſtrangers, merchants or ſeamen, who may hereafter attempt a trade with the inhabitants of them: and I am perſuaded, that there are ſeveral places, both on the continent and among the iſlands, that lie now neglected by Europeans, that might produce a good advantageous trade, if factories were ſettled, and commerce cultivated with the inhabitants, and would yield much better profits than many of the old factories do at preſent, ſome of which, I know, carry on but a very faint trade for their reſpective companies, that can hardly defray their little charges: but indolent people are generally wedded to their old cuſtoms, or their crazy habitations, without conſidering what changes time makes, in bodies politic as well as natural, which diſtemper is a lethargy in trade, and in all other of induſtry, which I can point out in particulars, if need were.

Now, as our dear friends and allies have engroſſed all the Moluccos or ſpice iſlands, I can give but a ſuperficial hiſtorical account of them; and, as they were acquired by bloody and barbarous induſtry, they keep and govern them with arbitrary violence. A poor Briton dares not approach them, leſt they meet with the fate that ſome of our countrymen met with there formerly: and even an Engliſh ſeamen cannot be employed in that company's ſervice, for fear of making obſervations in navigation, and remarks on trade, that may (ſome time or other, but God knows when) prove detrimental to their commerce. What I could learn of thoſe iſlands were ſome curſory accounts from ſome of my fraternity, when a bottle or two had opened their breaſts.

Yet I could have enlarged theſe obſervations, and made my book look much bigger than it is; but, as I hate prolixity myſelf, I treat my reader with what brevity I can, in every part, except it be where the ſubject cannot bear too narrow a contraction in its illuſtration.

But, before I end this preface or prologue, I will tell my reader, who perhaps is unacquainted with me, who I am, and who I am not. Firſt then, I am one who went very young to travel, not for want, for there ever was, and is enough of that in my own country; but having a rambling mind, and a fortune too narrow to allow me to travel like a gentleman, I applied myſelf to the ſtudy of nautical affairs at Neptune's ſchool, and, in proceſs of time, I came to be a maſter of arts in that univerſity. My younger days I ſpent in viſiting moſt of the maritime kingdoms of Europe, and ſome parts of Barbary. Then my curioſity led me to Jamaica, and then to the Eaſt Indies, where I ſpent between five and ſix and thirty years, ſtill learning my trade, and how to get money, and, meeting with ſome encouragement, I ſet up for myſelf, and took ſome apprentices, and, according to my abilities, I taught them, and gave them encouragement. Now, one would think, that in ſo long a time in India, I might have made a great deal of money as well as obſervations and remarks; but Fortunatus will

W. Alexander. del.t from a Sketch by E.H. Locker Esq.r F.S.A. taken July 28.1808.

Engraved by George Cooke.

Jungeira Pagoda at Sultan Gunge.

(Hindostan.)

not lodge in every houſe there with honeſt and induſtrious men more than in Europe; yet, after many ſtrugglings with adverſe fortune, and heavy oppreſſions, I have brought back a charm that can keep out the meagre devil (poverty) from entering into my houſe, and ſo I have got holy Agur's wiſh in Prov. xxx. 8. and I have learned a pretty good leſſon from St. Paul in his epiſtle to the Philippians, chap. iv. ver. 11. which I am reſolved to follow as long as I live.

And now I'll tell you who I am not. I aſſure you I am no mercenary ſcribbler, for, although I was profferred a good round ſum for a copy of theſe following obſervations, I refuſed it, and have made a preſent of them to a particular friend, and, if he thinks them worth the printing, he may print them for his own benefit and advantage; and, if he has good luck in putting them off, perhaps I may make ſome additions, appendixes or ſupplements to thoſe obſervations already made.

Moreover, I left England before King William came into it as King, which I look on as a ſingular providence, conſidering the revolutions and wars that ſoon followed King James's abdication, for being then young and thoughtleſs, and having but little experience of the affairs of the politick world, a fair tale plauſibly told, with a little ſmooth perſuaſion, might have drawn me into a wrong way of thinking, or might have led me away (by taking part with a wrong faction) to an untimely end, or, at leaſt, have given me time enough to make obſervations on the miſeries of a penurious life, as I ſee many now in Holland do at this time, who are plentifully fed with the bread of affliction, and their heat quenched with the waters of ſorrow, and the tears of repentance.

Now, as theſe obſervations have been moſtly from the ſtore-houſe of my memory, and are the amuſement or lucubrations of the nights of two long winters, I have even let my thoughts take their places, as they came out of my little magazine, without ſtudying to put them in rank and file, according to nice rules and forms. So in the ſame order I leave them to my reader, with the old proverb to accompany them, 'that the proof of the pudding is in eating it;' ſo, according to your taſte or appetite, you may either condemn or commend.

A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE EAST INDIES.

CHAP. I.—*Giveth a traditional Account of the firſt ſettling of Europeans at the Cape of Good Hope, with ſome hiſtorical Remarks on the maritime Countries between the ſaid Cape and Cape Guardafoy, with the inhabited Iſlands of that Coaſt.*

THE firſt Europeans that ſettled at Cabo de bona Eſperanza, or, in Engliſh, the Cape of Good Hope, were the Engliſh, in Queen Elibabeth's time; but the natives were ſo unſociable and indocile, that they thought fit to leave it. A few years after they had left it, the Engliſh Eaſt India company conſidering what importance a port would be of to their ſhipping, both in their outward and homeward bound paſſages to and from India, were reſolved to make another trial for a ſettlement there, and, in order to accompliſh their deſign, obtained a reprieve for three condemned malefactors, to be carried thither in order to learn the language, to ſerve for interpreters, and to inſpect, as far as they could, into the manners and cuſtoms of the native Hottentots, and of the product and commerce of the country.

After

After they had been there three years without being able to learn any of their language, or to teach any of the natives a word of Engliſh, a ſhip was ordered, in her paſſage from India, to call there, to know what was become of theſe three perſons, and arriving there, found them all alive, but very tired with their manner of living, inſomuch that they fell on their knees, and, with tears in their eyes, beſeeched the captain of the ſhip to carry them back to England, to receive the puniſhment due to their crimes, rather than be left among the very dregs of human nature, who had neither religion nor laws, except what every maſter of a family preſcribed, and allowed thoſe under his authority to obſerve and obey.

Some years after the experiment was made on the aforeſaid criminals, an Engliſh ſhip coming there for water and proviſions, in their way homeward to England, the captain had the curioſity to detain a youth that came to board his ſhip, and, being ready to ſail, carried him to England, where he ſtaid ſome years, clothed well after the Engliſh faſhion, and kept at ſchool to learn to ſpeak and read Engliſh; and, when the Eaſt India company thought him well enough qualified to ſerve for an interpreter, they ſent him back to his own country, very well clothed. As ſoon as he appeared aſhore among his friends and relations, he pulled off his Engliſh apparel, and put on his country habit, which is a ſheep's ſkin about his ſhoulders. The ſheep's guts ſerve both ſexes for bracelets, and the tallow mixed with ſoot is their pomatum, with which they bedaub their woolly heads, faces, and the reſt of their bodies. And when they come on board of our ſhipping to traffic their fowls, roots, and herbs, with our needles, ſciſſars, knives, toys, &c., they go firſt to the cook-room, and look out for ſome greaſe to anoint their naſty carcaſes, and ſcrape the bottoms of the kettles for ſoot, to beautify their ſkins.

Notwithſtanding that they are ſo brutal and indocile, they know the value of liberty, and will by no means be ſlaves, at leaſt to any Europe nations; and, in their diſpoſitions, are not cruel, through revengeful. They are not ſuperſtitious, for what adoration they pay, is to the ſun, and that but ſeldom. The country is mountainous. The hills are ſtored with deer and ſheep, black cattle, lions, tigers, and other voracious animals. The vallies produce good wheat and legumen, grapes in abundance, and many other excellent fruits, oſtriches, and good fowl both wild and tame: and the ſea and rivers good ſtore of fiſhes, beſides the manatee, or ſea-cow.

The Engliſh, deſpairing of ſettling a colony there, left it, and ſettled at St. Helena, a very high mountainous iſland, lying between the coaſt of Guinea and America, about 620 leagues north-weſt half weſt from the Cape of Good Hope; and the Dutch Eaſt India Company ſettled a colony at Cape Bona Eſperanza, by the aſſiſtance of ſome French refugees, who have penetrated near 300 Engliſh miles into the land, and manure the ground to very good purpoſe, it yielding them wines and wheat in abundance. The Dutch company has a ſtrong fort, and a town on the ſouth ſide of a bay, that ſerves for a good road for ſhipping in all winds, except thoſe that blow between the north and weſt. The Engliſh called generally there, in their way to and from India, in former times, for refreſhments; but of late the white Hottentots will not permit the poor Britons to carry on board their ſhips any cattle, ſheep, or fowls with life in them, for the ſupport or relief of their dear friends and allies, notwithſtanding the conſcientious prices we would willingly beſtow for their edibles. The black Hottentots would ſhew the Engliſh much more humanity, if the white did not reſtrain them; and ſo I leave them, and proceed to the eaſtward.

From Cape Bona Eſperanza to Natal, is a dangerous ſea-coaſt, and little frequented, whether by the unſociableneſs of the Hottentots, the inhabitants, or that the country produces

produces nothing worth the merchants adventuring thither for, I know not; but to Natal I have known ſome Engliſh veſſels go from India, for elephants teeth, and did make pretty good voyages; but they were two years and a half in performing a voyage. The country is fertile, but unwholſome. The woods are thick ſet with ſeveral ſorts of trees, and ſtored with elephants, lions, leopards, bears, wolves, deer and foxes; the rivers with fiſh, manatees and crocodiles. Here lived, in anno 1718, a penitent pirate, who ſequeſtered himſelf from his abominable community, and retired out of harm's way.

There is no commerce on the coaſt between Natal and Delagoa, I believe, for the ſame reaſon that I gave for the unfrequentedneſs of the coaſt between the Cape of Good-Hope and Natal; and I believe, the firſt communicative commerce, either to Natal or Delagoa, with the Engliſh, came by accident; for about the year 1683, an Engliſh ſhip, called the Johanna, was loſt ſomewhere about Delagoa. The natives, who were reputed great barbarians, ſhewed the ſhipwrecked men much more civility and humanity than ſome nations that I know, who pretend much religion and politeneſs, for they accommodated their gueſts with whatever they wanted of the product of their country, at very eaſy rates, and aſſiſted what they could, to ſave part of the damaged cargo, receiving very moderate rewards for their labour and pains. Their language was by ſigns; and for a few glaſs-beads, knives, ſciſſars, needles, thread, and ſmall looking-glaſſes, which they are very fond of, they hired themſelves to carry many portable things (that were ſaved from the ſhipwreck) to a neighbouring country, and procured others, who alſo ſerved them for guides towards the Cape of Good-Hope, and provided eatables for their maſters, all the while they were under their conduct; and having carried them about 200 miles on their way, by land, they provided new guides and porters for them, for ſome of the aforeſaid trifles, who conducted them, and provided for them, as the others had done, for 7 or 800 miles farther, which they travelled in 40 days, and ſo delivered their charge to others, who conducted and provided for them, till they arrived at the Cape; and ſome of the Engliſh falling ſick on the way, they carried the ſick in hammocks, till they either recovered or died, and out of 80 men there were but 3 or 4 died; but how long they journeyed before they arrived at the Cape, I have forgotten. This account I had from one of the travellers. He told me, that the natural fertility of thoſe countries he travelled through, made the inhabitants lazy, indolent, indocile and ſimple. Their rivers are abundantly ſtored with good fiſh and water-fowl, beſides manatees or ſea-cows, and crocodiles; their woods with large trees, wild cattle and deer, elephants, rhinoceroſes, lions, tigers, wolves and foxes for game; alſo many ſorts of winged fowl and birds, beſides oſtriches. They have ſome notions of a Deity, whom they worſhip with dancing and feaſting, for they are generally very much inclined to mirth, an inſtance whereof I will venture to relate, on the account I had from a maſter of a ſhip, who went thither to trade in anno 1718, viz. when they had got their ſhip ſecured in a river, the natives aſſembled in good numbers to traffick, near the place where the ſhip lay: an arch Indian youth, who was a very good drummer, carried his drum aſhore, and in a thicket pretty near the aſſembly, beat his drum very briſkly, on which the young of both ſexes fell a ſkipping, and a little after the adult and old followed their example, ſo that none ſtood idle ſpectators; but the old beginning to tire, ſome went to the drummer, and preſented him with eggs, fowl and fruits, and intreated him to leave off, which as ſoon as he did, they all ſat down again on the ground, well heated.

I ſaw ſeveral rhinoceroſes horns brought thence to Bombay, much longer than ever I ſaw in India or China, and one was three horns growing from one root; the

longeſt was about 18 inches, the ſecond about 12, and the third about 8, but ſmaller in proportion than what is in India, and much ſharper about the point. The maſter of the forenamed ſhip brought alſo a black fowl, as big in the body as a large duck. It had a long, ſtraight, thick, but pointed bill, and hollow eyes, its legs about 12 or 14 inches long, but thick and ſtrong; it was very voracious after fleſh or fiſh, and was an excellent frog and rat-catcher. As ſoon as he caught any living game, he toſſed it up about two yards high, and caught it on the point of his bill, and ſo repeated his toſſings till the animal died, and then greedily devoured it.

Between Delagoa and Moſambique is a dangerous ſea-coaſt; it formerly was known by the names of Suffola and Cuama, but now by the Portugueze, who know that country beſt, it is called Sena. It finds dominions for many different princes, for they are contented with ſmall territories. The inhabitants are all negroes, and almoſt all barbarians, except a few that the Portugueze have converted to Popery; and they, by their converſion, are generally leſs humane to European ſtrangers than the Barbarians.

Sena abounds in elephants teeth and low gold, of 18 or 19 carects fineneſs; but the people having plenty of all things convenient for them, are very ſupine. They have large ſtrong bodies and limbs, and are very bold in war. They will have commerce with none but the Portugueze, who keep a few prieſts along the ſea-coaſts, that overawe the ſilly natives, and get their teeth and gold for trifles, and ſend what they get to Moſambique.

I have heard a Portugueze ſay, who went from Moſambique thither, that, carrying ſome ſmall glaſs-beads of divers colours for traffick, the natives made a hole in ſome clay ground, which would hold as many beads as they wanted, and taking the beads out of the hole, filled it up with gold-duſt. He alſo told me, that for ſome coarſe chequered cloth, called Cambaya Lungies, made of cotton-yarn, the natives would bring elephants teeth, and meaſure the length of a tooth by the cloth, and bartered the tooth for ſo much cloth as it meaſured: but the Portugueze relations are hardly to be credited, for if gold and teeth were ſo eaſily purchaſed, how can they be ſo miſerably poor as they are, every where in their colonies, all over India?

I rather believe, that this was the Ophir or Tarſhiſh of the Jews, whither Solomon ſent his ſhips out of the Red Sea, than Sumatra, where they could not poſſibly go and return in three years along the ſea-coaſts, which might eaſily be effected to Sena.

Moſambique is an iſland belonging to the crown of Portugal, it is well fortified both by art and nature, but is very unwholſome, in ſo much, than when any Reynol, or European Portugueze in the King of Portugal's ſervice in India commits any capital crime, inſtead of puniſhing him according to their national or martial laws, they are baniſhed to Moſambique, for as many years as the viceroy of Goa and his council ſhall order, and very few ever return from their exile, for 5 or 6 years is a long life there. It alſo ſerves for a refreſhing place for the Portugueze ſhips, that are bound from Europe to India, where they generally ſtay about 30 days to recruit their ſoldiers and ſeamen, (not with freſh numbers, but freſh victuals and whores), who, by their inactivity and lazineſs at ſea, contract the ſcurvy and dropſy, which the acid fruits and nouriſhing roots ſoon diſpel. Their ſhips are generally at ſea the whole month of Auguſt, between Moſambique and Goa.

The inhabitants of Moſambique, as well as thoſe on the continent, are all Negroes, of a large ſize, handſome, and very well limbed, and make good ſlaves. The King's ſhips, as well as private traders, bring good ſtore of them to India, both ſexes being in high eſteem with the Indian Portugueze, both having ſervices proper to their ſex allotted

lotted them. As ſoon as the boys can ſpeak a little Portugueze, they are baptized, and ſo become very zealous Catholics, fit to execute any baſe deſigns their ghoſtly fathers ſhall think fit to put them on; and after baptiſm, they have a little crucifix, or a ſaint of braſs or ivory, hung about their necks, which they are as fond of as a monkey is of a young kitten to play with.

And ſome that have the good fortune to be young and docile, and fall into the hands of a zealous ſuperſtitious maſter, are brought up to letters, and in the end come to be prieſts. I have known many coal-black prieſts about Goa.

The country of Quiloa lies between Moſambique and Mombaſs; its ſea-coaſt is dangerous, which admits of no trade but in boats. The diſtance between Moſambique and Mombaſs is about 225 leagues.

Mombaſs is alſo an iſland that lies near the continent, ſlightly fortified by art, but very well by nature; it belonged to the Portugueze for near 200 years, but in anno 1698, the Muſkat Arabs took it with very little trouble, and put about 20 Portugueze to the ſword, that were there to defend it, and the conquerors found a booty of about 200 tuns of teeth, which was worth in India, about 125,000l. ſterling. The elephants of this country are very large, and ſo are the men, who are all barbarians, except thoſe who were near neighbours to the Portugueze, who, for conveniency, were baptized, and became good Catholicks; and ſince the Arabians are become their neighbours, they are turned very zealous muſſulmen, which religion pleaſes their ſtupidity better, being better adapted to their humours, and dear cuſtom of polygamy and concubinage.

Patta is now in the hands of the Muſkat Arabs, and affords good ſtore of teeth and ſlaves for Muſkat. Formerly the Engliſh, Portugueze, and Moors from India, had a ſmall, but advantageous trade thither, which the Arabs envied them of, and ſent a colony about the year 1692, and ſettled there, prohibiting commerce with all other nations. The inland countries are inhabitated by barbarians, but on the ſea-coaſts of Magadoxa, Zeyla and Yeman, to Cape Guardafoy, which ſtretches about 330 leagues north eaſtward. The religion, by law eſtabliſhed, is Mahometan, yet every country retains ſome fragments of their ancient cuſtoms and ceremonies, with the traditions of their fathers. The Arabians from Mocha, and other parts of Arabia the Happy, who reckon themſelves Mahomet's beſt diſciples, and who have travelled much to teach and confirm them in their religion and philology, declare them to be the greateſt ſchiſmaticks and obdurate hereticks that profeſs the Mahometan religion.

Magadoxa, or, as the Portugueze call it, Magadocia, is a pretty large city, about 2 or 3 miles from the ſea, from whence it has a very fine aſpect, being adorned with many high ſteeples and moſques. There are ſeveral reaſons why merchants do not frequent it on account of traffick; one is, that a reef of rocks lies all along the ſhore, about a mile more or leſs from the ſandy ſtrand, between which and the rocks it is pretty ſmooth, and two or three fathoms water; but there is no river to ſecure veſſels when a ſtrong ſea wind bloweth. The ſecond impediment is, that violence and robberies are ſo much practiſed and countenanced, that common faith is not to be relied on; and I will give a very tragical inſtance of their barbarity, viz. In anno 1700, the Engliſh new Eaſt India company ſent out a ſhip called the Albemarle, commanded by Captain William Beawes. Being bound for Surat, he had the misfortune to meet the eaſterly monſoons or trade-winds, ſooner than he expected. In the channel between Madagaſcar and the coaſt of Ethiopia, thoſe eaſterly monſoons always bring ſtrong currents with them from the eaſtward, which checked him over to the coaſt of Magadoxa, but that being a dangerous ſhore, he ſtood over to the iſland of Johanna, and

was forced to harbour his ſhip on the ſouth-weſt ſide of that iſland, till the eaſterly monſoons were blown over, and in the month of March he ventured to put to ſea, which was too ſoon, becauſe the currents ſtill ran ſtrong to the weſtward, and he ſtanding over to the Ethiopian coaſt, fell in again with Magadoxa, which, by the handſome figure it made from the ſea, made him believe it to be ſome place of commerce, and being curious to know if it was ſo or no, ſent his yawl aſhore, with his purſer and four ſeamen, to bring information, and gave them ſtrict orders to be on their guard, and only one perſon to go aſhore at a time. When the boat got over the rocks, they anchored cloſe to the beech, and the natives came from the town, driving ſtore of cattle and ſheep before them for ſale. The purſer, being young and inexperienced, forgot his orders, and went aſhore himſelf with three of his crew, leaving one only to ſtay in the boat, and thoſe that went aſhore, were ſo ſilly, as to leave their fire-arms in the boat, and by the feigned civilities that the natives ſhewed them, they heedleſsly mingled themſelves with the natives, who, finding ſo unexpected an opportunity, hurled them away to the town; and the boat keeper, neither hearing nor ſeeing what was done to his comrades, ſuffered ſome natives to come into the boat, who ſeized him alſo, and hauled the boat a good way up on the land.

Thoſe on board the ſhip ſaw, by their proſpectives, what was acted aſhore, and ſent their other boats, well manned, to try if they could ranſom the captives, but in four days fruitleſs endeavours, they could never bring the natives to a parley, and ſo the ſhip was obliged to leave them to repent of their folly; but it never came to our knowledge in India, what became of them, or what their fate was.

Yet on the coaſts of Zeyla and Yeman, which both terminate at Cape Guardafoy, the natives will bring off ſheep, goats, hens, fiſh and fruits, to ſell to ſhipping that ſometimes lay becalmed on their ſea, near the ſhore. The people are tall, meagre, and large boned, very ſwarthy, but not quite black in their complexions; they are treacherous, cruel, and avaricious in their temper; their habit is a pair of breeches to their ancles, or a piece of coarſe cloth about their loins, and a gown open before, and without ſleeves, called a camlin; it is made of camel's hair, or of their ſheep's wool, that is fully as hard and coarſe as hog's hair. On their heads they wear a turban of coarſe calico, and then they are equipped. Their ſheep are white, with jet black heads, and ſmall ears, their bodies large, and their fleſh delicate, their tails as broad as their buttocks, and about 6 or 8 inches long; ſo they are in the ſhape of a pillow wanting corners, and from the lower end of that bundle, comes a ſmall tail about 6 inches long, almoſt like a pig's.

And now having travelled along the ſhore of the continent, from the Cape of Good-Hope to Cape Guardafoy, I'll ſurvey the iſlands that lie in the Ethiopian ſea; but as they afford nothing for commerce, but ſlaves and proviſions, they are little minded by merchants: ſo beginning with the weſtmoſt, I'll bring them in order to the eaſtward.

CHAP. II.—*Giving a ſhort Deſcription of the Iſlands in the Ethiopian Seas, with ſome remarkable Paſſages hiſtorical and accidental.*

MADAGASCAR, or, as the Portugueze chriſtened it, St. Laurence, is one of the largeſt iſlands in the known world, and affords moſt part of the requiſites of human life: it produces very large cattle, whoſe fleſh is excellent, eſpecially their large humps that grow between their neck and ſhoulders. They have alſo goats and deer plenty enough, and when the Portugueze firſt ſailed along the coaſts of this iſland, they left a brood

brood of hogs, that has greatly increaſed. They alſo chriſtened many rivers and cape-lands that are not now frequented, but only known by their names, and ſerve for neſts to pirates. The French made a ſettlement on the eaſt ſide of it, and called it Port Dauphin; but finding that the commerce there would not bear the expence of the colony, they left it again.

The Engliſh formerly drove a trade for ſlaves on the weſt ſide of the iſland, particularly at St. Auguſtine's bay, and at new and old Meſſalige, but now they are afraid of the pirates, though ſome venture their necks in going to trade with them. There have been ſeveral ſquadrons of Britiſh men of war ſent to cruize on the pirates, but have had very ill ſucceſs in finding them out; but one Scots ſhip commanded by one Millar, did the public more ſervice in deſtroying them, than all the chargeable ſquadrons that have been ſent in queſt of them; for, with a cargo of ſtrong ale and brandy, which he carried to ſell them, in anno 1704, he killed above 500 of them by carouſing, though they took his ſhip and cargo as a preſent from him, and his men entered, moſt of them, into the ſociety of the pirates.

It was reported in India, that Commodore Littleton had ſome of that gang on board the Angleſey at Madagaſcar, but, for ſome valuable reaſons, he let them go again; and becauſe they found a difficulty in cleaning the bottoms of their large ſhips, he generouſly aſſiſted them with large blocks and tackle-falls for careening them. Whether thoſe reports were true or falſe, I will not undertake to determine, but I ſaw a pirate at Bengal, in the French company's ſervice, that affirmed it.

Madagaſcar is environed with iſlands and dangerous ſhoals, both of rocks and ſand. St. Mary's, on the eaſt ſide, is the place where the pirates firſt choſe for their aſylum, having a good harbour to ſecure them from the weather, though in going in there are ſome difficulties, but hearing that ſquadrons of Engliſh ſhips were come in queſt of them, they removed to the main iſland for more ſecurity, and there they have made themſelves free denizens by marriage; and I am of opinion, that it will be no eaſy matter to diſpoſſeſs them. In anno 1722, Mr. Matthews went in queſt of them, but found they had deſerted the iſland of St. Mary's, leaving behind them ſome marks of their robberies, for in ſome places they found pepper a foot thick, lying on the ground in the open air. The Commodore aforeſaid went with his ſquadron over to the main iſland, but the pirates had carried their ſhips into rivers or creeks, out of danger of the men of war, and to offer to burn them with their boats, would have been impracticable, ſince they could have eaſily diſtreſſed the boat's crews out of the woods. The Commodore had diſcourſe with ſome of them, but they ſtood on their guard, ready to defend themſelves, if any violence had been offered them.

I have heard it reported by ſome who had frequented Madagaſcar for trade, that the natives that live far from the ſea, are of a tawny complexion, and have long hair on their heads, whereas thoſe that are born near the ſea, are very black, and their hair like lambs-wool. What religion they profeſs, I know not, and the pirates are but ſcurvy ſchool-maſters to teach them morals.

There are many iſlands and ſhoals lying to the eaſtward of Madagaſcar. St. Apolloni is uninhabited; Domaſcarenhas is inhabited by the French, but formerly by the Engliſh, and was called by them, the Engliſh Foreſt. Maritius was formerly inhabited by the Dutch, but in anno 1703, they had orders to leave it, and repair to Batavia, and the Dutch Company ſent ſhipping for their tranſportation. Diego Rais, which is the next iſland to Maritius, was made a French ſettlement, but finding it barren, they left it in 3 years; all the reſt were always uninhabited, as well to the eaſtward as the northward,

ward, and but 3 or 4 to the weſtward, who lie in the channel between Quiloa and Madagaſcar.

Comora is the weſtmoſt of the inhabited iſlands, and affords nothing but a ſcanty maintenance for a parcel of poor miſerable creatures. Johanna is within ſight of Comora, and is a plentiful iſland in cattle, goats, fowls and fiſh, with good lemons and oranges, ſo that moſt part of the Engliſh ſhipping bound to Mocha, Perſia, and Surat, uſually called there for refreſhments, till the pirates began to frequent it. There are two memorable accidents fell out at that iſland, to the Engliſh Eaſt India Company's ſhipping. One was in the year 1690 or 91, to Captain Burton in the Herbert, a ſhip of 800 tons, mounting 56 guns. He was attacked by three French ſhips, each gunned and manned as well as he. On their approach, he cut his cables and put to ſea; about two in the afternoon began an hot engagement, which laſted till eight at night; the Herbert blew up, and loſt all her men, but ſix or ſeven that were in the pinnace, ſome whereof I ſaw afterwards at Muſkat. The other was lately, in anno 1720, when two of our Eaſt India ſhips were watering there, with an Oſtend ſhip in their company; they agreed to ſtand by one another in caſe of aſſault, or engaging with the common enemy, but when two pirates drew near, the Greenwich and Oſtender weighed, and ſtood to ſea, and left the Caſſandra to ſhift for herſelf, who was obliged to engage the ſmalleſt pirate (being a ſhip of 24 guns, Dutch built) in the bay, and ſoon after they began, the Caſſandra went aground on ſome rocks and the pirate ſtriving to board her, was alſo taken up by ſome rocks, not above twenty yards from the Caſſandra. The pirate's head lay towards the Caſſandra's broadſide, and they pelted one another furiouſly, many falling on both ſides, but the pirates finding too hot work on their decks, were forced to quit them, and run down into the hold for ſhelter. Captain Mackraw, who commanded the Caſſandra, ſeeing the other pirate approach near him, and manning all his boats to reinforce his comrade, thought it a good time for him, and who elſe could get aſhore, to embrace the opportunity, and accordingly they got into their boats, and ſaved their lives. The inhabitants ſhewed much humanity to the diſtreſſed, and carried them above a dozen of miles up in the country, for fear the pirates in their mad fury ſhould have murdered the poor men that eſcaped from their ſhip. The pirates, ſoon after they had poſſeſſion of the Caſſandra, got her afloat again, ſhe having received little or no damage; they alſo got their own ſhip off, but ſhe was very much ſhattered, and diſabled in her maſts.

Captain Mackraw, being a gentleman that was well verſed in converſation with men of any temper, ventured on board the pirates, and they were ſo much taken with his addreſs, that they made him a preſent of that ſhip which he had ſo bravely battered, to carry him and his crew to India; in the mean while, the Greenwich came to Bombay in September, who brought the account of the loſs of the Caſſandra, and in November, Captain Mackraw arrived himſelf with his new ſhip, and his ſhip's company all in rags, but were ſoon equipped by the benevolence and generoſity of the Governor, Mr. Boone, who was a gentleman of as much honour and good ſenſe as any that ever ſat in that chair.

Mohilla is but a little diſtance from Johanna, pretty well inhabited, but the people not ſo well civilized as Johanna; and the Kings of theſe neighbouring Iſlands have continual war. The Johanna men, by the aſſiſtance of Commodore Littleton, landed on Mohilla, and made great ſlaughter and devaſtation; but what his policy was in breaking the neutrality that the Engliſh held among thoſe iſlanders, I know not. Mayotta lies about 35 leagues from Johanna, and is the largeſt of the inhabited iſlands, but

being ſurrounded with dangerous rocks under water, it is not much frequented, and ſo the manners of the inhabitants not ſo well known. The religion of thoſe iſlands is Mahometan, but there are very few zealots among them; and ſo I leave them, and return to Cape Guardafoy, and travel up the Red Sea.

The navigation of the Ethiopian ſeas is very dangerous, and their maps are very deficient; for I ſaw a Dutch ſkipper at Mocha, who had orders to ſail from Batavia towards Mocha, in the month of January, and to navigate to the north end of Madagaſcar, and from thence to the Red Sea; he affirmed to me, that he ſaw ſeveral large iſlands, and many rocks and ſands in thoſe ſeas that were not placed in his maps, for which reaſon he was obliged to anchor in the night, when he could have anchor ground; and that the currents run very ſtrong to the ſouthward, among thoſe banks and rocks.

CHAP. III.—*Gives a Deſcription of Zeyla's Sea-coaſt, and of a Part of Ethiopia, Zuakin, and Upper Egypt.*

BUT to return again to Cape Guardafoy, from thence up to Zeyla is about 120 leagues. The coaſt is inhoſpitable as well as the people. There are only two places in all that tract that afford freſh water; one is a little to the eaſtward of Mount Felix, but in Arabic it is called Baba-fileck, or the mountain of camels, where there is a ſmall freſh water river; the other is called Khagi, 10 leagues more weſterly; it may be eaſily known by the ſide of a hill cloſe to the ſea, whoſe north aſpect is of white ſand, that ſhews at a diſtance like a ſail, but may be ſeen in that figure 10 leagues off. Several ſhips from India, that have been neceſſitated to call at thoſe places for water, have been cut off; and one poor man they ſurpriſed with his own boat that he ſent for water. The boat's crew were ſurpriſed whilſt filling water, them they killed, except two boys whom they ſaved; they then came off in the night, and thoſe in the ſhip not examining them in time, they boarded the ſhip, and took them all unarmed, and killed every man, and carrying the ſhip cloſe to the ſhore, they unladed her, and then ſunk her. The two youths who gave the account of that tragical accident, were brought to Aden, which lies oppoſite to that place, and were ſold for ſlaves. A Surat ſhip being there, bought the youths, and brought them to Surat.

There is no anchoring on that coaſt above a mile off ſhore, the ſea is ſo deep; and above Zeyla, in a deep bay oppoſite to Babelmandel, which makes the entry into the Red Sea, there is a large river that diſembogues into the ſea, but though the mouth be large, yet it is ſo deep, and full of banks and rocks, with ſuch whirlpools, that no ſhip dare go near it. At that river begins the Ethiopian ſhore, ſhewing many high mountains, which are eaſily ſeen from the Arabian ſhore; and all the coaſt from this river, as far north as Zuakin, which is near 200 leagues, is called the Ethiopian coaſt.

And though I never was on that ſouth-weſt coaſt of the Red Sea, and know but few that traffick there, except Romiſh prieſts, yet I will venture to relate what I learned from them. There are two or three ſmall ports between Zeyla and Moſſava, but an inconſiderable trade, being moſt in ſlaves of both ſexes, which the Ethiopians bring to Mocha for a market, where I have ſeen a drove of thoſe unfortunate creatures carried like a flock of ſheep, moſt part of them inſenſible of their own miſery, and the higheſt bidder carries the bargain. They alſo bring ſome elephants teeth, the beſt that ever I ſaw, and ſome oſtriches feathers.

Moſſava

Moſſava is ſituated on the north-weſt end of a large iſland, and affords a very good harbour for ſhipping of any ſize; it has a garriſon of about 250 Turks in a caſtle built formerly by the Portugueze, who, according to their impolite cuſtom, oppreſs ſtrangers as well as natives, that come there to trade.

The country produceth low gold, elephants teeth, ſlaves, and ſome coffee, but of a larger grain than what grows on the land oppoſite to it in Arabia, at Betlefackee. The current ſmall money of Ethiopia is ſalt, which is dug out of the mountains as we do ſtones from our quarries, which they break in pieces of ſeveral ſizes, the largeſt weighing about 80 pounds, the others in 40, 20, 10, or 5 pounds, and are ſo expert in dividing it, that they err not above 5 per cent. more or leſs in their calculation of weight; 20 pounds is in value about one ſhilling ſterling, and thoſe pieces of ſalt is the current money in their markets for proviſions, and likewiſe for cloth, when they buy a yard or two at a time; and when a merchant has got any conſiderable quantity by him, there are bankers to give gold for it.

The religion on the ſea-coaſt is Mahometan, but within land Cophties, who are circumciſed Chriſtians. The males they circumciſe ſometimes at eight days old, but that ceremony is often delayed till forty days, and ſometimes not till the ſeventh or eighth year of their age. They circumciſe females as well as males. The circumciſion, they think, is neceſſary in memory of Jeſus Chriſt, and on a certain day yearly, they immerſe themſelves in rivers or lakes, in remembrance of Chriſt's immerſion or baptiſm. They forbear eating ſome beaſts fleſh, according to the Moſaical law. They hold from Saturday's noon to Sunday's noon their ſabbath. They receive the ſacrament ſtanding, and only in the church, and the wine only from the deacon's hand in a ſpoon. Their prieſts eat no idle bread, but maintain themſelves by labour. They have many biſhops, but one they call Abunah above the reſt; he is held in great veneration, and when he goes abroad, he has great attendance, and rides on a mule, with a croſs in his right hand.

They enter their churches bare-footed, becauſe God commanded Moſes to put off his ſhoes, for the ground he ſtood on was holy. They allow but one wife, but as many concubines as they pleaſe. They allow of repudiation, but neither party can marry again, till the term of three years be expired, and if the parties are not reconciled in that term, they think the breach too great ever to be cloſed up again.

They have all the canonical books of our ſcriptures, and ſeveral more. They reckon the prophet Iddo one of the greater prophets, and put him in the claſs with Iſaiah, Ezekiel, Eliſha, Elijah, and Daniel, and that he wrote 14,000 prophecies, many of which they have at this day; that his prophecies of Jeſus Chriſt were clearer, or more diſtinct than any the other prophets left behind them; but the ſubſtance of their practical religion conſiſts in their faſts and feaſts, for they do not much trouble themſelves about the doctrine of faith, repentance, and good works, which makes them very diſſolute in their lives.

We Europeans generally call the King of Ethiopia, Preſter John, but his ſubjects know no ſuch appellation; 'tis true, he is ſupreme in eccleſiaſtical as well as civil affairs. His dominions are very large, and he has many tributaries, who ſtile themſelves kings, and act deſpotically. The royal family are all kept at Amara, which is a pleaſant round hill, ſituated in 12 degrees north from the equator, though I ſaw an old Portugueze geographical deſcription of Ethiopia, place it under the equinoctial. The hill is walled round with a high wall, at leaſt 12 leagues in circumference, which cuts off all communication with ſtrangers or mal-contents. Within the walls are palaces, gardens, orchards, woods for wild game, rivulets and ponds for fiſh, and all that the

cline can afford to make it pleaſant; there the youths of the royal family ſtudy what arts and ſciences are proper to their quality, or according to the knowledge of their teachers.

Their empire is hereditary, but not in a direct line, the ſucceſſion being kept in the ancient family, which they reckon up as high as Solomon, but on the demiſe of one emperor, they make choice of a royal youth out of the paradiſe of Amara, ſo he that behaves beſt in that ſtate of probation, or has the beſt friends to recommend him, ſucceeds without contention, which political cuſtom makes their youths very tractable and ſtudious. There are none reckoned princes of the blood after ſecond couſin-germans, and it ſeems they have ſomething like the Salic law in force againſt them, for their hiſtories mention no female reign ſince Candace's time, if Ethiopia, as it now is, was her country.

They are very naſty in their apparel and diet, for though their country is well ſtored with fire-wood, yet they do not take pains to dreſs their meat by fire, but having killed their animal food, before it be well cold, they mince it, and mix ſalt and a ſharp hot bark of a tree well powdered, and make the morſel up in ſmall balls about the bigneſs of a walnut, and greedily eat it: but the princes eat in ſtate, for they being ſeated on a mat ſpread on the ground, his favourite female ſlave or concubine makes up thoſe balls of fleſh or fiſh ſeaſoned with the aforeſaid ſauce of ſalt and bark, and ſqueezes them into faſhionable morſels, his highneſs gapes like a young crow, and ſhe throws it cleverly in, which he preſently devours. The commons eat of the ſame ſort of viands with the grandees, but many of both ſexes die by excoriations of the guts and the right inteſtine; but whether their diet be the cauſe of their diſtemper, I leave to phyſicians to determine, who are generally the beſt judges. They have a good pleaſant liquor made of honey and potatoes, which they carouſe in plentifully, and often get drunk by it, and then they are rather mad than inebriated, which renders them very quarrelſome and furious; their honey, as it is very plentiful in their country, ſo it is the whiteſt, hardeſt, and beſt taſted that ever I met with.

I had the above relation of Abaſina from four Romiſh prieſts, who had their miſſion there for eight years together, but made but few proſelytes: they had been meddling in ſtate affairs, and, for fear of loſing their heads, they fled, and left two of their brethren being old, and not fit for travel; what became of them they knew not; but thoſe four tranſgreſſed their ſuperior's orders, and left their ſtations, and travelled three or four hundred miles to the ſea-coaſt, and got a paſſage over the Red Sea to Mocha, where I entertained them about four months: they alſo told me, that ſeven tributary kings had loſt their heads in ſix months time, for mal-adminiſtration or treaſon, and if my gueſts had not removed their quarters when they did, they had been honoured with the name of Roman martyrs, in anno 1714. The country abounds plentifully in wheat, rice, barley, legumens or pulſe of ſeveral ſorts, notwithſtanding they eat their raw meat without bread. Their woods abound in elephants (reckoned the largeſt in the world), alſo ſome lions and tigers, and innumerable troops of wolves, monkeys, and oſtriches, all much larger than in other countries. The aforeſaid prieſts alſo told me, that the head of Nilus, which the ancients ſo much ſought for, is in this country, about the latitude of 6 degrees north, and about 400 miles from the lower end of the Red Sea. How far the Ethiopian coaſt ſtretches to the northward I know not, but it has no ſea-ports to the northward of Moſſava, and the next country to it is the barbarous Zuakin, whoſe inhabitants are very different both in complexion and cuſtoms from the Abaſines, whoſe colour is only as black as ſoot, but the Zuakins are as black as jet, and their ſkins as ſoft as velvet.

Their religion is ſtill Paganiſm, though they do not worſhip images. They ſhew outward civility to Europeans, but kill them, and feaſt on their fleſh, when any are unfortunately ſhipwrecked on their coaſt. At firſt they ſhew a ſeeming humanity, allowing them a convenient place to lodge in, with plenty of animal food to eat, and ſometimes entertain them with their muſic, and then deſtroy the fatteſt, as they have occaſion to feaſt on them, an inſtance whereof I had from a miſſionary at Mocha, in Anno 1712, viz.

A Turkiſh galley bound from Moſſava to Judda in Arabia Felix, had on board about twenty European Turks, and one Italian prieſt, as paſſenger; that galley was drove aſhore on the coaſt of Zuakin by a ſtorm, the galley was loſt, but all the men got ſafe aſhore and found the above mentioned entertainment. They had not been long aſhore, till ſome people of diſtinction viſited them, and ſeemed to condole their misfortune, but withal, told them in Arabic, that the king had a great deſire to ſee ſome of them, and they choſe the youngeſt and plumpeſt of the Turks to ſhew to the King, who very willingly went away with them, but none came back to bring news how they were entertained at court; and every fourth or fifth day, another of the beſt favoured and beſt fleſhed were carried from their comrades, on the ſame, or ſuch like errand, till near one half were carried away, thoſe that remained had no ſuſpicion, but were lulled aſleep by the good words and good treatment they received daily: but one day, an Abaſine, who had fled his country for ſome miſdemeanour, came to viſit them, and in diſcourſe they told him how courteouſly they had been entertained by the hoſpitable natives, and how many of their company had gone to the King, but that none returned. The Abaſine told them, that they were treated after the common cuſtom of that country, that when any white men were ſhipwrecked on their coaſt, they found ſuch treatment as they had, to make them fat, and then to kill and eat them, by cutting ſuch morſels of the body as they had preſent occaſion for, and kept life as long in the poor victim as they could; and that very morning a janiſſary had been carried on the aforeſaid errand, and had one leg cut off, and the half of a thigh, and he ſaw them roaſting and broiling the fleſh as he happened to paſs in his way to viſit them, and told the diſconſolate Turks that remained, that if one or two would accompany him a little way in the evening, he would convince them of the truth of that he told them, but they muſt immediately after return to their lodging. The prieſt was one that went to behold the ſad ſpectacle, whom they found not quite dead, though ſpeechleſs, on which the Abaſine went ſpeedily away, as the others did to acquaint their fellows what they had ſeen. As ſoon as they made their report, they were under the greateſt conſternation, and unanimouſly reſolved to flee to the woods that very ſame night, and truſt the wild inhabitants rather than the crueller beaſts, the Zuakins. And the woods are plentifully inhabited with lions, tigers, large monkeys, but above all with wolves. The prieſt took his way in the dark along the ſea-ſhore to the northward, but knew nothing of his fellows, which way they took, or how they fared. In the day-time he ſculked in caverns and hollows of rocks, which that ſea-coaſt abounds in, and is not ſo much frequented by the brutal cannibals, as the inland parts; ſometimes he ſallied out to get ſhell fiſh, or what elſe he could get to eat, and in the night he travelled, ſo that after ſeventeen nights and days hard fatigue, he arrived at a village in Upper Egypt, inhabited by Mahometans and Cophties, who relieved him, and ſent him to Grand Cairo, from whence he wrote to a miſſionary at Mocha, in Anno 1714, who reſided with me, and gave him the above account, with the addition of a very ſtrange paradox, viz. That himſelf being then about twenty-eight years of age (when he fell on the coaſt of Zuakin), his hair was of a dark brown,

brown, but when he arrived in Cairo, his hair was turned to a very light grey, and continued ſo till the time he wrote to his friend at Mocha of that tragical adventure.

There are no ſea-ports from Zuakin on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the Red Sea, till we come to Seues, which lies near the head of the bay of that ſea, which ſends his oppoſite ſhores down to the ſouth-eaſtward, as far as Babelmandel.

Sues, or Seues ſeems to be the Ezion-geber, or Eloth, from whence Solomon ſent his ſhips to Ophir, for I have converſed with ſeveral pilots of that navigation, who aſſured me, there is no clean bottom for anchoring, but Seues, on that part of the coaſt, for moſt part of the Red Sea is incumbered with coral rocks under water, and peſtered with banks, which make the navigation very dangerous. At preſent, Seues is the only ſea-port for Grand Cairo, from whence it is three days journey by land, with a caffilla or caravan, but on horſe-back but two ſhort days. In Cairo the Engliſh and French keep their conſuls, for the ſupport of the trade of their reſpective countries.

In Anno 1714, Mr. Farrington was conſul for the Engliſh, he had a very fair character from all people, as well merchants as the religious that came from Cairo to Mocha, which made me preſume to trouble him with a letter, giving him the beſt account I could of the ſtate of merchandize in India, and to have his advice, whether it might be practicable to cultivate a trade from India to Seues, which letter he very civilly anſwered, and next year it came to my hand, but he diſſuaded me from any attempt that way; becauſe of the intolerable avarice and inſults of the Turkiſh baſhaws, and other officers of note, with the contempt they have for merchants, eſpecially chriſtians, he aſſured me, that it is impoſſible to be a gainer by ſuch commerce.

CHAP. IV.—*Gives a little Deſcription of the Coaſt of Arabia the Happy, from Mount Sinai to Mocha, with ſome Obſervations on the Religion, Cuſtoms and Laws, as they are now eſtabliſhed.*

OVER againſt Seues, on the Arabian ſhore, ſtands Mount Sinai, about 5 or 6 leagues from the ſea; and on its ſouth-weſt ſide, near the bottom, is the monaſtery of St. Katharina. The mount is much revered by the Jews, and the monaſtery by the Chriſtians; it is very ancient, and held in ſome veneration by the Mahometans, whoſe pilgrims to Mecca, from Egypt, Turkey, and Paleſtine, paſs cloſe by, both in their going and returning, as do likewiſe the Caffillas, and other paſſengers that go on traffic to Judda, a city four days journey from Mecca, where Mahomet lies interred: and the great concourſe of pilgrims (from all parts where his religion is ſpread) brings a great trade thither.

There is a tradition, that, as Mahomet was going on an expedition to Paleſtine, he called at that monaſtery for refreſhments, and the monks generouſly aſſiſted him; and in acknowledgement of their civility, he gave them a charter, which they ſtill keep, wherein he gave them many immunities, and laid his heavy curſe on all, who ſhould after that time dare to moleſt that monaſtery.

The building is ſtrong and high, and no gate or door to enter into it but one, which ſtands about ten yards high (in the wall) from the ground. It has a large incloſure adjoining to it, with a high wall, to keep the wild Arabs for robbing them of their animal proviſions; for they are ſuch vile thieves, that they had rather venture to lie under the anathema of their prophet, than to keep their hands from robbery.

Its preſent poſſeſſors are Neſtorian and Jacobin monks, who are maintained by the charity of paſſengers, and a little revenue that belongs to the monaſtery. The chriſ-

tians, in that part of Arabia, are Neſtorians and Jacobins, whoſe prieſts may marry, and they allow of no images but the croſs, and many other things repugnant to the Romiſh tenets.

Judda is the next place of note below St. Katharina. It is a ſmall, but well fortified city, belonging to the Turk. It ſtands cloſe to the ſea, and is governed by a baſhaw, who keeps a garriſon in it, with four or five gallies to cruize on the Red Sea, to hinder the paſſing of all ſhips or veſſels up the ſea, without firſt calling at Judda.

The inland country about it, belongs to a ſheek, who pretends to be a deſcendant of Mahomet. He has the title of Xeriff given him, to diſtinguiſh his eminency from other ſheeks. And, although he be ſo near a-kin to the prophet, yet he ſqueezes above 100,000 pounds ſterling yearly out of the pilgrims, who go to worſhip at his anceſtor's tomb. And ſo much gain he can make of their folly.

It is between this country and Sinai, that the famous balm of Gilead grows. It is reported to proceed from a ſhrub, the bark of which is ſlit, and veſſels ſet under the wound to receive it, as it drains from that wound. The wild Arabs about Sinai, have a tradition, that Abraham was their countryman, and are not a little proud of that honour; but if it was ſo, that he was their ſheek, as they alledge, they neither follow him in morals or religion.

The ſea-coaſts of Arabia Felix, from Judda to the ſouthward, as far as the latitude of 15 degrees, are governed by ſeveral ſheeks, who are ſo avaricious, that no pilgrims can paſs through their dominions, but beggars; for if ſtrangers carry any thing of value about them, or if they have good clothes, they are ſtript of all, and about a yard of coarſe cloth given them to cover their nakedneſs; and lectures of humility and devotion are preached to them, that whoever goes on ſo ſolemn an errand, ought to ſhew, by their outward appearance, that the inward man is humble, and that thoſe who love riches, ought to ſequeſter themſelves from the world, before they approach that holy place, where, after the Mufti (or his deputy, the ſackee) had beſtowed a benediction on them, if they had any grace, they would never covet riches again.

The Immaum of Mocha's dominions reach along the ſea-coaſt from the latitude of 15 degrees, to the ſouthward, as far as Babelmandel, very barren and inhoſpitable, affording neither freſh water, nor wood for ſhipping, either for drink or fuel. Only on the iſland of Commera, which lies about 5 or 6 leagues from Betlefackee, there is both a good harbour, and plenty of proviſions for ſtrangers, as well as for the inhabitants, whoſe temperance makes them eaſily ſatisfied, both with their coarſe diet and apparel.

Betlefackee is the firſt town of note (near the ſea-coaſt) of the Immaum's dominions. It ſtands about 25 Engliſh miles from the ſea, and it is the greateſt market for coffee in the world. It ſupplies India, Perſia, Turkey in Aſia, Africa and Europe, beſides England, France, and Holland, with coffee beans. Other goods and merchandize may be bought and ſold on credit, for a certain time; but coffee is always bought for ready money. The Europe ſhipping lades yearly at Mocha, (from whence Betlefackee is about 100 Engliſh miles) about 2000 tuns, rather more than leſs, and the other nations above 20,000 tuns more. The whole province of Betlefackee is planted with coffee trees, which are never ſuffered to grow above 4 or 5 yards high; and the bean or berry grows on the branches and twigs, firſt green, then red, at laſt a dark brown colour. The berries cling to the branches like ſo many inſects, and when they are ripe, they ſhake off.

Zibet is the next town, and ſerves for a ſea-port for Betlefackee. It was large, and famous in ancient times for trade, but in the fourteenth century, the Turks over-ran

over-ran all the coaſts of the Red Sea, and made them tributaries to them. They ruined all the trade from India to Zibet, and ſettled their emporium at Aden, about 35 leagues without Babelmandel, to the eaſtward: and the Immaum holds his kingdom in feoff from the Turk at this time; and when the Turks come to Betlefackee, none dare break the price of the market, nor buy before they are firſt ſerved.

The Immaum or King keeps his court generally at a town called Mohaib, about 200 Engliſh miles to the eaſt, north-eaſtward of Mocha. He has little ſplendour about it, and he that reigned in anno 1714, was about 80 years of age. His government has been of a long time very ill-managed. His luſt having the aſcendant over his reaſon, he had ſeldom leſs than three hundred wives married to him, of the moſt beautiful young women in his dominions. He often marries one, at one new moon, and, on the next new-moon, remarries her to one of his minions, and beſtows a good patrimony on her to help her off; ſo that with his own frequent marriages, and thoſe of his minions, he exhauſts all his revenues, and is always neceſſitous, which forces him on many unjuſt and mean ways to exact money from his miſerable ſubjects. And, in anno 1720, their heavy burdens made them rebel, and involved the whole country in a civil war. One part was for depoſing him, and another for keeping him on the throne; but what the event was I never heard.

The Turks being baffled in ſeveral projects and expeditions from Aden, and that they could not well maintain their ground in that part of Arabia (being ſo very far diſtant from their own dominions) without much charge and trouble, they, in the latter end of the ſixteenth century, withdrew their garriſon from Aden, and left it, with all its fortifications and buildings, to the Immaum; who finding Aden to lie inconvenient for the trade of the Red Sea, becauſe of the freſh winds uſually blowing at its mouth, in both eaſterly and weſterly monſoons, made him remove the trade about 15 leagues within its mouth, in a bay not very commodious for ſhipping, to a fiſhing town called Mocha.

CHAP. V.—*Gives a Deſcription of the Immaum of Mocha's Country, particularly of Mocha, its Situation, Laws, Cuſtoms and Commerce; with ſome hiſtorical Obſervations.*

MOCHA, upon the foregoing account, was built for an emporium or mart for the trade of India to the Red Sea, and was mightily forwarded by the perſuaſion of a ſheek, who bore the character of a ſaint amongſt his countrymen. His name was Sheek Seddley; and he pretended to prophecy, that Mocha ſhould be a place of great trade to the country, and conſequently of great profit to the Immaum. They had ſuch a veneration for him, that the greateſt moſque in the town, and the greateſt gate, bear his name, and did, even in his own lifetime, ſee the town walled, though but very weakly. It is ſituated cloſe to the ſea, in a large, dry, ſandy plain, that affords no good water within 20 miles, all the wells nearer the city being brackiſh, ſo that nothing of fruits grows near it, but a few dates and water melons. The water for drinking comes from Moſa, about 20 miles off, as I ſaid before, and by that time we get it to the town, it coſts us as dear as ſmall beer is ſold for in England. Thoſe who are obliged to drink of the wells near the town, are in danger of having a long ſmall worm breed in their legs or feet, that inflames the place where it breeds, which is accompanied with extreme burning pains. In 5 or 6 days it appears between the cutany and outward ſkin, and then puts its head through, which when the patient obſerves, he takes hold of it with

with a pair of tweezers, and pulls it very gently out, about an inch or two at a time, in 24 hours, and rolls it round an hen's quill, or ſome other thing of that thickneſs. It is no thicker than the treble ſtring of a violin; and I have ſeen of them, after they have been pulled out, about two foot and an half long. While it is in the leg, it is daily covered with a plaiſter, and if it chance to break in the operation, the patient will be troubled with intolerable pains for a long time; and ſometimes they are crippled by it. But the Moſa water coming from ſprings amongſt the mountains is very ſweet and wholeſome.

Mocha is a place of good trade, notwithſtanding its bad ſituation; for beſides the commerce with Sues and Judda, the Engliſh and Dutch companies have their factories there, beſides a trade from India, carried on by Engliſh free merchants, Portugueze, Banyans and Moors, and by veſſels from Boſſorah, Perſia and Muſkat in Arabia Petrea. The country, of itſelf, affords or produces very few valuable commodities, beſides coffee, and ſome drugs, ſuch as myrrh, olibanum or frakincenſe from Caſſin, and aloes ſoccatrina from Soccotra, liquid ſtorax, white and yellow arſenick, ſome gum Arabick and mummy; with ſome balm of Gilead, that comes down the Red Sea. The coffee trade brings in a continual ſupply of ſilver and gold from Europe, Spaniſh money, German crowns, and other European coins of ſilver; alſo zequins, German and Hungarian ducats of European gold; and from Turkey, ebramies and mograbies, gold of low matt.

The pirates, for many years, infeſted the mouth of the Red Sea, committing frequent robberies and barbarities. Captain Evory was the firſt that led the way, in anno 1695, and the pirates finding great booties, purchaſed with ſmall danger, from the traders into the Red Sea, had a project to be maſters of the key of that door, ſo they found the iſland Prim, which lies within gun-ſhot of Babelmandel, to have a good commodious bay for the ſecurity of their ſhipping; upon which conſideration, they began to build regular fortifications, and dig for freſh water, and with much labour, they dug through an hard rock, 15 fathoms deep, but found none, but brackiſh water; wherefore they deſiſted, and removed to St. Mary's iſland, on the eaſt ſide of Madagaſcar, as I obſerved before, and are ſince removed, for more ſecurity, over to the main iſland, and there they fortify themſelves by marriages into the noble families of that great iſland, from whence they come into India, and cruize in thoſe Seas. In anno 1696, they met with a ſhip from Bombay, commanded by one Sawbridge, who was carrying Arabian horſes for Surat. After they took the ſhip, Sawbridge began to expoſtulate with them about their way of life. They ordered him to hold his tongue, but he continuing his diſcourſe, they took a ſail-needle and twine, ſewed his lips together, and ſo kept him ſeveral hours, with his hands tied behind him. At length they unlooſed both his hands and lips, and carried him on board their ſhip, and after they had plundered Sawbridge's ſhip, they ſet her on fire, and burned her and the horſes together. Sawbridge and his people were ſet aſhore near Aden, where he died preſently after.

Captain Evory was not ſo inhumane; for the year before, he took a large ſhip belonging to the Mogul, and got a booty of 2,600,000 rupees, which amount to, in ſterling money, about 325,000l. He freed the ſhip, and let her go, without torturing the people; but carried a young Mogul lady with him, and ſome of her female ſervants, who had been at Mecca to perform a vow, laid on her by her mother on her death-bed.

But, to return again to Mocha, from my long digreſſion: the town is large, but meanly fortified; and, from the ſea, it has a fine aſpect. The buildings are lofty, and make a much better appearance without than within. The ſteeples of five or ſix moſques

moſques raiſe their heads pretty high above the reſt of the buildings. Their markets are well ſtored with animal proviſions, ſuch as beef, mutton of ſheep and goats, lamb and kid, camels and antelope's fleſh, dung-hill fowls, Guinea hens, partridge and pigeon. The ſea affords variety of fiſh, but not ſavoury. I believe their unſavourineſs proceeds from the extreme ſaltneſs of the ſea-water, and the nature of their aliment. The town is well furniſhed, all the year round, with good fruits, ſuch as grapes, peach, apricocks and quinces, of which they make ſtore of marmelade, both for their preſent uſe and exportation, though near the town, there is not a tree or ſhrub to be ſeen, but a few date trees. And they ſeldom have more than two or three ſhowers of rain in a year, and often no rain in two or three years; but amongſt the mountains, about 20 miles off, ſeldom a morning paſſes without a moderate ſhower, which makes the vallies very prolific in fruit and corn, ſuch as the ſoil will bear; but they have no rice, though plenty of barley and wheat.

The governor of Mocha, and the officers of the town, are merchants, when they think to get good bargains, and are very ready to break their contracts, both in payment of their debts, and in the time of payment, ſome inſtances whereof I ſaw. And in anno 1716, I had an experimental one; for the deputy-governor having bought a part of my cargo, agreed to pay me the firſt day of June, according to our æra and computation. At the appointed time I demanded my money; but he told me, that notwithſtanding he had agreed at that time to pay me, yet the cuſtom was not to pay before the middle of July, and cuſtom muſt be obſerved before contract; beſides, the King having much need of money, ſent preſſing demands on the town for money, as faſt as it came in by cuſtoms and other ſubſidies; therefore he could not, nor would not pay me before the cuſtomary time, nor would he clear my account cuſtoms (which is a part of his office) before that time. I often ſolicited him to clear my account, and pay the balance; but to no purpoſe. I then fell on a project to frighten him into compliance. I went very calmly to him, and told him that I had ſome goods left, which would be proper for the inland markets, and that I would let him have a pennyworth of them. He knew the goods were proper enough, as I had told him, and ſo came to my houſe, which was four ſtories high. I carried him up to the higheſt, and having ſeated him in a ſmall balcony, I ſhewed him the muſters of my goods, and aſked prices which he thought too high; and becauſe we could not agree, he was for going abruptly away, and ſo got on his feet: but I being much too ſtrong for him, took him by the ſhoulders and forced him to ſit down again, and ordered my linguiſt to tell him, that before we parted, he muſt clear my account cuſtoms, and give me bills on the King's banker, for the balance, otherwiſe I would teach him to fly from the balcony to the ground, be the conſequence what it would. He had never been ſo treated before, and fear ſeized him ſo, that he could not ſpeak for a little time, but recovering a little, ordered his clerk, who was in the room with us, to make up my account and draw bills immediately, who readily obeyed orders; and in half an hour we became good friends again. The noiſe of this action run like a ſquib through the town, and before I came to the banker with the bill, (which was for about 1200l. ſterling) he was appriſed how I had ſerved the deputy governor, and upon preſenting it, accepted it to be paid in ſeven days; but withal deſired, that I would conſtantly keep two European ſeamen at his door with arms, and as money came in, they were to receive one bag, and the King's people another, till the ſum ſhould be completed: and accordingly in ſeven days I got every penny, and ſent the governor word that I wanted to wait on him, in order to take my leave. He returned me anſwer, that I ſhould be very welcome; and accordingly I went, and he received me very

civilly; and all the while I ſtaid, he paſſed jokes on his deputy about the fright I had put him into.

The King's cuſtoms are very eaſy, being but 3 per cent. from Europeans, and 5 on Gentiles; and the cuſtom-houſe as eaſy, for they only deſire to ſee the muſters of goods, and the quantity of goods in each parcel or bale, and ſo cauſe ſome, that they chooſe, to be opened; and if they find the quantity and quality agree with the invoice given in, the remainder of the cargo is carried directly from the landing place to the warehouſes without more trouble; and after ſale, they receive an account from the ſeller, and rate the cuſtoms accordingly.

They are very ignorant in hiſtory and natural philoſophy; for they tell that Alexander the Great was Mahomet's general, though they lived about 900 years diſtant from one another; and that, having a mind to tranſport his army over the mouth of the Red Sea, from Babelmandel to Zeyla, in order to conquer Ethiopia, he went about building a bridge there; and, there being ſeven iſlands in theſe ſtreights, called the Seven Stones, he placed them there for a foundation to build on: and they are of opinion, that the world is ſupported on the horns of a great bull, who ſometimes ſhakes his head, which they aſſign to be the cauſe of earthquakes, which frequently are felt there.

There are abundance of beggars in Mocha, and in moſt other towns in Arabia, who brag of the ſanctity and verity of their religion; and, for proof, when they paſs in the ſtreets, they are always bawling out, there is but one God, and Mahomet his prophet and beſt beloved ſervant; and carrying a piece of iron like the tooth of an harrow in their right hand, they ſtrike it with great force into the cavity of the eye, and yet the eye is not blemiſhed, nor the eye-lids, or ſkin about the eye, ſeem to be hurt; and they often let the iron hang down, as if the point was faſtened to the corner of the eye next the noſe. As for mad people of either ſex, they venerate them, believing them to be inſpired, or actuated by a prophetick ſpirit.

Their religion is Mahometiſm, and are ſuperſtitiouſly rigid in their way, but abominable hypocrites; for in their promiſes, which they ſeldom keep, with lifted up eyes they call on God to be witneſs to their ſincerity: but in no part of the world is juſtice bought and ſold more publickly than here; and the judge, who generally is the governor of the place, whilſt he is paſſing unjuſt ſentences, looks as grave as an old cat, declaiming againſt partiality.

In anno 1716, I ſaw juſtice executed on a notorious criminal, guilty of no leſs than robbery and murder. A poor peaſant had raiſed a ſtock of 500 dollars amongſt his friends and neighbours, and was on his way to Mocha, to lay it out in merchandize proper for the parts he lived in. A villain, who knew of his journey, and the ſtock he carried with him, way-laid him, and cut his throat from ear to ear, and then ſtabbed him in the breaſt with his dagger, and ſo poſſeſt the money and went off with it. Some paſſengers coming that way ſoon after, found the mangled corps not quite cold, went and informed the neighbourhood of the tragedy. On information, they went and viewed the carcaſe, and knew it. They gave the account to the murdered perſon's relations, who lived but a little way off, and they buried the corps.

Some months after, one of the relations being at Mocha, chanced to ſee his dead kinſman's ring on the murderer's finger, and challenged it; for it is the cuſtom of all the eaſtern countries, both Mahometans and Gentiles, to wear rings. They wear no gold rings, but ſilver among the Mahometans, and the Gentiles commonly wear gold. The perſon who knew the ring, informed the Cadjee or Judge what had paſt, and the Cadjee ordered the murderer to be apprehended, and brought before him; and ordering him

to be ſearched, to ſee if farther proof could be found about him; the very purſe that the money was in, was found in his boſom. However, the murderer denied all, but was ſent to priſon and fettered, till other perſons were ſent for that were particularly well acquainted with the defunct. Five or ſix evidences who were ſent for appeared, and the ring and purſe being produced, they ſwore, that they knew them to be with the unfortunate defunct when he ſet out on his journey for Mocha; and he at length confeſt the fact himſelf. The judge, and the reſt of his court, deſired him to return the money, and they would ſolicit the murdered perſon's relations to ſpare his life, it being in their power to take away or ſave his life; but he abſolutely denied the returning back any part of it, and impudently aſked the judge, how he thought his wife and children ſhould be ſupported, if he ſhould return the money.

Three months had paſſed in unfruitful perſuaſions, but finding him obſtinate, they bid him prepare to die next day about noon. And accordingly, with a guard of about 500 horſe and foot ſoldiers, he was carried without the city, with his hands tied behind him; and about 200 yards from Sheek Sedley's gate, he was delivered to the defunct's relations, who firſt gave him a deep ſtab under the left pap, and one of the relations ſtanding behind, pulled back his head, while another cut his throat from ear to ear, and ſo left him with all ſpeed. For as ſoon as the mob ſaw him killed, they aſſaulted the executioners with ſtones and brick-bats ſo furiouſly, that the guards had much ado to ſave them from being murdered; for there is a paſſage in the Alcoran, importing, that whoever ſpilt a believer's blood, is accurſed, and ought to be ſtoned to death.

The ſoldiery of Mocha are very inſolent and licentious; for in the months of May, June, and July, the air being fired with heat, and the greateſt concourſe of ſtrangers come to town, either about traffick, or getting paſſage by ſea to foreign countries, and about that time caſh is plentieſt in town, then thoſe undiſciplined cowards ſeldom fail to ſet fire to ſome huts that the labouring people live in, and they being built of a few ſpars, covered with the branches and leaves of date trees, which are very combuſtible materials, the flame ſoon grows fierce and violent, and very often penetrates through the doors and windows of merchant's houſes, though built of brick. And, in the conſternation, when people are intent on ſaving what they can, by removing their goods from their burning houſes to the ſtreets, thoſe varlets plunder publickly there with impunity; and although thoſe villains are detected in ſetting fire to houſes and plundering, and complaints made of them to the governor, thoſe grievances are ſo far from being redreſſed, that I have known a complainer well baſtonaded for detecting the rogues. When I traded there, I always kept a part of my ſhip's company aſhore for a guard, and I acquainted the governor, that if any perſon came through our ſtreet in the night with fire in their hands, as they often did through ſeveral other ſtreets where merchants kept their ware-houſes, I would order my men to fire on ſuch fire-carriers, which kept me pretty ſecure from them.

The largeſt city in the Immaum of Arabia Felix's dominions, is Sounan. It is 15 days journey north-eaſt from Mocha. It drives a great inland trade, and is the mart for many of the India goods that are brought to Mocha. The mechanicks of different trades have each their peculiar different ſtreet; ſo that whatever commodities ſtrangers may want, they readily know where to find them. And in all the ſtreets there are brokers for wives, ſo that a ſtranger, who has not the conveniency of an houſe in the city to lodge in, may marry, and be made a free burgher for a ſmall ſum. When the man ſees his ſpouſe, and likes her, they agree on the price and term of weeks, months or years, and then appear before the Cadjee or Judge of the place, and enter their

names and terms in his book, which coſts but a ſhilling, or thereabouts: and joining hands before him, the marriage is valid, for better for worſe, till the expiration of the term agreed on. And if they have a mind to part, or renew the contract, they are at liberty to chooſe for themſelves what they judge moſt proper; but if either want to be ſeparated during the term limited, there muſt be a commutation of money paid by the ſeparating party to the other, according as they can agree; and ſo they become free to make a new marriage elſewhere.

CHAP. IV.—*Contains a Deſcription of Aden, with ſome hiſtorical Remarks about the Turkiſh Expedition from thence into India: alſo an Account of the Sea-coaſt of Arabia Petrea, as far as Muſkat and Baſſora; with a particular Account of an Engliſh Ship loſt on the Iſland of Maceira.*

THE eaſtmoſt town of note in the Immaum of Mocha's dominions on the ſea-coaſt, is Aden, built by the Turks in the fourteenth century, as has been hinted before. It is built on the eaſt-ſide of a barren iſland, and has no freſh water but what the rains afford them, which they keep in ciſterns. The Turks had great deſigns when they built it, for they thought of driving the Portugueze out of their ſettlements in India, and to have poſſeſſed them themſelves. Accordingly about the middle of the ſixteenth century, they made an expedition into India, againſt the Portugueze, but were unſucceſsful, and ſo have never attempted ſince to ſettle in India. It continued many years after the ſtaple port for the Red Sea commerce, but the charges of keeping it, ſo far from the Turkiſh dominions, made them leave it to the Immaum, as was already obſerved, and he removed the trade to Mocha.

It has a good road for ſhipping in the weſterly monſoons, and a pretty good mould, or baſon, for the eaſterly, cloſe to the town, and the road is not half gun-ſhot from it. It has been well fortified, being naturally ſtrong in its ſituation; but the Badows, or wild Arabs, who inhabit about the ſea-coaſt of Arabia Petrea, have ſeveral times taken and plundered it, ſince it fell into the Immaum's hands. The country adjacent produces barley, wheat, and legumen, and ſtore of fruits and roots, camels, aſſes, mules, and horſes, all very finely ſhaped and mettleſome; but money being pretty plenty in that part of the country, their horſes are very dear, for 50 or 60l. ſterling is reckoned but a ſmall price for one. They have alſo plenty of ſheep, with large broad tails, that reach almoſt to the ground, and their goats are the fineſt, both for beauty and taſte, that ever I ſaw. And they have poultry and Guinea-hens in abundance. And the ſea affords variety of good fiſh. The Immaum's dominions reach about 20 leagues to the eaſtward of Aden, along the ſea-coaſt; but there are no places of trade till we come to

Caſſin, that lies almoſt under the meridian of Cape Guardafoy, and under the prodigious high mountains of Megiddo, on the coaſt of Arabia. I have ſeen thoſe mountains, in a clear day, above 40 leagues off.

The religion of Caſſin is Mahometan, and the civil government democracy. Death is capital, and is puniſhed with death, but not by the civil magiſtrate; for the tribe or clan of the defunct purſues the murderer or homicide, and when they have found him, he is immediately beheaded, and his head put upon the point of a lance, and brought to his relations in triumph, with muſick and dancing. And the tragi-comedy ends in feaſting.

The

The product of the country (beſides the common roots, and fruits and animals) is myrrh and olibanum or frankincenſe, which they barter for coarſe calicoes from India; but they have no great commerce with ſtrangers. Nor has Doffar any better trade, but is more noted for barbarity to thoſe they can circumvene. I knew an Engliſh ſhip in anno 1705, that called there for freſh water, and the natives came flocking on board with animal proviſions to ſell or barter. They found the Engliſh ſupinely negligent, and being but ſix or ſeven in number, they mixed with them, and ſuddenly ſtabbed them all; but did no harm to the Indian ſeamen and merchants, who were about 40 in number. They took every thing out of the ſhip, and then burnt her.

Curia Muria is another port on that ſhore, but of ſmall account. It is in the middle of ſeven iſlands, each having a very high mountain, which makes them conſpicuous from the ſea. There are none that frequent it but Trankies, that navigate from the Gulf of Perſia to the Red Sea, who call there for freſh water and recruits of proviſion. The inhabitants, along all that coaſt, are Badows, who wear no clothes above the navel. Their hair grows long, which they plat, and wreathe about their heads. The next remarkable place is Maceira, a barren uninhabited iſland, lying about 5 leagues from the continent, and within 20 leagues of Cape Raſſelgat. It has dangerous ſhoals lying on its weſt end, which reach above 30 leagues along the ſhore to the weſtward, and ſo far in the ſea, that the land (though pretty high) cannot be ſeen, before the unſkilful or unwary pilot feels the rocks with his ſhip's keel. The inhabitants on the main continent, ſeem to be ſorcerers; for about the year 1684, a ſhip from London, called the Merchant's Delight, Captain Edward Say ſupercargo, this ſhip unfortunately run aſhore on in the iſland in the night, being very dark, notwithſtanding they kept their deep ſea lead going every half hour; yet they were ſo lucky as to run her faſt a-ground between two rocks very cloſe to the ſhore. In a few minutes the ſhip was full of water, but being dry on the upper decks, the people kept on them till day-light, and then they diſcovered about 4 or 500 wild Arabs, with ſome tents pitched at a little diſtance from them.

The Arabs, by ſigns, ſhewed themſelves ready to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed Engliſh, and being excellent ſwimmers, ſwam to the ſhip, and brought the end of a rope aſhore. There was one on board, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with, who, before that, had ſailed ſome years in India, and had learned the Indoſtan language, and ſome Arabick; he ſerved for an interpreter. They bid the Engliſh hoiſt their boats out, and come aſhore without fear, which they accordingly did, with their arms. They told the Engliſh that they were not come there to rob them, but to aſſiſt them for reaſonable rewards, and that they would take no advantage of the ill circumſtances they were in, but would make a fair contract with them, and perform their part, as ſhould be ſtipulated in their agreement. The Engliſh, though very diffident of the treacherous Arabs, were obliged to covenant and agree, that whatever was ſaved of the treaſure, cargo, or the ſhip's furniture, ſhould be equally divided, and the Engliſh to have the choice which part they might have a mind to; and that the Arabs ſhould tranſport the Engliſh's part to Muſkat, about 60 leagues off, freight free.

As ſoon as the contract was made, the Arabs went couragiouſly to work, and in a week or ten days, got every thing aſhore that was portable, and they, according to agreement, divided the whole into two equal parts, and gave the Engliſh their choice, and then got trankies, (or barks without decks) and ſhipped what belonged to the Engliſh for Muſkat. All the while they were getting the goods aſhore, they treated the Engliſh with excellent mutton, both of ſheep and goat, and laid in proviſion for their paſſage to Muſkat, free of charge to the ſupercargo.

After the interpreter aforeſaid was grown familiar with thoſe Arabs, that were ſo kind and benevolent, he aſked them why ſo many of them had aſſembled on that barren iſland. They anſwered, that about eight days before the ſhip was loſt, a fakee, who is an eccleſiaſtical officer in their church, propheſied that near ſuch a time, a ſhip would be loſt there, and preſſed them to go to the aſſiſtance of the ſhipwrecked people, who would be glad to come under contract with them, to have one half of what was gotten out of the wreck; and conjured his auditory to perform their part faithfully, which accordingly they did; though at other times the Badows are perfidious, treacherous, and cruel.

Cape Raſſelgat lies about 16 leagues to the eaſtward of Maceira, and the ſea-ſhore is clear of danger; and juſt within the Cape, to the northward, is a village called Teywee, which ſtands on the ſide of a ſmall river near the ſea; but it is beſt known by a little mountain (cloſe by it) ſhaped like an high-crowned hat. And about 16 leagues farther to the northweſtward, is Curiat, a large village in a valley cloſe to the ſea. To the northward of it is a very large high mountain, whoſe foot is waſhed by the ſea, and there are 40 fathoms within 200 paces of it. It may be ſeen above 40 leagues from the ſea. There are neither trees nor graſs to be ſeen along the ſea-coaſt, but at Curiat; and yet the country has plenty of cattle, great and ſmall, with variety of fruits and roots from the vallies, and fiſh from the ſea. Their wells are dug in the vallies very deep before they come to ſprings, but the water is very good.

CHAP. VII.—*Treats of the Kingdom and City of Muſkat, and of their religious and civil Cuſtoms; with ſome hiſtorical Account of their Wars and Oeconomy. And a little Account of the Sea-coaſt of Arabia Deſerta, as far as Baſſora.*

MUSKAT lies about 22 leagues to the north-weſtward of Curiat, and is the mart town of Arabia Petrea. It is built on the bottom of a ſmall bay, that almoſt has the ſhape of an horſe-ſhoe. It was built and fortified by the Portugueze, in the fifteenth century, but taken from them about the year 1650. The King of that province (for though there be many kings in Arabia, yet none aſſumes the title of King of Arabia) having war at that time with the Perſians, had raiſed an army of 40,000 men to inſult the ſea-coaſt of Perſia; and had provided a ſufficient number of ſmall veſſels, called trankies, for their tranſports. His army lay at a little diſtance from Muſkat, and his fleet at Muttera, a ſmall bay about a mile from the entrance of Muſkat harbour. The King ſent a civil meſſage to the Portugueze governor, deſiring the liberty of his markets to buy proviſions.

The inſolent governor, thinking himſelf ſafe within a walled town, with many ſmall forts to annoy any enemy that could come to attack the walls of the town, inſtead of returning a civil anſwer to the King's requeſt, ſent a piece of pork wrapped up in paper, as a preſent to the King, and bid the meſſenger tell him, that if he wanted ſuch proviſions, he could furniſh him. The meſſenger, not knowing what was in the paper, carried it to his maſter, with the rude anſwer. Now pork being forbidden the Mahometans as well as Jews, they hold it in abomination, and conſequently it aggravated the deſigned affront. The King was much ſurprized at the governor's ill manners, but diſſembled his reſentment, in expectation to find a proper time at his return from his Perſian expedition, to correct the governor's inſolence, or revenge the affront put on him: but the whole army being enraged at the affront, breathed nothing but preſent revenge. And the queen, who was of the Seid extraction, who are a tribe or family

family deſcended from Mahomet, by Fatima his daughter and Alli his apoſtle, being of a maſculine, fiery temper, reproached the King for not reſenting ſo groſs an affront, ſwore by her anceſtor the Prophet, that ſhe would never ſtir out of the tent ſhe then ſat in, till Muſkat was taken from the Portugueze. All the army applauded the Queen, and threatened to mutiny, if they were not forthwith led by their officers to the ſcalade of the city walls. And at laſt the King finding that no perſuaſions could cool their fury, though the day was far ſpent, ordered them to be led on. The Portugueze flanked them, from their forts on the mountains, with plenty of great and ſmall ſhot; but the Arabs never looked back, nor minded the great numbers of their dead companions, but mounted the walls over the carcaſes of their ſlain. About ſun-ſet they drove the Portugueze from two of the city gates, and purſued their enemy ſo hard, that not one eſcaped, though they fled in great haſte towards the great fort, where the governor ſtaid. That fort is built on a rock almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea, and has no way to get up to it, but by a ſtair-caſe hewn out of the rock, above 50 yards high, and not above two or three perſons can aſcend a-breaſt. The Arabs thought it impracticable to attack it, ſo made a blockade of it. In the attack of the town, the Arabs loſt between 4 and 5000 of the beſt of their forces; and the Portugueze, in their forts, were reduced to 60 or 70. Thoſe in the ſmall forts were obliged ſoon to ſurrender for want of ammunition and proviſions; and all were put to the ſword, except thoſe, who, to ſave their lives, promiſed to be circumciſed, and abjure the Chriſtian religion. Thoſe in the great fort held out about ſix months, under great want and fatigues; and all hopes of relief being cut off, they reſolved on a ſurrender, on which motion, the imprudent governor, who was the ſole cauſe of their calamity, leaped down a precipice in to the ſea, where the water being very ſhallow, he was daſhed to pieces on the rocks.

The little garriſon would fain have come to a capitulation, but the Arabs would grant them no terms, but that they muſt yield, or be ſtarved: and though the terms were hard, yet they thought beſt to ſurrender, and all were put to the ſword, except a few who embraced Mahometiſm, which in all were eighteen perſons. And this relation I had from a very old renegado, who was at the tragedy, being then a ſoldier, who reckoned himſelf about 100 years old, and by his aſpect, could not be much leſs.

The city of Muſkat is very ſtrong, both by nature and art; but the buildings very mean, as moſt fabricks are under the œconomy of a people who abominate luxury and pride, as the Muſkat Arabs do. The cathedral built by the Portugueze ſtill retains ſome marks of its ancient grandeur, and is now converted into a palace for the King, when he reſides there, which is generally a month or two yearly. The wall of the town that faces the harbour, has a battery of large cannon, about 60 in number, and there are 8 or 10 ſmall forts built on the adjacent rocks or mountains, which guard all the avenues to the town, both by ſea and land; and there are none permitted to come in or go out of the harbour between ſun-ſet and riſing.

The pirates that infeſted the Indian ſeas at the latter end of the ſixteenth century, made a breach between the Engliſh and them. The pirates having made prize of one of their ſhips, they retaliated on the Engliſh private ſhipping: they ſeized Captain Morrice's little ſhip, and detained him and all his crew as ſlaves, and would never ranſom them. In anno 1705, they took Captain Murvel in a rich ſhip from Bengal, bound to Perſia: but that might be attributed to puſillanimity, in not offering to make a defence.

They put their ſlaves to no manner of labour, and allow them a ſoldier's pay for ſubſiſtence; and what they can earn otherwiſe by induſtry, is wholly their own.

There

There are neither trees, ſhrubs nor graſs to be ſeen on the ſea-coaſt from Curiat to Muſkat, and but a few date trees in a valley at the back of the town, and yet there is not the leaſt want of them felt in the city; and it has as good markets for wheat, barley and legumen, and for excellent fruits, roots and herbage, and good cattle, both great and ſmall, as any where in India, where the ſoil is moſt luxurious. And the ſea furniſhes them with plenty and variety of excellent fiſh. Their cattle look to be very lean, but when killed, they are very fat and good, affording a great deal of tallow. They are not well ſtocked with fowl, but thoſe they have, are very good.

From May to September the heats are exceſſive in the town, ſo that none appear on the ſtreets, from 10 in the morning till 3 or 4 afternoon. Their bazaars or markets are all covered with date tree leaves, ſpread on beams of the ſame tree, that reach from houſe to houſe-top; and the houſes being all flat on their tops, terraſſed with clay and ſtraw mixed: in the aforeſaid months every body lodges on them in the night; for below ſtairs they cannot ſleep for heat, and the nights afford plentiful dews, that ſometimes wet them through their thick cotton quilts; and theſe dews are reckoned very ſalubrious.

The reaſon of ſo intenſe heats proceeds from the nearneſs of the ſun in thoſe months, who ſends his beams almoſt perpendicularly down on the ſides of the mountains, which being all naked, and nothing but an hard black rock appearing, the ſun heats them to ſuch a degree, that between 10 and 11 in the forenoon, I have ſeen the ſlaves roaſt fiſh on them. And the horſes and cattle, who are accuſtomed to that food, come daily, of their own accord, to be ſerved their allowance, and when they have breakfaſted, retire again to ſhades built for them; and yet their beef and mutton, that are partly nouriſhed by that ſort of food, have not the leaſt ſavour of fiſh. And the reaſon why fiſhes are ſo plentiful and cheap in the markets, is by the eaſy and odd way they have in catching them, or rather conjuring of them; for I have ſeen a man and two boys catch a ton weight in an hour or two. The man ſtands on a rock, where the ſea is pretty deep near it, and calls *tall, tall,* for a minute or two, and the fiſh come ſwarming about the rock. The two boys, in a little boat, ſhut them in with a net about 20 or 30 yards long, and 3 or 4 deep, and, drawing the net near the rock, keep all in; and, when people come for fiſh, he aſkes them what ſorts they want, and puts an hoop-net, fixed to the end of a pole, into the water, and ſerves every body with what kind they aſk for; and when he has done, he hauls out his net, and gives the reſt their liberty.

Their eſtabliſhed religion is Mahometan, of the ſect of Alli. They hinder nobody, of what perſuaſion ſoever, to go into their moſques, even in time of divine ſervice. And their molahs or prieſts often preach themſelves into violent paſſions, eſpecially if the ſubject of their ſermon be about the verity of their religion; and then they will challenge the prieſts of any other religion whatever, to confirm theirs with as good evidences as they can; for, being well verſed in legerdemain tricks, (which all we chriſtians, except one ſet of our prieſts, are ignorant of) they will take live coals out of the fire, and ſeem to eat them, with as good an appetite as a ſchool-boy can eat a bergamy pear; which trick the poor deluded auditory takes for a miracle, to confirm the ſanctity of their religion.

The King keeps his court generally at Nazawa or Reyſtock, two towns four or five days journey from Muſkat within land. He has no ſplendid equipage, and his garb very plain, and no finer than an ordinary ſoldier's is. He has about 100 of his own ſlaves armed with matchlocks and ſhort broad ſwords, for his guard, who always attend on him. He nor his ſubjects uſe no tables, but plain mats ſpread on the ground

ſerve

ſerve for table and chairs. Their viands are a diſh of rice, either plain, or made in pillaw, and a diſh or two more of ſtewed or fried fleſh, fiſh or fowl, placed near the diſh of rice: and he, with his table companions, ſit on the ſame mat, with their buttocks on their heels, and, in that poſture, they feed very plentifully. Their right hand ſerves them for ſpoon, knife and fork, except when they eat broth or milk, and then they have large wooden ſpoons. Ther uſual drink is water, or ſour milk, and in hot weather ſherbets.

They make no great difference about table gueſts; for the king and a common ſoldier, the maſter and ſlave, ſit promiſcuouſly, and dip in the ſame diſh: but women never eat in company with men. The men's apparel is a pair of breeches down to their ancles, with a looſe veſt on their backs, with very large ſleeves, and the body of the veſt girded about their bodies with a faſh, and a large turban careleſsly wreathed about their heads, and a poniard, or a ſhort broad ſword ſtuck into their girdle perpendicularly; their ſhoes clumſily made, and very low and ſtiff at the quarter-heels; and thus a gentleman is equipped; but in cold weather they uſe camelins, a ſort of looſe coat, without ſleeves, made of camel's wool. Their women wear breeches to their heels, of finer ſtuffs, and better colours than the men. The body of the veſt made for their uſe, is ſtraight, but ſhort waiſted, and gathered above the navel in plaits, which makes the lower part look like a petticoat. Their ſhoes are ſhaped like the men's, flat and broad.

The reaſon why their ſhoes are made ſo, is for their eaſier ſlipping off or on, when they enter, or come out of a room, that they may not dirty the carpets or mats wherewith the rooms are ſpread, which ſerve them for beds in cold weather. And, except ſome large round pillows of broad cloth or velvet, ſtuffed with cotton, for the eaſe of thoſe who ſit on the carpets or mats, to lean upon as they ſit croſs-legged, there is no other furniture in a room.

Over all the three Arabias, their cuſtom in treating ſtrangers or friends, is the ſame; for as ſoon as every one is ſeated, a ſervant brings a pot of coffee, and ſerves it about in ſmall cups, that contain not a quarter of a gill; but as ſoon as one cup is out, they fill again, and perhaps a third time: then a pipe of tobacco is preſented, their pipes differing much from ours in Europe, in ſhape and magnitude; which ſervice laſts till near the time of breaking up company, when comes in a little pot of hot burning coals, on which they throw ſome chips of Agala wood, or ſome powder of benjoin, myrrh, or frankincenſe, which produces a thick ſmoke, that incenſes or perfumes the whole room. And, as I obſerved before, it is the cuſtom of wearing very great ſleeves to their garments. They open their ſleeves as wide as they can, and hold them over the ſmoke, which perfumes their arms, ſhoulders, neck and beard. And the laſt courſe is ſome roſe-water to beſprinkle the company, which is the ſignal to be gone every one about their buſineſs; ſo, without any forms of ceremony, every one walks off.

The products of Arabia Petrea for exportation, are but few, as horſes, dates, fine brimſtone, ſome coffee, but not ſo good as at Mocha; ſome ruinoſs, which is the root of a ſmall ſhrub, that dies crimſon, and ſome pearl. Their manufacture is ſome coarſe cotton, linen, and camelins, which they conſume moſt in their own country; but the Badows need none, ſince they wear none. The Arabs wear no pearl or gold; but the women of diſtinction wear pearl of a ſmall price, though I ſaw one there as big as a large hazel-nut, exactly round, and of a fine water. It was valued at 1000 tomans, which is above 3000l. ſterling. I have ſometimes gone in a boat to ſee them dive for pearl and have bought ſome pearl oyſters of them; but the divers are cheats, putting the oyſters in the ſun, which makes them gape, and then the rogues rummage them,

and ſhake out the pearl; and, after they are robbed of their treaſure, they put them into water again, and they cloſe. I bought at times above 100 oyſters, and got nothing; they coſt me but ſeven-pence halfpenny a-piece. At laſt I found one that had an excreſcence growing to the ſhell on the inſide, which I carefully took off; and, at Carwar in India, I ſold it for 9l. ſterling.

The women in this country have ſome peculiar privileges beyond the men; for if one complain that a man has offered violence to her perſon, without further proof than her word of honour, he is puniſhed with 100 baſtinadoes on the ſoles of the feet, or put into a dungeon under ground, which has only an hole at the top, big enough to receive a man; and when he is in, there is a ſtone put over the hole, too big to be removed by a ſingle perſon, and there he muſt ſtay three days and as many nights, without meat or water, or room to lie at his length. And if a wife complain of her huſband for unkindneſs in any kind, particularly of due benevolence, as by law eſtabliſhed in the Jewiſh and Mahometan churches, the huſband muſt undergo the puniſhment of the dungeon. But if a lady treſpaſſes, and her ſpouſe detect her crime, he has the law in his own hand, and may chaſtiſe her with the whip ſeverely; but muſt not touch her life, on pain of death.

The Muſkat Arabs are remarkable for their humility and urbanity. I had one inſtance of their civility. As I was one morning walking the ſtreets, I met accidentally the governor of the city, by them called the waaly, and according to my duty, I went into the door of a ſhop, to let him and his guards have the ſtreet, which generally are narrow; but he obſerving, by my complexion and garb, that I was a ſtranger, made his guard go on one ſide, and beckoned me to come forward, and ſtood till I paſt by him. And for an inſtance of their cool temper, in hearing debates and rectifying miſtakes between parties diſagreeing about commerce: the before mentioned interpreter at Maceira, was commander of a ſhip from India, and had freighted her to Muſkat. The freighter, who was a Mahometan, delayed paying the freight, long after it was due by the tenor of the charter-party; upon which he being in a paſſion with the freighter for his continued delays, went to the waaly to complain. He obſerving by the gentleman's countenance, that his mind was diſcompoſed, anſwered him, that being at that time very buſy about ſome of the King's affairs, he had not time to ſend for his freighter, but deſired that he would come ſome other time, and he would hear him, and order the payment. The delays ſtill continuing, the captain went again in an angry mood to make his complaint, but was ſtill put off with gentle excuſes: but at laſt addreſſing the waaly with coolneſs, he was deſired to ſit down, and he would ſend for the freighter, which accordingly he did; and on his appearance, the waaly aſked him why he did not comply with his contract, as was ſtipulated by charter-party; and his excuſes being thought inſufficient, he was ordered to make payment forthwith, or go to priſon; but the freighter choſe rather to bring the money, and end the diſpute. The captain aſked the waaly why he did not do him juſtice ſooner, who received for anſwer, that it was his own fault for coming drunk to make complaint. The captain proteſted that he had not been drunk in many years; but the waaly replied, that he ſaw him drunk with paſſion, which was the moſt dangerous ſort of drunkenneſs.

The countries to the ſouthward of Muſkat, as far as Curia Muria, are under the dominions of Muſkat, and the ſkeeks or princes are their tributaries. The land is mountainous; but the plains and vallies very fertile and well watered, and conſequently well peopled. And to the northward of Muſkat, the ſame chain of rocky mountains continue as high as Zoar, above Cape Muſenden, which Cape and Cape

Jaques begin the Gulf of Perſia, on the Arabian ſide. About Zoar begins the deſert, that runs as far northerly as Aleppo. The mountains near the ſea are ſandy, and the vallies and plains ſterile, and ill inhabited, and as ill watered.

About the year 1620, Perſia was in a flouriſhing condition, and was a terror to all its neighbours. Shaw Tamas, ſon to the famous Shaw Abaſs, was then King, and being of a martial diſpoſition, had a deſign to annex all the Arabian coaſt oppoſite to Perſia, to his own dominions, and accordingly tranſported from Cong, a city of his own that lies on the ſea-ſhore, an army of 35 or 40,000 men to conquer it. The army met with no oppoſition in landing, and they ſoon overran the country wherever they went; but they had not been long in purſuit of their conqueſt, till proviſions began to be ſcarce in the army, which, with the ſcarcity of freſh water, and the intolerable heats, both of ſun and winds, brought a contagion on the Perſians, that killed the better half of them, and obliged what was left to return back to Perſia by ſhipping, as they had come from it.

Thoſe barren coaſts are needleſsly ſecured by ſandy banks, that run 10 or 12 leagues off from the ſhore, which would make navigation impracticable, if it ſhould meet with encouragement; but the two iſlands of Bareen, lying in the latitude of 29 degrees 30 minutes, almoſt in the bottom of the gulf, and belonging to the crown of Perſia, have the beſt pearl fiſhing in the world.

About the beginning of this century, the Muſkat Arabs took poſſeſſion of the Bareen iſlands; but the honeſt pearl fiſhers deſerted it whilſt the Arabs kept poſſeſſion, who finding that their new ſettlement could not defray the charge of keeping, without the pearl fiſhers, they left it; and the fiſhers, who are moſtly Arabs, returned to their induſtry, and continue the fiſhery.

The great Turk gives laws to all the countries that lie between the river Euphrates and Ethiopia; but there are many ſheeks who inhabit thoſe deſerts, that make but ſmall account of him or his orders, becauſe the ſterility of their country makes them ſecure from great armies coming amongſt them, and a ſmall one dares not venture amongſt them as enemies. They being naturally thieves, rob friend or foe, or one another; ſo that few people of ſubſtance have any commerce with them.

There are no towns of note between Muſkat and Baſſora, but Zoar, and but very few inconſiderable villages; but there are two or three pretty convenient harbours for ſhipping. The ſouthermoſt is about 6 leagues to the ſouthward of Cape Moſenden, called Courforcaun. It is almoſt like Muſkat harbour, but ſomewhat bigger, and has excellent freſh water in deep wells, about a quarter of a mile from the landing-place. The village contains about twenty little houſes; yet there are pretty good refreſhments to be had there. Cape Moſenden is of itſelf but a good number of ſmall high iſlands lying near one another, but they appear like a promontory on terra firma. And up to the weſtward of the Cape there is another harbour, whoſe name I have forgot; but there are good freſh water and animal proviſions to be had there. And now having deſcribed Muſkat and its territories as well as I can, I'll make one obſervation more, and proceed on my travels.

Ever ſince the Portugueze left Muſkat to the Arabs, there has been a continual war; but in the main the Arabs have been the gainers, yet they have been obliged to build and buy ſhips of force to confront the Portugueze at ſea, and to keep their coaſts free from their inſults. Their fleets have often met, and had ſome engagements, but few ſhips have been taken or ſunk on either ſide; but merchant ſhips of both ſides have been taken. The Portugueze uſe their captives with great ſeverity, making them labour hard, and inure them to the diſcipline of the whip; but the Arabs uſe theirs with

very much humanity, only making them priſoners at large, without putting them to hard labour, and allow them as much diet money as their own ſoldiers receive, and this is duly paid them twice a month. And if any of the Portugueze are artificers or mechanics, they may freely work at their trade, to earn money to redeem themſelves.

In anno 1715, the Arabian fleet conſiſted of one ſhip of 74 guns, two of 60, one of 50, and 18 ſmall ſhips from 32 to 12 guns each, and ſome trankies or rowing veſſels from 4 to 8 guns each, with which ſea-forces they keep all the ſea-coaſts in awe, from Cape Comerin to the Red Sea. They have often made deſcents on the Portugueze colonies on the coaſt of India, deſtroying their villages and farms, but ſpare their churches, for better reaſons than we can give for plundering them. They kill none in cold blood, but uſe their captives courteouſly. In anno 1695, they quarrelled with the Carnatic rajah, a potent prince by land; yet they came with their fleet, and plundered and burned the towns of Barſalore and Mangulore, two of the beſt and richeſt towns on that coaſt. And now I leap from Muſkat to

CHAP. VIII.—*Gives an Account of Baſſora City, and that Part of Arabia Deſerta; with Remarks on its Government and Commerce, and ſome Occurrences, both Ancient and Modern, that have happened to it; with ſome Account of the famous River of Euphrates.*

BASSORA is the eaſtermoſt city or town in the Turkiſh dominions, ſtanding about two miles from the famous Euphrates, and has a ſmall river that waſhes its walls on the weſt ſide, and diſcharges its waters into the Euphrates. This city ſtands about 30 leagues from the ſea, and it is alledged, was built by the Emperor Trajan, and had the honour to be the birth-place of another Roman Emperor, Philip ſurnamed the Arabian: but at firſt it was built along the ſide of the river, and the veſtigia of its ancient walls are ſtill to be ſeen from the aforeſaid rivulet, a league down the banks of Euphrates, which diſembogues her waters, by four or five mouths, into the Gulf of Perſia; but none navigable for ſhips of burden, but that channel that leads to Baſſora. At the city it is a ſhort mile over at high water, and it keeps about the ſame breadth to the very mouth of it.

The river abounds in fiſh, but none good, except a ſmall ſhad about the bigneſs of an herring. And there is great plenty of wild fowl, ſuch as ſwans, geeſe, duck, teal, wigeon and curlews; and the fields have plenty of partridge of ſeveral kinds, plover, ſnipes, doves, pigeons, and large larks, whoſe fleſh is very ſavoury, and their wild notes grateful to the ear. They have alſo birds of prey, as eagles, many ſorts and ſizes of hawks, and kites, crows black and white, and it is obſervable, that the black keep the Arabian ſide of the river, and the white the Perſian, and if any preſume to interlope into anothers province, they raiſe the poſſe, and drive them back to their own territory.

There is great plenty of ſmall tortoiſe in the river; but none eat them, becauſe they are forbidden in the Levitical law, to which the Mahometans adhere much in point of eating. They have alſo many ſpecies of wild beaſts. Wild ſwine are very numerous, and their fleſh is very ſweet and juicy, but no fat to be ſeen about them. And the peaſants come often to town to invite chriſtians to kill them; for they make ſad havoc of their corn and roots. And if a chriſtian kills any, they'll bring them to their houſes

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on aſſes or mules, for a very ſmall reward, notwithſtanding there is a poſitive command in the alcoran, that forbids them to touch ſwine's fleſh.

They have plenty of black cattle, wild and tame, and good milk; but they make but ſcurvy cheeſe of it, and no butter, becauſe they make the fat of their ſheep's tails ſerve in their kitchens inſtead of butter; and they keep no tea-tables for the conſumption of freſh butter. And coffee, which is much in uſe, is the conſtant companion of a pipe of tobacco, which is taken by the ladies as well as gentlemen. In the deſert, which is very near the town, there are wild camels, horſes, aſſes, goats, lions, leopards, panthers and foxes, which they hunt on horſeback, with ſword and lance, and on foot with fowling pieces. They have plenty of delicious fruits, as pomegranates, peaches, apricots, quinces, olives, apples, pears, nectarines and grapes that are as ſweet as the juice of the ſugar-cane, and their ſpirits are ſo weak, that they'll produce neither wine nor vinegar: but the moſt plenty and uſeful of all their fruits, are their dates, which ſupport and ſuſtain many millions of people, who make them their daily food, and they are wonderfully nouriſhed by them. Baſſora exports yearly for foreign countries, above 10,000 tuns of dates, which employ abundance of ſeamen for their exportation, beſides many more poor in gathering and packing them in mats made of the leaves of the date tree, and likewiſe in drying them. I bought about 160 pound weight of wet dates for 2s. 3d. ſterling, and ſometimes they are cheaper.

The ruins of the famous Babylon lie about 200 Engliſh miles up the river from Baſſora; and at Bagdat, which is 12 miles below it, the ruins appear to be a mountain, and are the habitation of wild beaſts and ſerpents. Whether Bagdat was built out of its ruins, or no, I know not; but 'tis reported, and generally believed that it was. It is now a prodigious large city, and the ſeat of a Beglerbeg, who governs a very great province. They baſhaws of Baſſora, Comera, and Muſol, (the ancient Nineveh) are ſubordinate to him, and are able to bring 150,000 men into the field.

Comera ſtands on the banks of Euphrates, about 80 miles above Baſſora, and, by common tradition, is the place where holy Job dwelt. It abounds in all things that Baſſora produces, viz. fruits, roots, herbs and animals: beſides, it is very fruitful in producing wheat, rice, and pulſe of ſeveral ſpecies. There is a garriſon of 10,000 janiſſaries continually kept there, and 8 or 10 river gallies, well furniſhed, to awe the circumjacent countries, who are apt to rebel. And Baſſora has 3000 janiſſaries and 5 gallies for the ſame account. The baſhaws of the gallies are not ſubordinate to the baſhaws of the cities; but he of the gallies has the command of the circumjacent countries, laying on of taxes, and raiſing ſubſidies at his pleaſure, as he of the cities has power to oppreſs the citizens: and their avarice and ſeverity often cauſe mutinies and bloodſhed. One of thoſe mutinies happened at Baſſora, in anno 1721, for the baſhaw of the city having married a lady out of the Grand Seignior's ſeraglio, and that monarch having ſome deference for her on account of conſanguinity, her huſband was put into the baſhaw's ſhip to get money to ſupport his lady's extravagancy; and finding that fair honeſt ways would be a long while in raiſing ſuch ſums as he thought would be ſufficient for that end, oppreſt both city and country to fill his coffers. The poor oppreſt merchants, mechanics and peaſants plied him with complaints on his ſoldiery, who, they thought, robbed them, ſince their exactions were new. They gave in remonſtrances of their grievances, and petitioned for redreſs; but the perſons ſent with thoſe addreſſes, had the baſtinado for their impertinence. Upon this the diſtreſſed city and country made their addreſs to the baſhaw of the gallies, who knew that they had juſt cauſe of complaint. He wrote to the Beglerbeg, and informed him of their caſe and condition, and obtained a ſevere reprimand; for he of the city, inſtead of amend-

ment, added cruelties to oppreſſion, and murdered many who would not, or could not pay what they were ſeſſed at, which unheard of barbarities made above 50,000 of the city and country betake themſelves to arms, and march out, with the mufti or high prieſt at their head; and he had a green flag, which is Mahomet's banner, before him, carried by a prieſt; and he and his army encamped near the baſhaw of the gallies his houſe, which ſtands about two miles below the city, by the river ſide; and the baſhaw of the gallies joined them with 1000 janiſſaries. The mufti, according to cuſtom, plied his ſpiritual artillery, and excommunicated the baſhaw of the city, and all that adhered to him. This mutiny continued ſome days; but I heard of no bloodſhed, and only opprobrious language paſt. But the town began to feel want, for the peaſants would bring no eatables to the city; but the Mufti's hoſt were plentifully ſupplied. All ſhops being ſhut up, and all the markets unprovided, made the baſhaw of the city begin to think what the end would be, if the mutiny continued any longer; ſo he got ſome country gentlemen, who were of neither faction, to go to the mufti and the baſhaw of the gallies, as mediators; and accordingly they went, and were handſomely received, and, in ther oration on the preſent poſture of affairs, made the mufti and his party incline to peace, providing that about a dozen of incendiaries might be delivered to them, to receive condign puniſhment for their faults. All the proſcribed, but one, by the interceſſion of friends, were pardoned; but they would hear of no peace till the other was made a ſacrifice to their juſt reſentment; for this villain would accoſt a merchant in the ſtreet, and, after common compliments were ended, he would aſk them what became of the diamonds, or other jewels, that they had ſhewn him ſuch a time. The innocent merchant, who perhaps never had any jewels, being ſurpriſed at his queſtion, would deny that ever they had any ſuch as he ſpake of. Then the impudent fellow would tell them plain, that without they would bribe him with a round ſum, he would inform the baſhaw, that he had ſeen ſuch quantities of rough diamonds, or other valuable ſtones in their poſſeſſion, and if they could not be found entered in his cuſtom-houſe books, they muſt expect to ſuffer what puniſhment the baſhaw would pleaſe to inflict for defrauding the King of his cuſtoms. Some out of fear would comply, and give a ſum, others, again, ſtood on their innocence and would not give him money; and they were ſure to be informed againſt, and brought before the baſhaw, and, upon that villain's evidence, were generally fined about double of what he aſked of them; ſo that beſides the great ſums that came into the baſhaw's coffers by that raſcal's ingenuity, he had accumulated twenty-five bags to himſelf, each bag containing 500 crowns, and all this in the ſpace of three years that he had been in Baſſora; for he came from Conſtantinople one of the baſhaw's retinue, hardly worth an aſper, and at his death ſo much ready caſh was found in his houſe, which fell into his maſter the baſhaw's hands: for after this villain was culled out to be ſacrificed to the juſt reſentment of the people, and found that they would not be appeaſed without having his life, he fell at his maſter's feet for protection. The cunning, covetous baſhaw bid him convey what money he had to his houſe, and he would take care of it for the uſe of his wife and children, and would ſend him ſecretly out of the town, and get him ſafely conducted to Comera. He ſwallowed that bait, and delivered his ill-gotten money to his maſter, who protected him but one ſingle day, and then told him, that the people's clamours were ſo great, that he could protect him no longer; and accordingly he was delivered to the enraged mob, who forthwith ſtrangled him, and threw his body on a dung-hill by the ſide of an high-way, where I ſaw it two days after. And the mufti and baſhaw made matters up for the eaſe and ſatisfaction of the people, who grew quite tired of their diviſions.

Baſſora was many years in the hands of the Perſians, who gave great encouragement to trade, which drew many merchants from foreign parts to ſettle there, and particularly from Surat in India. But in anno 1691, a peſtilence raged ſo violently, that above 80,000 people were carried off by it, and thoſe that remained fled from it, ſo that for three years following it was a deſert, inhabited only by wild beaſts, who were at laſt driven out of the town by the circumjacent wild Arabs, who poſſeſſed it about 12 months, and were in their turn driven out by the Turks, who keeps it till this day; but its trade is very inconſiderable to what it was in the times that the Perſians had it, and the reaſon is, that the Turks are very inſolent to ſtranger merchants. In anno 1721, I had an inſtance of their arbitrary inſolence, for I ſold a conſiderable quantity of pepper, which ſome ſtranger merchants bargained to take at 28 mamoodies* a maund attarie, without deductions. The baſhaw being made acquainted with the contract, ſent orders, that the pepper muſt be delivered to two minions of his at 24 mamoodies, and allow them turk† and burk, which is a piece of ſtone or brick between a pound and an half or two pounds weight, into the ſcale with the ſtandard weights, beſides the tare of the bags. I at firſt refuſed to comply with the unjuſt order, and ſtood out three or four days, but at laſt was adviſed by ſome Surat merchants (who were there, and had met with as great oppreſſions) to obey, leſt I ſhould run the riſk of being plundered by the ſoldiery.

There are many Jews in Baſſora who live by brokerage and exchanging money; but the Turks keep that ſet of people very low, for reaſons of ſtate. There are alſo about 200 chriſtians of the Greek church, but no prieſts of that communion, wherefore ſome Roman miſſionaries officiate there. The Greek clergy are very indifferent about gaining proſelytes, and, to nouriſh their flocks, will not run the riſk of martyrdom, ſo they keep none of their prieſthood at Baſſora: but when I was there, three Romiſh prieſts of the Carmelite order had the ſuperintendency of that church. Theſe ſanctified raſcals were a ſcandal to chriſtianity, by making a tavern of their church; for having more indulgence from the government than the Mahometans, in moral matters, they abuſe it to the vileſt uſes, in ſelling arrack, which they diſtil from dates, and procuring birds of paradiſe for the uſe of their cuſtomers. The Mahometans again are forbidden ſtrictly the drinking of wine or diſtilled liquors, both by their eccleſiaſtical and civil laws; for the heat of the ſun, and the dry ſandy ſoil create much a duſt choler in their brains, that when they are heated by drinking ſtrong liquors, they became furious and miſchievous to one another, and, in thoſe mad fits, wound and kill their fellows. Thoſe ſcandalous prieſts had been often reprimanded by the government, for abuſing the indulgence they had, but to little purpoſe, for their trade was very gainful; but, upon a drunken quarrel between two ſeamen of mine, wherein one was dangerouſly wounded with a knife, and the other for fear of puniſhment, turned Mahometan, being before a Portugueze chriſtian, the baſhaw ſent an officer and ſoldiers to enter the church, and all the houſes appertaining to it, with orders to break their ſtills and jars, with the reſt of the diſtilling utenſils, and to pour out all the arrack they found, on the ground, which was accordingly done; and in the ſearch, the ſoldiers met with a fine ſilver watch, and about 400 Spaniſh dollars, which they carried off with them. The prieſts petitioned the baſhaw to have the watch and money reſtored; but were anſwered, that they preached much on the contempt of worldly riches, and if his ſoldiers had made them practiſe what they preached, they ought to be thankful, and to let the deſpicable money continue in hands that profeſſed their love of it, and

* Twenty-eight Mamoodies are 17s. 6d. A maund attarie is 28 lib.
† Turk and burk is a cuſtomary donation, ſuch as tret in Britain.

knew

knew much better how to uſe it than prieſts, and ſo diſmiſſed them, with threats of harder penalties on their next tranſgreſſion: but the ſweets of worldly gains ſoon made them forget the admonition given them by the baſhaw, as well as their heavenly promiſes and oaths made at their admiſſion into their holy order; and, like a dog to his vomit, returned back to their old trade of debauching Chriſtians, Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans with liquors, and ſet up ſtills for that purpoſe once more.

Notwithſtanding that the Turkiſh government is ſo well eſtabliſhed by ſeverity, and even cruelty when their laws are tranſgreſſed, yet the Arabs, who are the natural lords of their own country, are not to be rigorouſly dealt with, for they are a people very bold, revengeful and cunning. While I was at Baſſora, a parcel of Janiſaries were ſent to the iſland of Gabon, which lies between the city and the mouth of the river Euphrates. The weſt end is waſhed by a branch of the river, which runs into the ſea, and the north ſide by the main river for 25 leagues, till it diſembogues into the ſea by the channel for ſhipping. It being pretty well inhabited, and the baſhaw impoſing exorbitant taxes on thoſe poor iſlanders, which they either would not, or could not pay, ſent the aforementioned Janiſaries to dragoon them into compliance. They firſt built a ſconce, and fortified it, both to ſecure themſelves from ſudden attacks or ſurprize, as well as to hold what they might deſtrain from the poor peaſants. Many of thoſe poor wretches having experimented the Turkiſh wholeſome chaſtiſements of plundering and baſtonading thoſe who ſcrupled to obey, or were not able to pay what they were taxed, making their complaints to one another, and bewailing the miſery that they underwent by the inexorable Janiſaries, took counſel to ferret them off their iſland at the hazard of their lives, rather than continue under the unſupportable yoke they were in; wherefore about three hundred of them prepared for an attack on the Janiſaries little fort, with no other weapons than lances and ſwords. There were about forty Janiſaries in the fort, well armed with guns; but the Arabs defeated the deſign of powder and ball, by making up great bundles of ſtraw, that covered them intirely from head to foot whilſt their faces were towards their enemy. They waited a convenient time when the wind was pretty high, and marching towards the windwardmoſt part of the fort, ſet fire to their ſtraw, whoſe blaze and ſmoke kept the Janiſaries clear from moleſting them to windward. There were ſome ſhades within the fort, built of date tree leaves, for lodging the gariſon, but they took fire alſo; and five or ſix barrels of powder blowing up, deſtroyed moſt of the Janiſaries, and ſome few who leapt down the outſide of the wall, were killed with the ſword; ſo that between fire and ſword, not one eſcaped. I ſaw ſome of the ſlaughtered and half-burnt carcaſes brought up to the city the next day after the tragedy was acted; but the commotions that had happened before in the city, made the baſhaw bridle his reſentment, ſince it was his own avarice that begat both mutinies.

The horſes in this part of Arabia are very well ſhaped, and mettleſome, and the men the moſt dexterous in managing them that ever I ſaw. They ſhoot with bow and arrow, and throw their lance at full ſpeed, and very ſeldom miſs the mark. They will ſtoop at full ſpeed, and take up an hare as ſhe runs, with their hands, or throw a lance in the air, and catch it before it comes to the ground: and indeed the moſt of their exerciſe, whilſt young, is in managing their horſes.

They have many boats on the river, of ſeveral ſhapes and dimenſions; ſome are made of wood, with high broad boughs, and very long, others are very ſhort: their rudders are in breadth a quarter part of their keel's length, but not intire of one piece as ours are, and they daub them over outſide and inſide with bitumen, without caulking them; others are baſkets made of reeds, perfectly round, with two ſticks laid

athwart croſs-ways their bottoms to keep them open. They are alſo daubed on the outſide and bottom with bitumen. And this ſort they make uſe of to tranſport goods from place to place. Bitumen is a thick ſulphurous and unctious matter, generated in the earth there, and boils up of its own accord to the ſurface; and ſometimes it is ſo hot, that it ſcalds the hands or feet of them that go to gather it. And there are ſome hot pits in the ground, that putting a pot over them, they'll boil meat. There is alſo oil of Peter in thoſe grounds, which is very good in healing rheumatick pains.

CHAP. IX.—*Gives a Deſcription of the Sea-coaſt of Perſia, from Euphrates to Gombroon, with the Places of Commerce on the Perſian Side of the Gulf.*

THEY have a tradition, that between Baſſora and Comera was Job's habitation, if he had any; but that is out of my ſphere, and ſo I'll travel down the Euphrates again towards Perſia.

For above 20 leagues to the eaſtward of the channel for ſhipping, or from Margan point, the land is very low and mariſh, and is overgrown with reeds and ſhrubs, which, in the month of Auguſt, are very dry by the extreme heats of June and July; and the winds blowing freſh, put them in ſo great agitation, that by friction they take fire; ſo that before we ſee any land, we ſee great ſmokes by day, and great fires by night, of 4 or 5 leagues long. But at Durea, which I take to be the eaſtermoſt branch of the river, the land is pretty high, and ſome date trees to be ſeen from the ſea. And the firſt mountains that appear in Perſia, are thoſe of Bander-dillon, which is a large town on the ſea-coaſt. It has large plains near it, that produce plenty of wheat and barley, and have good paſturage for horſes and cattle. As alſo does Bander-rick, another ſea-port town, and may be ſeen plainly from the ſea; but the bay is ſhallow ſo far off, that a ſhip cannot come within three leagues of it; however it has pretty good inland trade, by reaſon of its vicinity to Shyraſh, the ſecond town in Perſia for magnitude, from whence it is but ſix days journey for beaſts of carriage.

Bowchier is alſo a maritime town, about 12 leagues to the ſouthward of Banderrick. It ſtands on an iſland, and has a pretty good trade, both by ſea and land.

The iſlands of Carrack ly, about weſt north-weſt, 12 leagues from Bowchier. One of them has no inhabitants but deer and antelopes. The ſouthermoſt has between 200 and 300 poor fiſhers on it, who ſerve ſhipping with pilots for Baſſora. It affords good mutton and fiſh, potatoes and onions, with good water. The anchoring-place is at the north end of the inhabited iſland, in 12 fathoms water. Their language is Arabick, and religion Mahometan.

About 7 leagues to the ſouthward of Bowchier, on the ſea-coaſt is Curchoir, where are the ruins of a large caſtle and pier that jets a pretty way into the ſea. They were built by the Portugueze, who kept a garriſon there, and had gallies continually cruizing about in the bottom of the gulf, to compel all ſhips that traded there, or to Baſſora, to pay 10 per cent. toll or cuſtoms to them. There is nothing elſe to invite obſervation for travellers, from Courchoir to Congoun, which is about 30 leagues, but high, dry, barren mountains, and hideous precipices.

Congoun ſtands on the ſouth ſide of a large river, and makes a pretty good figure in trade; for moſt of the pearls that are caught at Bareen, on the Arabian ſide, are brought hither for a market, and many fine horſes are ſent thence to India, where they generally ſell well. And four days journey within land, is the city of Laar, which, according to their fabulous tradition, is the burying-place of Lot, and they pretend to

ſhew

ſhew his tomb ſtill; but they do not know a word about the poor woman his wife. That there are many mountains of rock ſalt there, is very certain.

The next maritime town, down the gulf, is Cong, where the Portugueze had lately a factory, but of no great figure in trade, though the town has a ſmall trade with Banyans and Moors from India. The many inſults the Muſkat Arabs give it with their fleet, frighten merchants of conſiderable ſtocks from frequentiing it. After the Portugueze loſt Ormus, and a peace made with Shaw Abaſs the king of Perſia, they were permitted to ſettle at Cong. But that King built the city of

Gombroon, or, as the natives call it, Bander Abaſſi, or the ſea-port of Abaſſi. This city ſtands on a bay, about 4 leagues to the northward of the eaſt end of the iſland of Kiſmiſh, and 3 leagues from the famous Ormuze, which the Engliſh had ſo great an hand in reducing to the obedience of Shaw Abaſs. What time the Portugueze ſettled on Ormuze I know not, nor could I ever learn from the Perſians that I converſed with, when they did ſettle; but finding it a convenient place to tyrannize over the traders into the Gulf of Perſia, they built a large fort on the eaſt end of it, almoſt environed by the ſea that waſhes the fort walls. This Gombroon was formerly a fiſhing town, and when Shaw Abaſs began to build it, had its appellation from the Portugueze in deriſion, becauſe it was a good place for catching prawns or ſhrimps, which they call Camerong. The Engliſh and Dutch have their factories here, which bring a good commerce to it; and the French formerly had their factory too. It is ill ſeated, and wants almoſt every thing that contributes to the ſupport of human life, except fiſh and mutton; yet, for many years, it has been well peopled by reaſon of its trade, which has filled the pockets of many merchants, who, at firſt ſettling there, were very empty. They have no drinkable water within three miles of the town, except a few ciſterns, which are dry above one half of the year: and the hills near it are barren, and the very rocks taſte of ſalt. And when rain falls, which is but ſeldom, the rivulets (which are filled by waters running down the hills into low grounds) bear a cruſt of fine white ſalt on their ſides, but is bitteriſh, by reaſon of too much nitre and ſulphur in its compoſition. People of diſtinction and fortune keep a camel or two daily employed in bringing them freſh wholeſome water from Aſſeen, about 15 miles from the city, becauſe the water of Naban, which is three miles off, is not accounted ſalubrious. There is an high mountain that lies north from Gombroon, about 8 leagues, whoſe reflection of heat on the lower ground, in the ſummer months, almoſt fires the air, which creates much uneaſineſs and unhealthfulneſs to the inhabitants of Gombroon; wherefore moſt of them retire into the country, to paſs the heats of June, July, and Auguſt, whoſe heats affect the ſea, in ſo much, that in Auguſt there comes a ſtink from it, that is as deteſtable as the ſmell of dead animals on the land; and vaſt quantities of ſmall ſhell fiſh are thrown on the ſhore by the ſurges of the ſea; from them I judge the intolerable ſtink proceeds. It tarniſhes gold and ſilver, as bad as the bilge water of a tight ſhip.

About 10 miles from Aſſeen, at the foot of the aforeſaid mountain, is a place called Minoa, where are natural cold and hot baths, which cure itches, poxes, leproſy, and rheumatick pains, only by bathing, for they are not drinkable; and ſome that try to drink them, and get a few ſpoonfuls down, find them powerful emeticks. There are two or three little choultries or ſhades built for patients to reſt in; but there are no people that inhabit near it, ſo that whoever goes there, muſt carry all neceſſaries or conveniencies along with them.

At Aſſeen there are many gardens, where the inhabitants of Gombroon retire to in the hot months; but the Engliſh Eaſt India Company's is the beſt cultivated. It produces plenty of Seville oranges, whoſe trees are always verdant, and bear ripe and green

green fruit, with bloſſoms, all at once. In the hot ſeaſon it is well watered from its wells, ſo that roots and herbage are plentiful, and good in their ſeaſons, which ſupply the factory at Gombroon: and there is pretty good fowling and hunting in that plain; but the road to the town is only paſſable for men, and aſſes or camels, but not for horſes: nor are there any houſes on the road, but one fackire's or beggar's lodge. But Naban is a village pretty well peopled, and has one tree, or rather a wood ſprung from the root of a tree, whoſe branches ſpread wide, and from them other branches deſcend to the ground, and take root, and the branches of them ſpread as the firſt did, that it became near three hundred yards from one end to another, and could ſhelter 10,000 men from the heat of the ſun. The leaves are large and thick, and it bears a red berry, only uſeful for crows and parrots, who alſo build neſts on the tree.

Gombroon is very unhealthy for Europeans, occaſioned by the ſcorching heat of ſummer, and piercing cold of winter; for as thoſe that ſtay there in ſummer have wind-chimnies to cool and fan them, ſo they are obliged, in winter, to wear cloth coats, lined with fur, to keep them warm. The Europeans often haſten death ſooner than he would come of his own accord, by intemperance and debauchery of ſeveral kinds; and they have a burial-place pretty near the town, well ſtored with tombs, but never a Chriſtian church in this town, though the Portugueze have one at Cong, where generally reſide a prieſt or two, who ſubſiſt on alms and perquiſites. When an Engliſh or Dutch heretick marry, or bring the fruits of their labour to light unmarried, then the prieſt is ſent for to make the infant a Chriſtian; but we officiate in burials ourſelves.

The animal proviſions of cattle, ſheep, goat, fowl, and fiſh, are all in their kind good, and pretty cheap; but they kill no cows publickly, becauſe the Banyans from India, who make a good figure in the town, and are pretty numerous, give the Shanaſheen or Governor, a yearly preſent of value, to prohibit cow-killing, for they being all Pythagoreans in the belief of tranſmigration, worſhip that beaſt in as great a degree of veneration as a Papiſt does the image of a ſaint given him for a protector. The devotees of both differ not much in point of adoration; for ſetting aſide the divinity of cattle, who till the ground, and nouriſh them by their milk, which, they ſay, is more than a dead image can do, they have greater antiquity, and as great authority as Chriſtian idolaters can pretend to. Their books are as numerous, and their traditions and legends as full in relating prophecies uttered by the cow, as well as miracles performed by her, as the others can boaſt of done by their images; ſo they laugh at a Papiſt that calls them idolaters.

The grapes, melons, and mangoes that ſupply the market of Gombroon, come from the high mountain beforementioned, or from the vallies on the north ſide of it. In November and December, the ſnow falls ſo plentifully on that mountain, as well as on others to the ſouthward of it, that it clothes them in white generally till the month of March.

In Auguſt the poorer ſort of people go up the country to their date harveſt; and for a month's time that the harveſt laſts, we can hardly find boatmen and porters enough to lade or unlade our ſhipping, which often proves very inconvenient for thoſe whoſe voyage depends on quick diſpatch. And the winds blowing then hard at the ſouth-weſt from the Arabian ſhore, bring along with them ſuch clouds of ſcorching ſands, that the ſun is obſcured by them.

A memorable accident happened about the year 1712, to two French gentlemen, who contrary to the advice of their friends at Gombroon, would needs travel in the month of July, for Iſpahan, the metropolis of Perſia, which lies 700 Engliſh miles from Gombroon. The chief of the Engliſh factory, who was a gentleman of much candour

and probity, and had travelled that road ſeveral times, told them of the danger of ſuffocating heats that they muſt paſs through the firſt three ſtages of their journey; for there are ſome deep caverns in the ſides of ſome mountains, commonly called by the inhabitants, hell's mouths, which ſometimes ſend forth ſuch hot dry winds, that kill man and beaſt, if they do not ſhun them, which is done by falling flat on the ground, and placing their cattle's rumps to the wind, whilſt they lie on their bellies. Thoſe blaſts may be ſeen ſome minutes before they come near enough to men or beaſts to hurt them, and in a minute or two, they blow over, being confined to a ſmall ſpace of ground to blow on. The general rule for travellers, is to ſet out between three and four in the morning, and travel to nine, which rule thoſe French gentlemen obſerved, and being fatigued by their morning's journey, as ſoon as they came to a caravanſeray, (which are lodgings built at every ſtage's end, a ſtage being about 15 miles), they were diſpoſed to reſt, and ordered their ſervants to make their beds ready, (for even thoſe neceſſary furniture, travellers are obliged to carry with them on carriage-beaſts), and ordered their ſervants to call them when dinner was ready, and withal ordered a ſheet for each of them to be dipped in water, to lay over them, in order to cool them. One of thoſe hot blaſts unfortunately came whilſt the gentlemen ſlept, and had left the windows of the room open, and the wind blowing in at the windows, ſcorched them both to death on their beds, where the ſervants found them when dinner was ready, and pulling off the ſheets, the ſkin and ſome fleſh came off with them.

I obſerved before, that Iſpahan is diſtant from Gombroon about 700 miles, and yet I have known a foot-poſt bring letters in 11 days from thence, though the ways are ſo bad, that horſes cannot travel it in that time.

Shyraſh is a large city on the road, about 550 miles from Gombroon, in a fine, pleaſant, fertile country, that produces fruits of all ſorts, excellent in their kinds, particularly apples, pears, plumbs, figs, walnuts, cheſnuts, hazel-nuts, piſtachio-nuts, and grapes which afford good wines, and raiſins, and is ſo well ſtored with roſes, that they can yearly export 2000 cheſts of roſe-water, beſides ten times as much ſpent in Perſia, Arabia and Induſtan. A cheſt contains about 12 Engliſh gallons, carefully put up in thin flaſks or bottles. The Mahometans are forbid to meddle with wine, therefore the Armenian chriſtians (who are very numerous in Perſia) have the privilege of making wines, moſt excellent in their kind; and it is a queſtion whether the world affords better, for they are excellent ſtomachics, and being ſtrong, they'll bear four times the quantity of water to mix with them, without being flat; and the mixture has a very fine flavour. They make alſo brandy and vinegar, but though much ſtronger, not ſo palatable as what France produces; ſo that this country, which formerly was a kingdom of itſelf, not only produces what is convenient for itſelf, but exports large quantities of wines, brandy, vinegar, roſe-water, raiſins and figs, with the aforementioned nuts, which greatly increaſe the wealth of the country, which alſo abounds in good wheat, peaſe and barley, for its own conſumption; and their beef, mutton and fowl are exceeded by none in Europe.

About five leagues off the road of Iſpahan, are the ruins of the famous Perſepolis, that mad Alexander of Macedon burnt at the requeſt of a ſtrumpet: and, as I have been informed by ſeveral that had the curioſity to ſee thoſe ruins, in their way to and from Iſpahan, it has been a large ſtately city. The fabric has been noble, by what may be yet ſeen in ſome parts yet ſtanding, and ſome paintings on ſtone, that ſtill look freſh, in ſpite of time's iron teeth, who defaces and deſtroys moſt ſublunary things, or alters their figures ſo much, that they can be known no other way than by tradition.

CHAP. X.— *Continuation of Obſervations on the Empire of Perſia, giving an Account of its Magnitude; the Reduction of Ormuze to the Obedience of Perſia by the Aſſiſtance of the Engliſh: alſo of the late Revolution by Meriweys.*

THE empire of Perſia is of a large extent, being limited by Euphrates and the Perſian gulf to weſtward, the Indian ocean, from Cape Guaddel, to the ſouthward, on the eaſt ſide by the river Indus, that runs 1200 miles to the northward from its mouths, and on the north by Uſbeck, Tartaria, Colchis, Mangrelia, the Caſpian Sea and Georgia. Erivan in Armenia, is a province in the north-weſt of it, as Cabul and Candaha are on the north-eaſt ſide. Towards Turkey they ſometimes loſe and get whole provinces in a year. About the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, Shaw Abaſs was king of Perſia, a king worthy of empire, and made himſelf famous by his valour and his juſtice; but having no fleet at ſea, the Portugueze inſulted his ſea-coaſts, and ſettled themſelves on the Iſland of Ormuze, and built a good ſtrong fort, as is already obſerved, with a pretty large town, and magnificent churches. Some porches and broken pillars I have ſeen, that ſpeak their ancient grandeur; and the caſtle is ſtill good, and well kept. The Portugueze, with their light frigates and gallies, inſulted the ſea-coaſts of Perſia, and all the ſhipping that had commerce in the gulf, for above a whole century. Shaw Abaſs being tired with the complaints of his ſubjects, and others that had been robbed and inſulted by the imperious Portugueze, made him very uneaſy, and found no remedy but by encouraging the Engliſh, who then had a ſmall factory on the ſea-ſhore, about 7 leagues from the mouth of the gulf, to the eaſtward, called Jaſques, but were continually diſturbed in their commerce by the domineering Portugueze from Ormuze.

Sir Thomas Row being then ambaſſador at the court of Perſia for King James the firſt of England, to cultivate a correſpondence between the two kingdoms, Shaw Abaſs broke his mind to Sir Thomas, and proffered any reaſonable indulgence to the Engliſh that traded into Perſia, providing they would join his land forces with theirs at ſea, in India, to drive the troubleſome Portugueze out of the Perſian gulf. Sir Thomas agreed, that, if Shaw Abaſs would defray the charge of the ſhips that ſhould come to his aſſiſtance, give the Engliſh a free trade all over the Perſian dominions, cuſtom free, and grant them one moiety of the cuſtoms raiſed by merchandize in the Gulf, they would not only help to drive the Portugueze out of Ormuze, but keep two ſhips in the Gulf, to protect trade. All which was agreed to by both parties, and ſealed and ſigned by the King of Perſia.

The Engliſh forces conſiſted of five ſhips, about 40 guns one with another, and were well manned. The King of Perſia ſent an army of 40 or 50,000, with trankies for tranſports, to land them on Ormuze. The Engliſh ſoon deſtroyed the Portugueze armado of light frigates and gallies, which were hauled dry on the land near the caſtle. The caſtle firing briſkly on them, ſunk one of the Engliſh ſhips, whoſe artillery was carried aſhore, and put in batteries to annoy the caſtle, which the ſhipping and batteries did ſo effectually, that in leſs than two months, the Portugueze capitulated to leave Ormuze, with all the fortifications intire, and to carry nothing away but their noble ſelves. The plunder, which was very great, was equally divided between the Engliſh and Perſians; and tradition reports, that there was ſo much ready bullion found in the caſtle, that it was meaſured by long-boats-full; and one boat being pretty deep, and an officer ſtill throwing in more, put the boatſwain of the ſhip, who was in

the boat, into a paſſion, and made him ſwear, that for every ſhovel full that they threw more in, he would throw two out into the ſea; for he could not tell what would ſatisfy them, if a long-boat load of money would not. On the reduction of the iſland and fort of Ormuze, the Portugueze wirhdrew their men from the forts of Laracka, another iſland 4 or 5 leagues from Ormuze, and from Kiſmiſh fort, that lies on the eaſt end of that iſland, and retired to Muſkat. Shaw Abaſs was punctual in obſerving the agreement with the Engliſh; and it was punctually kept by the ſucceeding kings, till about the year 1680, the Engliſh Company failed on their part of keeping the gulf clear of inſults; and the Perſians, finding that the Engliſh Company's forces were now too ſmall for the increaſing power of the Arabs their neighbours, took away the half cuſtoms, and allowed them 1100 tomaans, which is about 3300l. ſterling a year; but I am afraid that that is alſo loſt by the late revolution in Perſia.

When Shaw Abaſs demiſed, his ſon Shaw Tomas ſucceeded him, who was a ſon worthy of ſuch a father. He died about the year 1630. He was a very valiant and fortunate prince in his wars with Turk and Mogul, and a great lover of juſtice; for whoever broke the eſtabliſhed laws, were ſure to ſuffer the penalty annexed to them. One inſtance of that he ſhewed to a baker; for being once detected in making his bread lighter than the ſtandard, he was ſeverely fined; but on his being detected and convicted a ſecond time, he was condemned to be baked in his own oven, for a terror to others, who might flatter themſelves with breaking the laws with impunity.

After Shaw Tomas, the ſucceeding kings have been debauched with ignorance of their own affairs, voluptuouſneſs and indolence, leaving the reins of government in the hands of paraſites, or eunuchs and concubines, who never fail to bring their maſter into contempt, and the people into murmurings and rebellions. A very flagrant inſtance is to be ſeen in Meriweys' Revolution.

The whole reign of the laſt Sophi, or King, was managed by ſuch vermin, that the Ballowches and Mackrans, who inhabit the ſea-coaſt from Cape Jaſques to Indus, obſerving the weakneſs of the government, threw off the yoke of obedience firſt, and, in full bodies, fell in upon their neighbours in Carmania, who were thriftier and richer than the maritime freebooters, and plundered their fellow ſubjects of what they had got by their painful induſtry. There was no want of remonſtrances and petitions put into the court to put a ſtop to thoſe enormities, but no redreſs could be had. The Uſbecks came alſo on their neighbouring province of Muſchet, and commited many depredations; and when letters came from the Governor of that province, to acquaint the king of the Uſbecks incurſions, he happened then to be at play with a young cat, that hunted a feather that he kept in motion with a thread. One of the pages acquainted him, that a meſſenger was come in great haſte from Muſchet, with letters to the vizier, who was at the chamber door, to know what his Majeſty would pleaſe to order in that juncture. He anſwered, that as ſoon as he had done playing with his cat, he would ſend for the vizier, and conſult of that matter; but he never thought more of it. This indolence made many thefts, robberies, and murders to be committed throughout the country: nay, his own guards went out in troops, and way-laid merchants going or coming to or from Iſpahan, robbed them, and often murdered them; and when complaints were made, and proof offered, yet no redreſs could be had, which made moſt people believe, that ſome court favourites were encouragers of the publick calamities. In anno 1716, I carried ſome Armenian merchants from Perſia to Surat, who aſſured me, that there was a deſign to depoſe the King, and ſet up his ſon, or invite the Muſcovite into the province of Caſbin, whoſe ſhores are on the Caſpian ſea, and where a foreign army may eaſily be brought into their ports by ſea: and certainly there was ſuch a deſign; for

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in anno 1719, the plot of depoſing the King was found out, and the Attamadoulet or vizier was deeply concerned in it. He was Meriweys', or Meir Mahoumud Shaw's father, the ſon being then Chawn, or prince of Candahaar. The King was ſolacing himſelf in a garden near the city of Iſpahan, when he was appriſed of the plot, which was to be executed the ſame night it was diſcovered. He immediately ſent for the Attamadoulet, pretending buſineſs of importance about ſome frontier provinces; and the old gentleman not dreaming of the diſcovery made, came to the King, who taxing him with the plot, made no difficulty to confeſs that it was of his own contrivance, to ſave the country from ruin, which was inevitable, if he continued in ſupineneſs, which had affected him near 40 years, and there was no ſign of amendment, notwithſtanding his remonſtrances and admonitions all that while, and now that he was detected, he knew the worſt that could befall him, was to be ſacrificed for the good of his country, which he took to be rather glorious than diſhonourable. The King ordered ſome bars of iron to be heated, and his eyes kept open till the irons were gently moved near the eyes to dry up the moiſture, which is the royal puniſhment in Perſia, for diſobedient or rebellious princes; ſo the old man being made blind, his treaſure was ſeiſed, but his palace and gardens allowed him, and an allowance ſuitable to his dignity. He had in gold and diamonds, to the value of 800,000 tomaans or 2,400,000l. ſterling; and ſome ſaid he had more in his ſon's cuſtody: but how true theſe reports are, I am no proper judge, either to believe or reject; but ſome bars of his gold I ſaw at Gombroon.

Before this conſpiracy of the Attamadoulet happened, the Muſkat Arabs came with a fleet, and landed 5 or 6000 men on Ormuze, and beſieged the caſtle; but could not take it in three months, and being tired with fatigue, they left it. But in anno 1720, Meriweys hearing how the King had uſed his father, made the whole province of Candahaar rebel, and wrote letters to the Chawn of Samachie to come into alliance with him and his confederates the Ballowches and Uſbecks, who readily embraced his propoſition in hope of plunder. In 1721, Meriweys began his march towards Iſpahan, with an army of 45,000, and paid honeſtly for what his army had occaſion for in his march, declaring, that he did not take arms for their hurt or deſtruction, but to free Perſia from the folly and tyranny of a doating fool, who was incorrigible by fair means. The Uſbecks entered the provinces of Muſchet and Yeſd, with 40,000, and acted like robbers. Another army of 40,000 went out of Samachie, and ravaged Erivan; and the Ballowches entered the province of Carmania, and plundered the country, and at laſt took the city. Then they marched towards Laar, and took the town, but not the fort: and there twelve Hollanders, who were ſent from Gombroon to convey down ſome treaſure belonging to their company, behaved themſelves to admiration. They were lodged in a Caravanſeray, where the Ballowches came with about 300 to attack them; but they had a brave warm reception, and left about four ſcore of their number dead on the ſpot, without the loſs of one Dutchman: but not thinking themſelves and their treaſure ſafe where they were, they deſired admittance into the fort, which was readily granted, and there they alſo behaved themſelves ſo well, that the Ballowches marched away without the booty they came ſo far for. The Dutch ſtaid there above a month, and in that time came a detachment of 4000 horſe to plunder Gombroon. We heard of their deſign about ten days before they came, and ſo we and the Dutch fortified our factories as well as poſſibly we could, planting little falconets on the top of our walls in ſwivels, and beating out ports in our walls, to ply great guns, to ſcour the avenues to our factories. Mean while the Perſian governor fired guns every night, to let the enemy know he was a brave fellow: however they had a mind to ſee, and, on the 15th of December they appeared near the town, on a ſwift march to-

wards it, which ſcared the governor ſo much, that though there was an high mud wall between him and them, he got on horſeback, and fled to a fort on the ſea-ſhore, leaving a few guns, loaded as they were, to the enemy.

The Ballowches came firſt to the weſt quarter of the town, where our factory ſtands, and ſoon made paſſages through the mud walls. They hewed down all that came in their way, particularly old people and children, and came in a confuſed haſte to attack our factory; down ſome lanes; but we gave them a warm welcome with our great guns and ſmall ſhot. They ſoon found their miſtake, and retired in as great haſte as they came. Some of their muſketeers got into ſome ruined houſes, and fired on us; but we being barricadoed, they did us little damage, and had our men obſerved their orders better, we had come off with leſs. Our firing laſted about three hours, in which time we loſt three or four, killed by their own raſhneſs in ſtanding open to the enemy, when they might have done better ſervice under cover of our barricadoes. We had alſo ſeven wounded, but none mortally, but one who was a factor, who received a ſhot in his right hand, which threw him into a fever, of which he died in ſeven or eight days. The agent being gone to Iſpahan ſome weeks before we had any advice of the Ballowches coming, had carried twenty ſoldiers along with him for a guard, and left but ſix in the factory, beſides cooks, and a few ſervants. I ſaw the factory in danger if they ſhould be attacked, ſo I reinforced it with thirty-ſix of my beſt men, and another ſmall Engliſh ſhip from Bombay, aſſiſted with eight or nine of his, ſo that when the enemy came, we were about fifty ſtrong. The ſeaſon being very cold, made our duty hard, for we lay in our arms every night, for 10 or 12 nights that the enemy lay in the town. They had a conſultation next day after their repulſe, how they might make another attack; but none would undertake to lead their men on, and ſo the day after conſultation, they went to attack the Dutch, who were three times ſtronger than we, and they met with the ſame kind reception we gave them; but they had a warehouſe within piſtol-ſhot of their factory, with goods to the value of 20,000l. ſterling in it, which the Ballowches broke into, and plundered. The Dutch loſt twelve men, and had eight or ten wounded: ſo finding our factories were not to be taken without the danger of much blood-ſhed, they went plundering the town for eight or nine days, and carried away, in money and goods, above 200,000l. beſides 14,000 captives, and as many beaſts of carriage, and ſo went off about five or ſix miles from the town, which they laid in aſhes before they left it. They continued in our neighbourhood, with their plunder, about a month, I ſuppoſe till they received new orders how to diſpoſe of themſelves.

Notwithſtanding ſuch numerous rebellious armies were on foot, threatening deſtruction to the ſtate, the indolent King being lulled aſleep in ſecurity, did not offer to raiſe any forces for the defence of himſelf and country, but ſaid to his cabinet counſellers, that he was ſure his enemies would leave him Iſpahan, and that one city would be enough to maintain him and them his counſellors: but when Meriweys came within three days journey of the city, he raiſed about 50,000 of the citizens, and ſent to the Engliſh and Dutch agents, to join their little forces to his, to manage the artillery, and to lend him ſome money to ſupport and pay his new raiſed army. The latter deſired to be excuſed in both; but the Engliſh complied, and were very active in defending the city, when Meriweys came to beſiege it: and when he approached within a mile or two of the city, the King ſent his raw army out to fight Meriweys; but in their march, Meriweys' men having made a long trench a pretty way from their front, and hid a large quantity of gun-powder in it, and then filled it up again, which ambuſcade the King's army fell into, and after a good number of them had paſſed it, fire was ſet to it, and blew

blew up and ſcorched many of the King's men, which ſo frightened the reſt, that they turned tail, and fled without ſtriking one ſtroke. ſo Meriweys made an eaſy conqueſt of the city, and found the King weeping, and deſerted by his baſe and treacherous courtiers. But Meriweys ſoon put an end to his melancholy, by ordering his head to be ſtruck off, which was forthwith executed, and put on the point of a lance, and carried through the city three days ſucceſſively, as a ſpectacle. The prince royal, or the young Sophi ſeeing his father's affairs in ſo wretched a condition, had left the city, and went to Taurus or Teverize before Meriweys came. Meriweys carried himſelf mighty civilly to the citizens, but made the Engliſh priſoners, and ſeized what money and goods could be found of theirs, and alſo the Dutch company's effects, but not their ſervants perſons. It was reported, that the Engliſh loſt about 60,000l. and the Dutch 210,000. But the truth of theſe reports are beſt known to themſelves.

When the old King had a mind to honour the Engliſh factory with a viſit, as I ſaw in a letter from Mr. Bruce, the company's agent, that he ſometimes did, and one particularly in his agency, he magnifies the honour done to his maſters, above what the Dutch could ever obtain. He relates how he and all the factory, great and ſmall, were ordered to leave their houſe, and chamber doors and ware-houſes all open, for his Majeſty and his ſeraglio companions to ramble through, and take ſuch things as beſt pleaſed him and his minions; and there was a table left in the dining-room, ſpread and furniſhed with the richeſt ſweet-meats and fruits.

I believe the company was not very ambitious of having many ſuch honours conferred on them, ſince they were obliged to pay for them. And when the King has a mind for ſome new concubines, he iſſues out orders for all men and youths to depart out from their houſes in the ſtreet, that he is pleaſed to viſit, and to leave all the ladies in poſſeſſion till his Majeſty ſurveys them; and the penalty of diſobedience is death. He generally makes his progreſs through the Armenian quarters, becauſe the faireſt and moſt beautiful are amongſt their children.

The religion, by law eſtabliſhed for near eleven ages, is Mahometan, of the ſect of Alli; but the ancient religion was Parſi, or worſhippers of the ſun and fire. The founder of it was Zoroaſter, whom they ſtill venerate. About the ninth century of the Chriſtian æra, the Mahometan zealots, according to the laudable way of ſome Chriſtians, raiſed a perſecution againſt the Parſis, whoſe wholeſome ſeverities made many proſelytes; but ſome obſtinate rogues, who would not change for a worſe, were lawfully murdered, or obliged to run their country, ſo that at preſent there are but few left in Perſia, and thoſe that are left, are protected by their poverty and habitations, which are in deſerts or hills little frequented.

There are vaſt numbers of Armenian Chriſtians in Perſia, whoſe religion is tolerated. Their former country of Armenia is now the province of Erivan. There are many ſubſtantial merchants of Armenians, who inhabit Julfar, a town near Iſpahan, and they ſend factors all over India to carry on trade; and ſome come to Europe on that ſame account.

The Mahometans in Perſia, to encourage proſelytes to their religion, have a law, that if a ſon of an Armenian turns Mahometan, all the father's eſtate becomes his, and all who continue Chriſtians are excluded, which ſometimes makes great diviſions and alterations in a family.

In baptiſm they immerſe, but do not ſprinkle. The prieſt muſt officiate in his ſacerdotal garb, with a crown on his head, and muſt have two aſſiſtants in holy veſtments alſo, but without crowns. Their titulary ſaint is St. Gregory, of whom they tell many

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ſtrange ſtories; but whether true or falſe I know not: but I am ſure he has plagued them with faſt-days, for they faſt one half of the year at leaſt.

Having made what obſervations I could of the empire of Perſia, I'll travel along the ſea-coaſt towards Induſtan, or the Great Mogul's empire. All that ſhore, from Jaſques to Sindy, is inhabited by uncivilized people, who admit of no commerce with ſtrangers, though Guaddel and Diul, two ſea-ports, did, about a century ago, afford a good trade.

CHAP. XI.—*Treats of the Mogul's Dominions on the River Indus, particularly of the ancient Kingdom of Sindy, its Product and Commerce, Religion and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants; with a Deſcription of the River Indus.*

SINDY is the weſtmoſt province of the Mogul's dominions, on the ſea coaſt, and has Larribundar to its ſea mart, which ſtands about 5 or 6 leagues from the ſea, on a branch of the river Indus, capable to receive ſhips of 200 tons. It is but a village of about 100 houſes, built of crooked ſticks and mud; but it has a large ſtone fort, with four or five great guns mounted in it, to protect the merchandize brought thither from the robberies of the Ballowches and Mackrans that lie near them, to the weſtward, and the Jams to the eaſtward, who being borderers, are much given to thieving, and they rob all whom they are able to maſter. The former are revolted ſubjects of Perſia, and the other are ſubjects of the Mogul; but being ſecured from the awe of an army's coming to chaſtiſe their inſolency, by the marſhy grounds they live in, and the rapid tides of Indus, they make but little account of their Sovereign's power or orders, and ſo they commit depredations on the Caffillas that paſs to and fro between Tatta and Larribundar, notwithſtanding a guard of 100 or 200 horſe are ſent along with them, by the nabob or viceroy of Tatta, for protection; but often thoſe protectors ſuffer the Caffillas to be robbed, pretending the robbers are too numerous to be reſtrained by their ſmall forces, and afterwards come in ſharers with the robbers.

Tatta is the emporium of the province, a very large and rich city. It is about three miles long, and one and an half broad, and is about 40 miles diſtance from Larribundar, and has a large citadel on its weſt end, capable to lodge 5000 men and horſe, and has barracks and ſtables convenient for them, with a palace built in it for the nabob. All goods and merchandize imported or exported between Tatta and Larribundar, are tranſported on carriage beaſts, ſuch as camels, oxen, and horſes. The country is almoſt level, and overgrown with ſhrubs and buſhes, very fit to cover an ambuſcade, which the aforeſaid robbers often make uſe of, and ſuddenly ruſh out on a Caffilla, and whilſt the guards and carriers are fighting in one place, either of front, flank, or rear, the robbers drive away the beaſts with their packs. In anno 1699, a pretty rich Caffilla was robbed by a band of four and five thouſand villains: the guard conſiſting of 250 horſe were intirely cut off, and above 500 of the merchants and carriers, which ſtruck a terror on all that had commerce at Tatta.

It was my fortune, about four months after, to come to Larribundar, with a cargo from Malabar, worth above 10,000l. I could find no Tatta merchants that would meddle with my cargo before it was carried to Tatta; but agreed on the prices of moſt of the ſpecies of my goods: and finding no other remedy but travelling by land, in a Caffilla of 1500 beaſts, and as many, or more men and women, beſides 200 horſe for our guard, about the middle of January we ſet out; and after we had marched about 16 miles,

miles, our ſcouts brought in news of the Ballowches and Mackrans being juſt before us in great numbers. I had thirteen of my beſt firemen with me in front, where my beaſts were. We being all mounted on little horſes, alighted, and ſet our beaſts on our flanks and front, to ſerve us for a barricadoe, to defend us from ſword and target-men, which were the principal ſtrength of the robbers, and we, at the ſame time, had room enough to fire over our barricadoe. We were not long in that poſture, till the enemy ſent an herald on horſeback, with his ſword brandiſhing, and when he came within call of us, he threatened, that if we did not inſtantly ſurrender at diſcretion, we ſhould have no quarter. I had two of my ſeamen that ſhot as well with a fuzee as any ever I ſaw, for I have ſeen them at ſea, for diverſion, knock down a ſingle ſea-fowl with a ſingle bullet, as they were flying near our ſhip. I ordered one to knock down the herald, which he inſtantly did, by a bullet through his head. Another came preſently after, with the ſame threatenings, and met with the ſame treatment. The next that came, I ordered his horſe to be ſhot in the head, to try if we could take his rider, that we might learn ſomewhat of the enemy's ſtrength. The horſe was killed as ſoon as he appeared, and ſome of our horſe got the rider, and hewed him down, inſtead of bringing him to us. Our guard of horſe continually kept in the rear, but ſeeing what we had done in the front, took courage, and getting in amongſt the buſhes, met with ſome that had a deſign to attack our flank, and ſoon defeated them, which put the robbers in ſuch fear, that they betook themſelves to flight, and our horſe purſuing, put many to the ſword; ſo when they returned from the purſuit, we went on in our journey, and travelling four miles, came to a mud-wall fort, called Dungham, a proper Engliſh name for ſuch a fortification. It is built mid-way between Tatta and Larribundar, to ſecure the caffilla from being ſet upon in the night, who all lodge within it, men and beaſts promiſcuouſly, which makes it ſo naſty, that the Engliſh appellation is rightly beſtowed on it. There are about twenty little cottages built cloſe to it, who breed fowls, goats, and ſheep, to ſell to paſſengers. And theſe are all the houſes to be ſeen in the way between Tatta and Larribundar.

The news of a victory that I had over three Sanganian pirates at ſea, on my voyage from Malabar to Larribundar, had reached Tatta, before the ſecond ſkirmiſh by land, ſo that when I came to Tatta, we were received with acclamations from the populace, and the better ſort viſited us with preſents of ſweet-meats and fruits, aſcribing the ſafe arrival of the caffilla wholly to our courage and conduct.

We were lodged in a large convenient houſe of 15 rooms, and had good warehouſes. The ſtairs from the ſtreet were intire porphyry, of 10 foot long, of a bright yellow colour, and as ſmooth as glaſs. They were about ten in number, and led up to a ſquare of 15 yards long, and about 10 broad. Next day we had a compliment from the nabob, of an ox, five ſheep, as many goats, twenty fowls, and fifty pigeons, with ſweet-meats and fruit in abundance. He, at that time, lay encamped about ſix miles from the town, with an army of 8 or 10,000 men, with a deſign to puniſh the Ballowches and Mackrans for robbing the caffilla and killing his men, as is before mentioned. He deſired me to let him know when we deſigned to drink a diſh of coffee with him, and he would ſend horſes to bring us to the camp. I returned thanks for his civility, and ſent him word, that I deſigned to kiſs his hand the very next day; and he accordingly ſent twenty fine Perſian horſes, well equipped, for my uſe, ten of which I accepted for myſelf and guard to mount, and the other ten were mounted with ſome of the moſt conſiderable merchants in Tatta, who went to accompany me out of reſpect; and to make our cavalcade appear with the greater grace, as ſoon as we came to the camp gate, we would have alighted, but an officer on horſeback told

us, that it was the nabob's pleaſure, that we ſhould be brought to his tent on horſe-back, and he riding before us, conducted us to the tent door, and as ſoon as we got from our horſes, I was conducted into his own pavilion chamber, where he was ſitting alone. The reſt that came with me, were not admitted for an hour after. It would take a great deal of time and room to relate the compliments and other diſcourſes that paſt; but I knew the cuſtom, not to appear before great men with an empty hand. I deſired leave to lay a little preſent at his feet, which he permitted. It conſiſted of a looking-glaſs, of about 5l. in value, a gun, and a pair of piſtols well gilded, a ſabre blade and dagger blade gilded, and a glaſs pipe for his tobacco, and an embroidered ſtandiſh for it to ſtand in. He then ſent for all who had accompanied me into the room, and ſhewed the preſent I had made him, magnifying every piece of it; and after ſome encomiums on my valour and generoſity, told me, that I was a free deniſon of Tatta, with the addition of an indulgence of being free of all cuſtom and tax on all goods that I had brought or ſhould export, and that whoever bought any part of my cargo, and did not pay according to the agreement made for payment, I ſhould not be liable to ſeek for juſtice at the Cadjee's court, but to impriſon my debtors, and if that would not perſuade them to give ſatisfaction, he would ſell their wives, children, or neareſt relation to make good their debt. This privilege did me ſingular ſervice when the term of payments came, and was obliged to try the experiment of impriſoning. After three hours converſation, we took leave to go, and he diſmiſſed us with much civility, and told me, that when he returned from that expedition, he would repay my viſit at my lodgings; but in three months that I ſtaid, he did not return, but often ſent to enquire after my welfare, and how my affairs ſtood.

In travelling from Dungham towards Tatta, about four miles ſhort of the city, on ſmooth riſing ground, there are forty-two fine large tombs, which, from the plain, appeared to be a ſmall town. They are the burying places of ſome of the kings of Sindy, when that country was governed by its own kings. I went into the largeſt, which is built in the form of a cupola, and in the middle of it, ſtood a coffin-tomb, about three foot high, and ſeven foot long, with ſome others of a leſſer ſize. The materials of the cupola were yellow, green, and red porphyry, finely poliſhed, and the ſtones ſet in regular order, chequer ways, which variegation ſtrikes the eye with wonderful pleaſure. The tomb is about ten yards high, and ſeven in diameter. I was told, that it was the burying place of the laſt King of that country, who was robbed of his ſovereignty by Jehan Guire, grandfather to the famous Aurenzeb, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, who, after he had him priſoner, bid him aſk what favours he would deſire for himſelf and children, and they ſhould be granted. He nobly replied, that all the favour he begged, was, that himſelf, his queen, and their children, might be buried in that tomb, which, in times of proſperiy, he had built for that purpoſe, and had coſt him two lack of rupees, or 25,000l. ſterling, which requeſt his conqueror could not well refuſe.

Tatta city ſtands about two miles from the river Indus, in a ſpacious plain, and they have canals cut from the river, that bring water to the city, and ſome for the uſe of their gardens. The King's gardens were in pretty good condition in anno 1699, and were well ſtored with excellent fruits and flowers, particularly the moſt delicious pomegranates that ever I taſted.

For three years before I came there, no rain had fallen, which cauſed a ſevere plague to affect the town and circumjacent country, to ſuch a degree, that in the city only, above 80,000 died of it, that manufactured cotton and ſilk, and above one half of the city was deſerted and left empty. And that was one reaſon why the nabob had placed

his camp in that place that I went to viſit him at. The figure of the camp was a regular tetragon, and ditched about with a trench about three yards broad, and two deep. The ground taken out of the ditch was thrown upon the inſide, about four foot high, and regularly built like a parapet. It had four gates, one in the middle of each curtain, and a ſtraight ſtreet from the oppoſite gates, which made an exact croſs in figure, and the nabob's tent was pitched in the middle of the croſs. Each ſide of the tetragon was about 6 or 700 paces in length, and the ditches could be filled with water from the Indus, and let out at pleaſure, into a large marſh about two miles off the camp.

The river Indus is navigable for their veſſels, as high as Caſmire, that lies in the latitude of 32 degrees; and one branch runs up to Cabul to the weſtward, and others to Penjeb, Lahore, Multan, Buckor, and other large provinces and cities to the eaſtward, and all ſhare the benefits of the inland navigation. Their veſſels are called Kifties, of ſeveral ſizes. The largeſt can lade about 200 tons. They are flat-bottomed, and on each ſide cabins are built from ſtern to ſtem, that overhang about two foot; and in each cabin, is a kitchen and a place for exoneration, which falls directly in the water. Thoſe cabins are hired out to paſſengers, and the hold, being made into ſeparate apartments, are let out to freighters, ſo that every one has a lock on his own cabin and apartment in the hold, and has his goods always ready to diſpoſe on at what places he finds his market. And indeed in all my travels I never ſaw better conveniencies of travelling by water. They have one maſt of a good length, and a ſquare-ſail to uſe when the wind is a-ſtern, or on the quarter; but they never hale cloſe by the wind. They are obliged to carry a great number of men for tracting them up againſt the ſtream, when the winds are againſt them, ſo that a voyage from Tatta to Lahore, they reckon ſix or ſeven weeks long, but from Lahore back, not above eighteen days, and ſometimes it is performed in twelve.

At Tatta the river is about a mile broad, and where I tried with a lead and line, it was about ſix fathoms deep, from ſide to ſide. The ſtream is not very rapid, for its motion did not exceed two miles and an half in an hour. It produces many ſpecies of freſh-water fiſhes, and among them, the beſt carp that ever I ſaw or taſted. Some of them weigh above 20 pounds weight, and we have them alive in Tatta market. They have black cattle in great plenty, large and good, and moſt excellent mutton, of 80 or 100 pound weight. Their horſes are ſmall, but hardy and ſwift. Deer, antelopes, hares, and foxes are their wild game, which they hunt with dogs, leopards, and a ſmall fierce creature, called by them a ſhoegooſe. It is about the ſize of a fox, with long pricked ears like an hare, and a face like a cat, a gray back and ſides, and belly and breaſt white. I believe they are rare, for I never ſaw more than one. When they are taken out to hunt, an horſeman carries it behind him, hood-winkt, and their deer and antelopes being pretty familiar, will not ſtart before horſes come very near. He who carries the ſhoegooſe, takes off the hood, and ſhews it the game, which, with large ſwift ſprings, it ſoon overtakes, and leaping on their backs, and getting forward to the ſhoulders, ſcratches their eyes out, and gives the hunters an eaſy prey. The leopard runs down his game, which often gives the hunters a long chaſe, as well as the dogs, who will take the water when the game betake themſelves to ſwimming, which they frequently do. They have ſtore of peacocks, pigeons, doves, duck, teal, widgeon, wild geeſe, curlews, partridge, and plover, free for any body to ſhoot. They have a fruit, that grows in their fields and gardens, called Salob, about the ſize of a peach, but without a ſtone. They dry it hard before they uſe it, and being beaten to powder, they dreſs it as tea and coffee are, and take it with powdered ſugar-candy. They are of opinion, that it is a great reſtorative to decayed animal ſpirits.

This country abounds richly in wheat, rice, and legumen, and provender for horſes and cattle; and they never know the miſery of famine, for the Indus overflows all the low grounds in the months of April, May, and June, and when the floods go off, they leave a fat ſlime on the face of the ground, which they till eaſily before it dries, and being ſown and harrowed, never fails of bringing forth a plentiful crop.

The other productions of this and the inland country, are ſaltpetre, ſal-ammoniack, borax, opoponax, aſſa-fœtida, goat bezoar, lapis tutiæ and lapis laſuli, and raw ſilk, but not fine.

They manufacture in wrought ſilks, which they call Jemawaars, in cotton and ſilk, called Cuttenees, and in ſilk mixed with Carmania wool, called Culbuleys, in calicoes coarſe and fine, ſheer and cloſe wrought. Their cloth called Jurries, is very fine and ſoft, and laſts beyond any other cotton cloth that I have uſed. They make chints very fine and cheap, and coverlets for beds very beautiful. They make fine cabinets, both lacked and inlaid with ivory. And the beſt bows and arrows in the world are made at Multan, of buffaloes' horns. They lack wooden diſhes and tables, but not ſo well as in China. The lack is clear enough, but always clammy. They export great quanties of butter, which they gently melt, and put up in jars, called duppas, made of the hides of cattle, almoſt in the figure of a globe, with a neck and mouth on one ſide. They are made of all ſizes, from thoſe that contain 320 pounds, to thoſe of five, and that butter keeps, without ſalt, the whole year round, but as it grows old, it becomes rank.

The wood Ligna Dulcis grows only in this country. It is rather a weed than a wood, and nothing of it is uſeful but the root, called Putchock, or radix dulcis. I never heard it is uſed in phyſick, but is a good ingredient in the compoſition of perfumes. There are great quantities exported for Surat, and from thence to China, where it generally bears a good price; for being all idolaters, and burning incenſe before their images, this root beaten into fine powder, and an incenſe-pot laid over ſmoothly with aſhes, and a furrow made in the aſhes, about a quarter of an inch broad, and as much in depth, done very artificially into a great length, the powder is put into that furrow, and fired, and it will burn a long time like a match, ſending forth a fine ſmoke, whoſe ſmell is very grateful, the powder having the good qualities of maintaining and delaying the fire.

The religion, by law eſtabliſhed, is Mahometan; but there are ten Gentows or Pagans for one Muſſulman. But the city of Tatta is famous for learning in theology, philology, and politicks, and they have above four hundred colleges for training up youth in thoſe parts of learning. I was very intimate with a Seid, who was a profeſſor in theology, and was reckoned to be a good hiſtorian. He aſked me one day, if I had heard of Alexander the Great in my country. I told him I had, and I mentioned his battle with Porus, and his victory. He told me, that their hiſtories mentioned the ſame, but with ſome difference in the two kings names, and Alexander's paſſage over Indus. He ſaid, that their hiſtory mentioned Shaw Haſander and Prorus, and that Alexander was a great magician, and ſummoning above a million of wild geeſe, they ſwam his army over the river, and that Porus's elephants would never turn their heads towards the place where Alexander was.

The Portugueze had formerly a church at the eaſt end of the city. The houſe is ſtill intire, and in the veſtry are ſome old pictures of ſaints, and ſome holy veſtments, which they proffered to ſell, but I was no merchant for ſuch bargains.

The Gentows have full toleration for their religion, and keep their faſts and feaſts as in former times, when the ſovereignty was in Pagan princes hands. They burn their dead, but the wives are reſtrained from burning with the corps of their huſbands.

There is a very great conſumption of elephants' teeth, for 'tis the faſhion for ladies to wear rings of ivory from their arm-pits to their elbows, and from their elbows to their wriſts, of both arms; and when they die, all thoſe ornaments are burnt along with them.

They had ſeveral feaſts when I was there, but one they kept on ſight of a new moon in February, exceeded the reſt in ridiculous actions and expence; and this is called the feaſt of Wooly, who was a knight-errant in time of yore, and was a fierce fellow in a war with ſome giants, who infeſted Sindy, and carried away naughty girls and boys, and made butcher meat of them. This Wooly, in a battle one day, killed fifty of them, each of them as tall as a tree, and after he had diſpatched them, he led them down to hell, and there they continue bound up to their good behaviour, and are never to appear again on earth, for fear they ſhould ſcare the King's liege-ſubjects, or frighten children.

In this mad feaſt, people of all ages and ſexes, dance through the ſtreets to pipe, drum, and cymbals. The women, with baſkets of ſweetmeats on their heads, diſtributing to every body they meet. The men are bedaubed all over with red earth, or vermilion, and are continually ſquirting gingerly oil at one another; and if they get into houſes of diſtinction, they make foul work with their oil, whoſe ſmell is not pleaſant; but in giving a preſent of roſe-water, or ſome ſilver coin, they are civil enough to keep out of doors. And in this madneſs they continue from 10 in the morning till ſun-ſet.

The river of Sindy would be hard to be found, were it not for the tomb of a Mahometan ſaint, who has an high tower built over him, called Sindy Tower. It is always kept white to ſerve as a land-mark. The bar, going into the river, is narrow, and has not above two fathoms and an half, on ſpring tides; but this is only a ſmall branch of Indus, which appellation is now loſt in this country that it ſo plentifully waters, and is called Divellee, or Seven Mouths; but it diſembogues itſelf into the ſea through many more.

CHAP. XII.—*Gives an Account of the ancient Kingdom of Guzerat, now a Province annexed to the Mogul's Dominions, its Situation, Product, Manners and Religion; with ſome Account of the Pirates that inhabit Part of it, and ſome Obſervations on Diu, a Portugueze City on an Iſland appertaining to Guzerat.*

THE next maritime country to Sindy, is Guzerat. The Indus makes it an iſland, by a branch that runs into the ſea at the city of Cambaya. This province, though vaſſals to the Mogul, yet continue in their old religion of Paganiſm, and for the moſt part, drive the old trade of thieving and pirating, for they plunder all whom they can overcome, on both elements: nor can the Mogul reſtrain them, for their country is ſecure from the marches of armies into it, by reaſon of the many inlets of the ſea that overflow the low grounds, and make it ſo ſoft and muddy, that there is no travelling but by little boats, in many places.

The firſt town on the ſouth ſide of Indus, is Cutchnaggen. It admits of ſome trade, and produces cotton, corn, coarſe cloth, and chonk, a ſhell-fiſh in ſhape of a perriwinkle, but as large about as a man's arm above the elbow. In Bengal they are ſawed into rings for ornaments to womens' arms, as thoſe of Sindy wear ivory rings. They are in faſhion in many countries in India. The province and town of Cutchnaggen are governed by a queen, who is very formidable to her neighbouring ſtates. The

reaſons

reaſons they give for chooſing that ſex for their governeſſes, are, that they'll be better adviſed by their council than men, who, by too large a ſhare of power and honour placed on them, become obſtinate in their opinions, and inſolent in their behaviour: but ladies are eſteemed complaiſant and gentle.

The next province to Cutchnaggen, is Sangania, which is alſo governed by a princeſs, for the above reaſons. Their ſea-port is called Baet, very commodious and ſecure. They admit of no trade, but practiſe piracy. They give protection to all criminals, who deſerve puniſhment from the hand of juſtice. All villains in the countries about flock thither, and become honeſt robbers, ſo that they are a medley of criminals, who flee their country for fear of condign puniſhment due to their crimes. This province produces cotton and corn, as all the kingdom of Guzerat does; but they admit of no trade in their country, as I obſerved before, for fear of being civilized by example. I had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with them. They, being confident of their numbers, ſtrive to board all ſhips they can come at by ſailing. Before they engage in fight, they drink Bang, which is made of a ſeed like hemp-ſeed, that has an intoxicating quality, and whilſt it affects the head, they are furious. They wear long hair, and when they let that hang looſe, they'll give no quarter.

In anno 1686, a ſmall ſhip of theirs, that mounted eight guns, and manned with 300 of theſe furious fellows, was cruizing on the coaſt of India, between Surat and Bombay, and the Phœnix, an Engliſh man of war of 42 guns was bound for Surat. The Sanganian made towards her, and engaged her, but would fain have been gone again when they found their miſtake; but that was impoſſible. The Phœnix ſent her boats, well manned, to try if they could make them yield, in order to ſave their lives; but they ſcorned quarter, and killed and wounded many of the Engliſh ſo that Captain Tyrrel, who commanded the Phœnix, was forced to run his lower tier out, and ſink them: and after their ſhip was ſunk, and the miſcreants ſet a ſwimming, yet moſt of them refuſed quarter, and only about 70 were taken alive. (I believe Sir George Bing can give a better account of the ſtory than I, for if I miſtake not, he was a lieutenant then on board the Phœnix, and received a dangerous wound in the combat, at leaſt one of his name, who bore a commiſſion, did.) In anno 1717, they attacked a ſhip called the Morning Star, in her paſſage between Gombroon and Surat. She was richly laden, which they were appriſed of, and two ſquadrons were fitted out from two different ports, to way-lay her, and accordingly ſhe fell in with eight ſail of thoſe pirates. One was a large ſhip of near 500 tons, and three others were ſhips between 2 and 300 tons, and the other four were grabs, or gallies, and ſheybars, or half gallies. They reckoned in all there were above 2000 men in their fleet, and the Morning Star but 17 fighting men, who were reſolved to truſt to Providence, and fight for their lives, liberty, and eſtate. The firſt attack was by the greateſt ſhip alone, but was ſoon obliged to ſheer off again, with the loſs of ſome men, and the captain of the Morning Star was wounded in the thigh, by a lance darted at him, that pierced his thigh through and through. The pirates were not diſcouraged by this firſt repulſe, but joined their forces and counſels together, and, after a day's reſpite and conſultation, they attacked the Morning Star a ſecond time, the two largeſt ſhips boarding, one on her bow, and another on her quarter, and three more boarded them two, and entered their men over them. The combat was warm for four hours, and the Morning Star had ſeven killed, and as many wounded; but kind Providence aſſiſted her. Whilſt ſhe was on fire in three places, and had burnt through her poop and half deck, ſhe was diſengaged of them, and left five of the largeſt ſo entangled with one another, that they could not purſue her. So ſhe purſued her voyage to Surat, but having no

ſurgeon

ſurgeon on board, ſhe called at Bombay, to get her wounded men dreſſed and cured. In the time of the combat, while the pirates were on board the Morning Star, twenty-one Indian ſeamen went on board of them, and twenty-ſix merchants had gone to them, to try if they could perſuade them to take a ſum, and not put it on the hazard of a battle. All thoſe they detained, and carried along with them, and made them pay above 600l. for their ranſom, who gave an account afterwards of great ſlaughter done on the pirates. And the commodore loſt his head as ſoon as he landed, for letting ſo rich a prize go out of his hands.

In anno 1698, one Captain Lavender, in the ſhip Thomas, bound from Surat to Mocha, encountered four ſail of thoſe freebooters, and fought them bravely; but they burnt the ſhip and all her crew, becauſe he would not yield. They are very cruel to thoſe they can maſter, if they make reſiſtance; but to thoſe that yield without fighting, they are pretty civil.

The next ſea-port town to Baet, is Jigat. It ſtands on a point of low land, called Cape Jigat. The city makes a good figure from the ſea, ſhewing four or five high ſteeples. It is the ſeat of a Fouzdaar or governor, for the Mogul. It is a place of no trade, and conſequently little known to ſtrangers.

The next maritime town is Mangaroul. It admits of trade, and affords coarſe calicoes, white and dyed, wheat, pulſe, and butter for export, and has a market for pepper, ſugar, and beetlenut. It is inhabited by Banyans; and wild deer, antelopes, and peacocks are ſo familiar, that they come into the very houſes without fear.

The next place is Poremain, a pretty large town on the ſea-ſhore, and admits of trade, producing the ſame commodities as Mangaroul, and its inhabitants are of the ſame religion; but both towns are obliged to keep Raſſpouts to protect them from the inſults of the Sanganians.

Thoſe Raſſpouts are natives of Guzerat, and are all gentlemen of the ſword, and are well trained in the art of killing. They, like the Switz, employ their ſwords in the ſervice of thoſe who give them beſt pay. They ſeldom give or take quarter and when they go on an expedition, they carry their wives and children in carts and waggons along with them, and if they meet with a repulſe, their wives will never ſuffer cohabitation till they can regain their loſt honour by ſome noble exploit.

Diu is the next port, and is the ſouthermoſt land on Guzerat. It is a ſmall iſland of three miles long, and two broad, belonging to the crown of Portugal. The city is pretty large, and fortified by an high ſtone wall, with baſtions at convenient diſtances, well furniſhed with cannon to flank it, and a deep mote hewn out of a hard rock, to defend it on the land ſide, which is about one third part of the city. The other parts are fortified by nature, having the ocean thick ſet with dangerous rocks and high cliffs, who forbid any approaches on that ſide, and a rapid deep river, that affords a good harbour, on the north-eaſt ſide. The harbour is ſecured by two caſtles, one large, that can bring 100 large cannon to bear on the mouth of the harbour, to forbid ſhipping entrance without leave. The other is but ſmall, and is built irregularly on a rock in the middle of the river, and channels for ſhipping to paſs by it, within ten yards of its walls. It is made uſe of for a magazine for powder and other warlike ſtores.

It is one of the beſt built cities, and beſt fortified by nature and art, that ever I ſaw in India, and its ſtately buildings of free ſtone and marble, are ſufficient witneſſes of its ancient grandeur and opulency; but at preſent not above one fourth of the city is inhabited. It contains five or ſix fine churches, which are great ornaments to the city, which ſtands on a riſing ground of an eaſy aſcent from the great caſtle; and the churches being built wide from one another, and ſtanding gradually higher than one another,

another, make the Viſto from the ſea admirably pleaſant, by ſhewing all their beautiful fronts that way. And within they are well decorated with images and paintings.

There is a tradition, that the Portugueze circumvented the King of Guzerat, as Dido did the Africans, when they gave her leave to build Carthage, by deſiring no more ground to build their cities than could be circumſcribed in an ox's hide, which having obtained, they cut it into a fine thong of a great length, and over-reached their donors in the meaſure of the ground.

After the city was built and fortified, it drew all the trade from the King's towns of commerce thither, which made him heartily repent his generoſity; and he made propoſals to the Portugueze to reimburſe all the charge and expence they had been at, if they would reſtore that iſland again, but he could never perſuade them to that bargain, and ſince fair means would not do, he deſigned to try what might be obtained by force, wherefore he raiſed a great army, and beſieged it, but was ſoon forced to draw off again with loſs, for the Portugueze large cannon from their walls diſturbed and diſtreſſed his camp ſo, that he found but little ſafety for himſelf, and much leſs for his hoſt.

This city came to ſuch an height of trade and riches in the ſixteenth century, that it drew a very potent enemy from the Red Sea; for about the year 1540, the Turks deſigning to have a footing in India, caſt their eyes on Diu, as being conveniently ſituated, and well fortified for their purpoſe, ſo they came in a fleet of gallies and tranſports 25,000 ſtrong, from Aden, and landed on the weſt end of the iſland, and laid ſiege to the city; but the Portugueze ſent a reinforcement from Goa, of twenty ſail, ſome of which were large ſhips or galleons, who carried heavy metal, with which they battered the Turkiſh fleet, being ſmall veſſels, that many Turks were ſunk, and the baſhaw was forced to make off with great loſs and ſhame, and leave their battering artillery to the Portugueze, for which misfortune and diſgrace he loſt his head when he returned to Aden.

But about the year 1670, the Muſkat Arabs had better fortune, for they came with a fleet of trankies, and took an opportunity to land in the night, on the weſt end of the iſland, without being diſcovered, and marched ſilently cloſe up to the town, and at break of day, when the gates were opened, they entered without reſiſtance. The alarm was ſoon ſpread over the town, and happy was he who got firſt to the caſtle gates, but thoſe who had heavy heels were ſacrificed to the enemy's fury, who ſpared none, ſo in a moment that fair rich city, and churches, were left to the mercy of the Arabs, who, for three days, loaded their veſſels with rich plunder, and mounted ſome cannon in a great beautiful church, and fired at the fort, but to little purpoſe. The governor, who was in the caſtle, could ſoon have obliged them to remove farther off the caſtle, by the force of his heavy cannon, yet the prieſthood forbid him firing at the church, on pain of excommunication, leſt ſome unlucky ſhot ſhould ſacrilegiouſly have defaced ſome holy image.

But the Arabs, like a parcel of unſanctified rogues, made ſad havock on the churches trumpery, for beſides robbing them of all the ſanctified plate and caſh, they did not leave one gold or ſilver image behind them, but carried all into diſmal captivity, from whence they never returned that I could hear of. And as for the poor images of wood and ſtone, they were ſo rudely treated by thoſe barbarous infidels, that they came well off if they loſt but a limb, and I ſaw ſome who loſt their heads: but by the indefatigable induſtry of the clergy, their churches are again as well or better furniſhed with well carved images of wood and ſtone than they were before; but I ſaw none of gold or ſilver to ſupply the places of the poor captives.

However,

However, before the Arabs had done plundering, they became ſecure and negligent, which the governor having notice of, proclaimed freedom to all ſlaves who would venture to ſally out on the enemy. Accordingly about 4000 ſoldiers and ſlaves made a ſally with ſucceſs, killing above 1000 Arabs, and made the reſt flee from the town, the aſſailants loſing but very few; and by that one ſally the town was regained. Thoſe ſlaves are generally Moſambique and Mombaſs negroes, whoſe ſtrength and bravery I have mentioned before. The city ſtill feels the diſmal effects of the loſs it then received. At preſent there are not above 200 Portugueze both in the caſtle and city. The reſt of its inhabitants are Banyans of all ſorts, there may be about 40,000, but few of them of fortune or figure, becauſe the inſolence of the Portugueze makes it unſafe for moneyed ſtrangers to dwell among them. The King of Portugal has about 12,000l. per annum, of poll money paid into his treaſury, and the cuſtoms and land-tax may come to about 6000l. more: but if that iſland were in the hands of ſome induſtrious European nation, it would be the beſt mart town on the coaſt of India, for the river Indus being near neighbours, both by Sindy and Cambay, thoſe commodities might be imported and exported to advantage. And that commerce has raiſed Surat.

All the country between Diu and Dand Point, which is about 30 leagues along ſhore, admits of no traffick, being inhabited by freebooters, called Warrels, and often aſſociate with the Sanganians, in exerciſing piracies and depredations. They confide much in their numbers, as the others do, and ſtrive to board their prizes, and as ſoon as they get on board, they throw in ſhowers of ſtones on the prize's decks, in order to ſink them that way, if they don't yield, and they have earthen pots as big as a ſix pound granadoe ſhell, full of unquenched lime, well ſifted, which they throw in alſo, and the pots breaking, there ariſes ſo great a duſt, that the defendants can neither breathe nor ſee well. They alſo uſe wicks of cotton, dipped in a combuſtible oil, and firing the wick, and throwing it into their oppoſer's ſhip, it burns violently, and ſets fire to the parts that it is thrown on. They have no cities, and their villages are ſmall. The beſt of them ſtands about 60 miles to the eaſtward of Diu, and is called Chance. It is built about a league within the mouth of a river, which has a ſmall iſland lying athwart it, about two miles into the ſea. The iſland has good ſprings of freſh water, but no inhabitants. In anno 1716, the Engliſh went to burn that village, and their pirating veſſels, but were unſucceſsful in their undertaking. The Warrels occupy all the ſea-coaſt as high as Goga, which lies about 12 leagues within the Gulf of Cambay. And the coaſt, from Dand Point to Goga, is very dangerous, being thick ſet with rocks and ſand banks; and a rapid tide runs amongſt them of 6 or 8 miles in an hour, in a channel that is 20 fathoms deep in ſome places, which cauſes anchoring to be dangerous alſo.

Goga is a pretty large town, and has had ſome mud-wall fortifications, which ſtill defend them from the inſults of their neighbours the Coulies, who inhabit the north-eaſt ſide of Guzerat, and are as great thieves by land as their brethren the Warrels and Sanganians are by ſea: nor is there any land army that can come into their country to chaſtiſe them, for there are ſo many rivulets made by Indus and the ſea, that are ſo ſoft and muddy at the bottom, that there is neither paſſage for men nor horſe to penetrate their country. And their towns are invironed with ſuch thick hedges of green bamboos, which are not to be burned in a ſhort time, and the people ſo numerous and valiant, that it would be an hard taſk to civilize them.

Goga has ſome trade, admitting ſtrangers to a free commerce in ſuch merchandize as are fit to be imported or exported to or from Guzerat. It has the conveniency of an harbour for the largeſt ſhips, though they lie dry on ſoft mud, at low water; but the tides riſing four or five fathoms perpendicular, afford water enough at high water. The town is governed by an officer from the Mogul, who commands about 200 men, who are kept there for a guard to it.

CHAP. XIII.—*Gives an Account of Cambay, Baroach, and Surat; with ſeveral Occurrences that happened to them.*

CAMBAY, or, as the natives call it, Cambaut, about 12 leagues from Goga, in the bottom of the Gulf of Cambay, on a ſmall river, that is ſent by the overflowing of the Indus into that gulf or bay, is a large city, with high walls, and was formerly the metropolis of a kingdom that bore the city's name; but Eckbar, great grandfather to Aurengzeb, ſent his ſon, Jehan Guire, with a great army in the ſixteenth century, and conquered it, and annexed it to the empire of the Great Mogul.

It is ſtill a place of good trade, though not half inhabited, and it contributes very much to the wealth and grandeur of Surat, to which it is ſubordinate; and its vicinity to Amadabant, from whence it is about 150 miles diſtant, makes it ſhare the advantages of that great city, which, in magnitude and wealth, is little inferior to the beſt towns in Europe. What it exports by ſea, comes moſt to Cambay, and is carried by the Surat ſhipping all over India, except what European ſhips carry for Europe.

The product and manufactories of Cambay are inferior to few towns in India. It abounds in grain and cattle, cotton and ſilk. The cornelian and agate ſtones are found in its rivers, and no where elſe in the world. Of cornelian they make rings, and ſtones for ſignets, and of the agate, cabinets, intire ſtone except the lids. I have ſeen ſome of 14 or 15 inches long, and 8 or 9 deep, valued at 30 or 40l. ſterling. They alſo make bowls of ſeveral ſizes of agate, and ſpoons, and handles of ſwords, daggers, and knives, and buttons, and ſtones to ſet in ſnuff-boxes, of great value.

They embroider the beſt of any people in India, and perhaps in the world. Their fine quilts were formerly carried to Europe. I have ſeen ſome worth 40l. ſterling, and ſome cornelian rings, above double their weight in gold. The Patanners are their near neighbours. They are moſtly horſemen, and bold fellows, who borrow round ſums from the city, by way of compulſion, and the Raſſpouts and Coulies make inroads into this province, and plunder even to the gates of the city, and ſometimes have ſurpriſed, and plundered the city itſelf, for which neglect the governor's heads anſwered.

In anno 1716, they were very bold and preſumptuous, ſo that there was a ſtop put to all the commerce of Amadabant and Cambay. The governor of Surat got an army of 20,000 to chaſtiſe and reſtrain them; but they laid ſo many ambuſcades, that, in two months, the army was reduced to leſs than half the number, and the reſt were obliged to get home, with ſorrowful hearts, to Surat.

The next town of note for commerce, is Baroach, a walled town, ſtanding on a riſing ground, on the banks of the river Nerdaba. Formerly it was a place of great trade, but in Aurengzeb's wars with his brothers, about the year 1660, this town held out a great while againſt his army. That ſeaſon proving a dry one, Aurengzeb's folks ſuffered much for want of freſh water and proviſions, but at laſt he took it, and put all to the ſword that had borne arms againſt him, and razed part of the walls, and pro-

nounced a curſe on them that ſhould repair them again. But the Sevajee's incurſions made him order the rebuilding them himſelf, and he chriſtened it Suckabant, or the Dry City; but that new name could not efface the old one, which it yet retains. It is now inhabited by weavers, and ſuch mechanicks as manufacture cotton cloth. And the Baroach Baſtas are famous throughout all India, the country producing the beſt cotton in the world. This town is alſo ſubordinate to Surat; and formerly the Engliſh and Dutch had factories ſettled there, but of late have withdrawn them.

Surat is the next ſea-port. It was built about the year 1660, on the banks of the river Tapta or Tappee, which being diſcommoded with banks of ſand at Rannier, the then mart town on this river, the Engliſh removed about two miles farther down the river, on the oppoſite ſide, near a caſtle which had been built many years before, to ſecure the trade from the inſults of the Malabar pirates, who uſed to lord it over all the ſea-coaſt between Cape Comorin and Cambay. In a little time after the Engliſh had ſettled there, others followed their example, ſo that in a few years it became a large town, but without walls, and ſo it continued till about the aforeſaid year, that Rajah Sevajee, who had never ſubmitted to the Mogul's domination, came with an army, and plundered it, except the European factories, who ſtood on their guard. Them he complimented with the proffer of his friendſhip, becauſe perhaps he apprehended, that he could not plunder them without bloodſhed and loſs of time. However he carried away a very great booty, which made the inhabitants petition Aurengzeb to ſecure them for the future, by a wall round their town; which favour he granted, encloſing about four miles to build their city in; but trade increaſing, the town was too ſmall within the walls to contain the people that came about commerce, wherefore ſeveral large ſuburbs were added to the city for the conveniency of mechanicks. The wall was built of brick, about eight yards high, with round baſtions, 200 paces diſtant from one another, and each had five or ſix cannon mounted on them. And the rich men of the town built many ſummer-houſes in the fields, and planted gardens about them to ſolace themſelves and families in the heats, which are pretty violent in April, May, and June.

The city flouriſhed in trade till anno 1686, that the Engliſh company diſturbed its tranquillity by an unjuſt war they made on Surat, but pretended it was not with the Mogul, who had given them many indulgences, which war I'll remark when I treat of Bombay, but that war was ended in anno 1689, neither to the profit nor honour of that Eaſt India Company. In anno 1695, Captain Evory, a pirate, diſturbed the trade and tranquillity of the town with four ſmall ſhips, taking one of the Mogul's ſhips, with a great booty in ſilver and gold, and a Mahometan lady, as I obſerved before on the commerce of the Red Sea and the iſland of Madagaſcar. And ſince that time, this city has felt many convulſions in its trade.

In anno 1705, when Aurengzeb began to be crazy with old age, the circumjacent Rajahs, with an united force of fourſcore thouſand horſe, came and beſieged Surat, and plundered all the villages in the plain country; but having no artillery, they could do but little harm to the city itſelf, beſides ſtraitening it a little for proviſions, but the city having their river and ſea open, that difficulty was removed by plentiful ſupplies brought them from Guzerat.

Theſe freebooters go under the general appellation of Gennims, but they are compoſed of the aforementioned Warrels, Coulies, Raſſpouts, Patanners, and Gracias. Theſe Gracias were formerly the landed men of this country, and, upon their ſubmiſſion to Ecbar, the then Emperor of Mogul, articled to have the ground rents paid to them, and their poſterity; but the nabobs often defraud them, and they, to put the

Engraved by George Cooke. from Original Drawings made in India.

A Woman of the Lower Order. *A Bombay Sepoy.* *A Grass Cutter*

execrable rite is ſtill continued and practiſed. And Abdul Gafour, the rich merchant aforementioned, was a diſciple of that ſect.

The Banyans are moſt numerous in this city, and are either merchants, bankers, brokers or pen-men, as accountants, collectors and ſurveyors, but few or none handy-crafts, except taylors and barbers. They have eighty-five different ſects among them, that do not eat with one another. The greateſt part of the eaſtern religion is in forms of worſhip, and abſtaining from certain meats; and their prieſts differ as much in thoſe points, and ſome others of doctrine, as Papiſts and Proteſtants do, for the Brahamans or Bramanies are the prieſts of the major part of thoſe ſects, who gull the people when any are dangerouſly ſick, by perſuading them to leave legacies to the church, as ſome pious Chriſtians do among us, and when they obtain a legacy, they gratefully acknowledge the receipt of it, by putting a ſcroll of paper into the dead perſon's hand, containing an account of the legacy, with a bill at the bottom, to receive ten times the value in the other world, from ſome eminent ſaint that deals in ſuch bills of exchange in Paradiſe. They have patriarchs and biſhops to ſuperintend the inferior clergy, who, by virtue of a divine right, live ſplendidly and luxurioufly on the oblations of the people.

The other ſects are taught by the Talapoins, who declaim againſt that papiſtical polity, and preach up morality to be the beſt guide to human life, and affirm, that a good life in this world can only recommend us in the next, to have our ſouls tranſmigrated into the body of ſome innocent beaſt, or to reſt in Paradiſe.

Their prieſts indeed ſhew much ſelf-denial, for they live on alms, and their pontificalia is a white ſheet that covers their bodies, from the ſhoulders downwards, a black ſtaff about five feet long in their hand, and a ſmall earthen pot, with ſome powdered ſaffron and oil, to mark thoſe on the forehead that have received their benediction that day. When they go abroad, the old carries a novice in his company, to teach him divinity and morality by example. They ſeldom ſpeak in the ſtreets, but look gravely and demurely, and they extend their charity even to beaſts and birds. They ſuffer their hair to grow as low as their ſhoulders, and have no other covering on their heads, and keep their beards ſhaved.

Another ſort of them are doctors of phyſick, who pretend to do great cures by amulets, philtres, and prayers. They have ſome ſkill in ſimples and minerals, which makes them in great eſteem; but when their ſkill in phyſick produces not the promiſed effects, then they perſuade the patient, that they lie under the diſpleaſure of ſome angry deity, who muſt be appeaſed by oblations and penances, which they turn to good account, by ordering the offerings and penance to be light; and when that trick fails, they leave their patients to work out their own ſalvation the beſt way they can.

There is another ſort called Jougies, who practiſe great auſterities and mortifications. They contemn worldly riches, and go naked, except a bit of cloth about their loins, and ſome deny themſelves even that, delighting in naſtineſs and an holy obſcenity, with a great ſhew of ſanctity. They never cut nor comb their hair, and beſmear their bodies and faces with aſhes, which makes them look more like devils than men. I have ſeen a ſanctified raſcal of ſeven feet high, and his limbs well proportioned, with a large turband of his own hair wreathed about his head, and his body bedaubed with aſhes and water, ſitting quite naked under the ſhade of a tree, with a pudenda like an aſs, and an hole bored through his prepuce, with a large gold ring fixed in the hole. This fellow was much revered by numbers of young married women, who, proſtrating themſelves before the living Priapus, and taking him devoutly in their hands, kiſſed him, whilſt his bawdy owner ſtroked their ſilly heads, muttering ſome filthy prayers for their prolification.

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The auſterities of the Jougies are beyond belief to thoſe who have not been eye-witneſſes of them. Some ſtand on one foot ſome years, with their arms tied to ſome beam of an houſe, or branch of a tree over their heads, and continue in that poſture, except when nature calls for exoneration, for others feed them whilſt they ſtand. Their arms in time ſettle in that poſture, that ever after they become uſeleſs, and are not to be brought again into their natural poſition. Some ſit in the ſun-ſhine, with their faces looking upwards, till they are incapable of altering the poſture of their necks, their gullet ſwelling almoſt as thick as their heads; and they alſo take no ſuſtenance with their own hands. Others clench their fiſt, and tie them in that poſture till their finger nails come through the back of their hands. And their faſtings are as incredible. I ſaw a woman of about thirty years of age, who made a vow of faſting three months, to avert ſome impending calamity threatened by heaven, that ſhe pretended to foreſee. The governor of Surat being a zealous Mahometan, (who generally diſcourage Gentiliſm, and ſtrive to detect their legerdemain miracles) ordered the ſaid woman to be put into a priſon without windows, without any other ſuſtenance than fair water, and to be well guarded by Mahometans, to avoid impoſture. About eighty days after ſhe was impriſoned, I and ſeveral other Europeans paid her a viſit, and got the door opened to obſerve her aſpect. We found her in health, but very weak, and her pulſe beat very low. Her keepers declared, that, ſhe had taken no ſuſtenance, but a very ſmall quantity of water, all the while they had the overſeeing of her, nor did ſhe ever deſire any food. She told us, that three or four years before, ſhe had faſted ſixty days on the ſame account.

Yet in anno 1721, the governor detected a great piece of impoſture of the Jougies, who paid pretty dear for their impudence. One of thoſe ſilly zealots, who pretended to more ſanctity than his neighbours, gave out, that he would be buried (in a grave ten feet deep) alive, and that he would appear at Amadabant, which is diſtant from Surat about 200 miles, within the ſpace of fifteen days. The grave was dug, and he went in, and had ſome reeds placed about a foot or two over his head, to keep the mould off that was to be thrown over him. There was a large jar of water ſtanding under the ſhade of a great tree, about ten or twelve yards from the grave, where a good number of Jougies had for ſome time taken up their quarters, they were accomplices in the impoſture, and, by their pretended ſanctity and great intereſt with heaven, had gulled many poor people into a belief of their ſtory, and many brought preſents to them. But the governor of Surat ordered a party of ſoldiers to ſee the Jougie interred, and to ſee that no impoſture ſhould be uſed about his pretended reſurrection, and to ſearch well, that there ſhould be no ſubterraneous communication between the grave and any place that might be ſuſpected above ground, and accordingly ſearching narrowly, they ſuſpecting ſome place about the root of the tree might afford a paſſage, ordered the Jougies to remove a little out of their way, which they did willingly, and finding no viſto that might be ſuſpected, they ordered the Jougies to remove their great water jar, which was near full of water; but the Jougies clamoured loud againſt that breach of their privilege, in touching their water: but their noiſe made the Mahometans' ſuſpiſcion grow ſtronger, and the jar was either removed or broken; and behold, where the jar ſtood, they diſcovered a mine that reached within two feet of the grave, which cheat being thus detected, the angry ſoldiers fell to work with their broad ſwords, to try if their ſanctity was proof againſt ſharp ſteel, but found, by an experiment of laying a dozen or more dead on the ground, and twice as many maimed with wounds, that they were as eaſily killed or wounded as other honeſt folks.

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The poor miracle-monger loſt his head in the fray. That ſpoiled his journey to Amadabant, and, which was worſe, brought great ſcandal on the whole order.

I was one day walking by the ſide of a great tank or pond near Surat, in company with an Engliſh lady, and ſeeing a young Jougy ſitting by the tomb of a celebrated Cutteree, who are a ſect that bury their dead, the youth ſeemed to be very devout in prayer; but, by the lady's order, I interrupted him, and aſking him why he prayed there, and to whom did he direct his prayer, he anſwered that he prayed to God to make him as good a man as he was who lay interred there. I aſked him where God was, at which he ſeemed to ſmile, and aſked me, where is he not? and ſo continued a little ſpace in prayer, and when he had done, he took ſome flowers and grain, with a little water, and beſprinkled the tomb, and making ſome decent cringings towards the tomb, took a formal leave to go his way.

CHAP. XIV.—*Is a Continuation of my Obſervations of the Religions and Cuſtoms uſed in Surat and the adjacent Country.*

THE great God, whom all adore, they call Quedaa; but they have many inferior deities, and of them Mahadow, or as they expreſs it, Maadow, is the ſecond in place and dignity. Ramm is the third, and Brahma the fourth. And Parvette is a goddeſs much venerated, and is ſuppoſed to be the wife of Maadow. The inferior deities or ſaints are very numerous; but the images of Gunies, Jagarenat, Ruſtum, and Gopalſami are moſt worſhipped in their temples, as reckoned to have moſt intereſt with the ſuperior deities.

The marriages of the Gentiles in India, are celebrated with much pomp. They begin in the forenoon to ſend a long train of people with covered diſhes or baſkets on their heads, with preſents from the bridegroom to the bride, and before the preſent march hautboys, drums, and trumpets. After the preſents march ſome female ſlaves for the bride and bridegroom's uſe. After the ſlaves comes an empty pallankeen to tranſport the bride from her houſe to her huſband's. At night the bride and bridegroom are carried in ſtate through the town, with torch-light and muſick before them, and fireworks played off as they paſs in the ſtreets, and the parents of the married couple ſend preſents to their friends. They have no choice in their marriages, for that is left to the parents or neareſt relations; and they are married before they can be capable either to chooſe or refuſe, being often married at ſix or ſeven years of age; but they do not cohabit before the bride be about twelve, and the bridegroom ſixteen. As to their burials, ſome burn and ſome inter; but children under four years of age are all buried. And the wives are not permitted to burn with their huſbands; but, when once ſhe is a widow, ſhe never can marry again, but lives to bewail her widowhood, and perhaps her virginity, all her days.

They marry but one wife, except in caſes of barrenneſs or adultery, though there are no laws againſt polygamy. They abhor buggery and ſodomy, and the Mahometans for that account, becauſe they uſe them. They eat twice a day, but the huſband and wife eat ſeparate; and they waſh before and after meat. And the Europeans there follow that cleanly cuſtom.

The Parſees are numerous about Surat and the adjacent countries. They are a remnant of the ancient Perſians, who rather chooſe to be baniſhed their country than change their religion; for in the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian æra, when Mahometiſm over-ran Perſia, the ſpirit of perſecution came there, and ſome 4 or 500 families

families were put on board of ſhipping, and ſent to ſea, without compaſs or pilot; and they ſteering their courſe eaſtward (in the ſouth-weſt monſoons) from Jaſques, in about twenty days, fell in with the coaſt of India in the night, and the firſt thing they ſaw was a fire aſhore, which the exiles ſteered towards, and accidentally ſteered into the river of Nunſaree, about ſeven leagues to the ſouthward of Surat, and were welcomed to land by the crowing of a cock. Zoroaſter was their founder, and taught them to adore the ſun and fire, that produced and maintained all ſublunary beings. Their ſeeing the fire on their approaching the land, confirmed their belief, in the opinion that adoration was due to it, for which reaſon they never extinguiſh fire by its oppoſite element water; and even if their houſes are burning, they will uſe no water to quench the flames, but throw earth or duſt to put it out. And becauſe the cock ſaluted them firſt, after they had paſt through a dangerous ſea, and were ſecure in a river, they will neither kill, nor eat the fleſh of a cock.

When they came aſhore, the charitable Indians flocked about them, and there being ſome among them that could ſpeak ſome Indian languages, related what hard uſage they had met with in their own country, and that Providence having directed them to the Indian country, they beg leave to ſettle among them, and by their behaviour they would ſhew their gratitude for relieving diſtreſt ſtrangers, who were then become their ſupplicants. The generous Indians granted their requeſt, and allowed them land to manure, and ſeed to ſow the ground, upon the ſame conditions and tenure they enjoyed their own farms. And there they ſettled firſt, and remain in and about that country to this day. They never marry into foreign families, which makes them retain their native fair complexion, little inferior to us Europeans, only their often waſhing and anointing, which is a part of the exerciſes of religion takes away the beautiful freſh ruddineſs that adorns ours. Their rites of marriage are performed like the other Gentiles, in oſtentation and expence; but their burials are quite different, for they encloſe a ſmall piece of ground, with a wall about four yards high, and place ſeveral benches for the corps to ſit on, that the four elements may each have a ſhare of the matter their bodies are compoſed of. The ſun or fire exhales the putrid effluvias. The water or rain carries the putrified fleſh and bones to the earth, that gives burial to them, and the voracious fowls carry what they can pick into the air in their maws. They watch the corps all day, till one of the eyes is picked out. If the bird begins with the right eye, they rejoice and feaſt, but if with the left eye, they mourn and lament for the ill fortune of the defunct's ſoul, for they attribute future happineſs to the right eye, and miſery to the left. They build theſe charnel places far from any town or village, leſt the ſtink ſhould annoy them.

They are very induſtrious and diligent in their vocation, and are bred to trades and manuring ground. They are good carpenters or ſhip-builders, exquiſite in the weaver's trade and embroidery, which may be ſeen in the rich Atlaſſes, Bottadaars and Jemewaars made by them, as well as fine Baroach and Nunſaree Baſtas that come from their manufactories. They work well in ivory and agate, and are excellent cabinet-makers. They diſtil ſtrong waters, but that they do clandeſtinely, becauſe that trade is prohibited by the government they live under; yet ſome of them get a good livelihood by it.

The fields about Surat are all plain, and the ground very fertile towards the country, but towards the ſea, it is ſandy and ſterile. They have excellent beef, mutton, and fowl, daily expoſed to ſale in the city, reaſonably cheap. Beef is about three farthings a pound, when the bones are kept with the fleſh, and about a penny with the bones out. Mutton is about three halfpence, and good large fowls at ſeven pence halfpenny apiece.

apiece. They have ſome good fiſh, not dear, and pigeons at a penny apiece, and live hares at four-pence apiece.

They have plenty of wheat, as good as any in Europe, and ſome peaſe, and French beans; but neither oats nor barley. They have ſeveral ſpecies of legumen; but thoſe of doll are moſt in uſe, for ſome doll and rice being mingled together and boiled, make Kitcheree, the common food of the country, they eat it with butter and Atchar or ſalt-fiſh. 'Tis a pleaſant nouriſhing food, and that which the famous Aurengzeb moſt delighted to eat. They have alſo ſtore of wild fowl; but who have a mind to eat of them, muſt ſhoot them. Flamingoes are large, and good meat. The paddy-bird is alſo good in their ſeaſon, and the corn-bird is excellent in theirs. They have good partridge, but bad pheaſants. Their wild geeſe, duck, and teal, are plenty and good; and ſeveral ſorts of turtle doves, both beautiful and well-taſted. They have few deer, but great plenty of antelopes in their foreſts. There are no fine buildings in the city, but many large houſes, and ſome caravanſerays and muſcheits, and ſome fine tanks, or large ciſterns to keep rain water, near the town, particularly one a little without Brampore gate. The French have a little church near the old Engliſh factory, which maintains a few capuchins, who practiſe ſurgery gratis to the poor natives, of what perſuaſion ſoever. They make ſome converts; but they are generally of the looſeſt morals of any ſet in the town. There are above an hundred different ſects in this city; but they never have any hot diſputes about their doctrine or way of worſhip. Every one is free to ſerve and worſhip God their own way. And perſecutions for religion's ſake are not known among them. The Mahometans have the law in their hands, and diſtribute juſtice beſt to thoſe that pay beſt for it. The Judge's fees are 25 per cent. on all ſums that he pronounces due to the party whoſe plea is beſt ſupported with bribes or intereſt, for the juſtice of a cauſe ſeldom prevails. Many examples I have ſeen between honeſt men of low fortunes and villains clothed with publick characters and good fortunes; yet in ſome caſes I have ſeen juſtice take place. The Engliſh and Dutch directors or agents there make good figures, becauſe the officers of ſtate and juſtice get yearly preſents or penſions from them. The governor of the caſtle is not ſubordinate to him of the town, and he dares not come out of his neſt but once in a year, that he is permitted to go to church, and then he muſt return before ſun-ſet. None are ſuffered to paſs the river whilſt the ſun is down below the horizon, nor dares any one that comes in boats put their foot aſhore without a ſpecial permiſſion; and all boats or veſſels muſt land at the cuſtom-houſe, and the boat and men are narrowly ſearched. The cuſtoms on Mahometan goods are two in the hundred, on Chriſtians three and three quarters; but the Chriſtians are exempt from paying poll-money, but the Mahometans are not, nor Gentows, who pay 5 per cent. cuſtoms on their goods. The Banyans are brokers even to Mahometans, who cannot well make bargains without their brokers.

The Mahometan women go always veiled when they appear abroad. Their garments differ but little from the man's. Their coats, which alſo ſerve both ſexes for ſhirts, are cloſe bodied. The men's are gathered in plats below the navel, to make them ſeem long waiſted, and the women's are gathered a pretty way above, to make their waiſt ſeem ſhort. They both wear breeches to the ancle. The men wear only ſilver rings on their fingers, and generally but one for a ſignet. The women wear gold rings on their fingers, and ſometimes one on their thumbs, with a ſmall looking-glaſs ſet in it, and often they wear gold rings in their noſes and ears. The Gentiles again permit their women to appear bare-faced, and their legs bare to the knee. They wear gold or ſilver rings, according to their ability, one in their noſe, and ſeveral ſmall ones in

holes bored round the rim of the ear, with one large and heavy in each lappet. They wear alſo rings on their toes, and ſhekels on their legs, of the aforeſaid metals, made hollow, and ſome glaſs beads looſe in them, that when they move the leg, they make a noiſe like a rattle ſnake. The men wear gold rings in their ears, and often three or four in a cluſter, hanging at the lappet. Some have a pearl ſet in them. The Mahometan men are known by their garb, though the Gentows and theirs are of one make, ſave only as they are all overlapped on the breaſt. The Mahometans are tied on the left ſide, which, among them, is the ſide of honour, and the Gentiles tie theirs on the right ſide. The Mahometan turbans are likewiſe of another dreſs or make than the Heathens; and the different ſects of the Heathens are known by the figure of their turbans.

When the Engliſh firſt ſettled a commerce in this country, which was about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, they were held in great eſteem; but the Portugueze pretending a right to that trade ſolely, diſturbed the Engliſh in theirs, murdering their people, and making prize of all ſhips and veſſels they could overcome. One ſeaſon the Engliſh had eight good large ſhips riding at Swally, which is about ten miles from Ranier, where the preſident and his council then reſided; and Swally was the place where all goods were unladed from the ſhipping, and all goods for exportation were there ſhipped off. The Portugueze thinking it a fit time to give a deadly blow to the Engliſh commerce, came with a fleet of ſix large ſhips, ten ſmall, and ten or twelve half gallies, and anchored to the northward of the Engliſh, in a narrow channel, not a muſquet-ſhot wide, and a tide generally of ſix or ſeven miles an hour. The Portugueze landed near 3000 men, and ſeized ſome carts laden with the company's goods. The Engliſh could not bear the inſults they daily received, held a council, wherein it was reſolved to land 800 men out of the ſhips, and attack the Portugueze, while they were lulled in ſecurity of their own ſtrength and numbers, and if they were overpowered, that thoſe left on board the Engliſh ſhould try if they could cut a Portugueze ſhip's cables that lay near them, and her driving on board of another, might, with the force of the tide, put them all a-ground on the ſhore, or a ſand bank that they lay very near to. Accordingly, by break of day, the Engliſh were all landed, and every ſhip's crew led by their own commander. As they had conjectured, ſo it fell out, the Engliſh were among the Portugueze before they could get in a poſture of defence, and put them in confuſion. Thoſe on board had done as they were ordered, one being cut looſe, ſoon made all the reſt run a-ground, and moſt of them loſt, eſpecially the great ſhips. The little Engliſh army purſued the Portugueze and killed many in their flight; but at a point of land, about three miles from the ſhips, the Portugueze made a ſtand, and rallied; but the little victorious army ſoon made them take a ſecond time to their heels, and ſo the Engliſh got an intire victory, with ſmall loſs, for there were not twenty killed on the Engliſh ſide, but above 1500 of the Portugueze. In anno 1690, I was on the field of battle, and ſaw many human ſculls and bones lying above ground. And the ſtory of the battle I had from an old Parſee, who was born at a village called Tamkin, within two miles of the field, and could perfectly remember the action.

CHAP. XV.—*Gives an Account of the famous Aurengzeb's Birth, his Politicks and Actions in obtaining the Empire, and of his long and proſperous Reign.*

AND now, before I leave Surat, I will venture to relate Aurengzeb's origin, and ſome of his actions.

Cha Jehan was one of the moſt polite kings that ever ruled over that great empire of Mogulſtan. He was a great patron to all ſkilful perſons in arts and ſciences, and gave great encouragement to foreigners to come to his court, treating them kindly and familiarly, and allowed them handſome penſions to live on, and often ſent for the moſt polite of them, and diſcourſed with them about the cuſtoms, laws, commerce, and ſtrength of the European nations, and what he found valuable amongſt them, he would fain have brought into his own dominions. He was ſorry to ſee the moſt beautiful part of the creation caged up in ſeraglios, bred up in ignorance, and kept from uſeful and pleaſant converſation, by the heavy fetters of blind and unreaſonable cuſtom. He turned his thoughts to break thoſe ſordid chains, and introduce the ladies to a free air, and reckoned his court, which he then kept at Agra, a great city, to be the moſt proper part for the ſtage to act it firſt upon.

The firſt ſtep he took, was to order all the ladies at court to provide precious ſtones to bring to a market-place that he had erected, and there to ſhew their wares publickly to all the noblemen at court, who were ordered to buy them at whatever prices the ladies put upon them; and the King himſelf was to be a buyer, to put the greater honour on the new erected market. The ladies obeyed, and took their booths as they thought fit. On the market day the King and noblemen came to market, and bought the jewels and other trifles the ladies had to diſpoſe of.

The King coming to the booth of a very pretty lady, aſked what ſhe had to ſell. She told him, ſhe had one large fine rough diamond ſtill to diſpoſe of. He deſired to ſee it, and he found it to be a piece of fine tranſparent ſugar-candy, of a tolerable good diamond figure. He demanded to know what price ſhe ſet on it, and ſhe told him with a pleaſant air, that it was worth a lack of rupees, or 12,500l. ſterling. He ordered the money to be paid, and falling into diſcourſe with her, found her wit was as exquiſite as her beauty, and ordered her to ſup with him that night in his palace. She promiſed to obey, and accordingly went, and ſtayed with him three nights and days, and then went back to her huſband, whoſe name was Jemal Chaun, and was a commander of 5000 horſe. The huſband received her very coldly, and told her, that he would continue civil to her, but would never cohabit with her again, and would live with her in the ſame manner as if ſhe was his ſiſter. Upon which ſhe went back to the palace, and deſired to be brought to the King, and, being conducted to him, ſhe fell at his feet, and told what her huſband had ſaid. The King, in a rage, gave orders to carry the huſband to the elephant garden, and there to be executed by an elephant, which is reckoned a ſhameful and terrible death. The poor man was ſoon apprehended, and had his clothes torn off him, as the cuſtom is when criminals are condemned to that death, and he was dragged from his houſe, with his hands tied before him. On his way to the garden, he was to paſs near the palace, and he begged to have leave to ſpeak to the King, and then he would die willingly, if His Majeſty did not think fit he ſhould live. A friend of his, who was an officer of the guards, ordered the meſſengers of death to ſtop a while, till he had acquainted the King with the requeſt, which was accordingly done, and he was ordered to be carried into the court of the palace, that the King might hear what he had to ſay, and being carried

thither, His Majeſty demanded what he would have. He anſwered, that what he had ſaid to his wife, was the greateſt honour that he was capable to do his King, who, after he had honoured his wife with his embraces, thought himſelf unworthy ever after to cohabit with her. The King, pauſing a little, ordered him to be unbound, and brought to his own room, where, as ſoon as he came, the King embraced him, and ordered a Serpaw or a royal ſuit to be put upon him, and gave him the command of 5000 horſe more, but took his wife into his own harran or ſeraglio, and about nine months after, the famous Aurengzeb came into the world. How long the charter held for continuing thoſe markets, I know not, but it ſeems Cha Jehan grew fonder of this lady than of any he had before, though he had three ſons by them, the eldeſt of whoſe names I have forgot. Aurengzeb was brought up and educated by his mother, till he was about twelve years of age, and then he had prieſts and philoſophers to inſtruct him.

Cha Jehan finding his empire too large, deſigned to divide it amongſt his ſons, and ſo placed his eldeſt ſon in the northern provinces of Candahaar and Uzbeck, to ſuperintend there, and make him acquainted with thoſe people and their cuſtoms, that he deſigned ſhould be his ſubjects. The ſecond ſon Morad Bucks he ſent to Decan, to govern there. The third, Sultan Sujah, he ſent to Bengal, to govern that country; and Aurengzeb he deſigned for Guzerat, being a ſmall province in compariſon of the others: but when Aurengzeb came to be about eighteen years of age, and had done with the ſchool, he diſſembled his ambitious thoughts, and declared that he deſired to live a private life in the province allotted him, and ſo took up the Fakire habit and way of life, contemning the honours and riches of the world, and zealouſly kept the canonical hours of prayer, which, by the Alcoran, is five times a day. In this Phariſaical way he ſpent eight or ten years, till his father began to be old and weak; and news being ſpread abroad that he was ſick, the eldeſt ſon began to raiſe an army in his province, to march towards Agra, in order to ſeize the crown on his father's demiſe. Morad Bucks knowing the cruel cuſtom of his country, which is either to die, or be ſent to an hill near Agra, called Goulour, and there drink the Pouſt, (which is an infuſion of poppy ſeeds in water, that provokes ſleep) and ſpend his days in a lethargy; but to avoid both, he alſo raiſed a good army in his province, and marched alſo towards Agra, and Sultan Sujah raiſed one in Bengal, but kept within his own province. Aurengzeb continued in his retirement and holy exerciſes, and neither diſturbed his father's repoſe, as the reſt had done, nor was ſuſpected by his brothers to have any deſign to rule. Aurengzeb had a ſiſter, called Neur Mahaal, that was continually about her father Cha Jehan, and he had a great eſteem for her, as ſhe had for Aurengzeb; and as ſhe was a woman of great genius and vivacity, ſhe fiſhed out all the deſigns of her father and brothers, and acquainted Aurengzeb with them by letters, and promiſed her aſſiſtance to ſet him on the throne.

Cha Jehan ſent letters to his ſons, who were in arms, to diſband their forces, upon their allegiance, but not one obeyed, alledging that they kept in arms for their own ſecurity in caſe of his death. The two eldeſt made daily approaches towards Agra, and Aurengzeb raiſed a ſmall but good army, pretending it was to keep the peace of his own province. However, as Morad Bucks was on his march towards Agra, he was obliged to paſs through ſome part of Aurengzeb's territories, and they had an interview, and agreed, that if the eldeſt ſon would not be adviſed to retire back with his army to his own province, but continue diſobedient to their father's commands, then Aurengzeb would join Morad Bucks, and compel him by force; but ſtill Aurengzeb preached up peace and contempt of worldly grandeur. They wrote preſſingly to their elder brother, to honour their father's commands, but to no purpoſe; ſo Aurengzeb

marched his army always near Morad Bucks's to meet their eldeſt brother, and found him encamped on the banks of the river Gemna, and on the oppoſite banks Morad Bucks encamped his men. Aurengzeb went to wait on his elder brother as a mediator, but in reality to diſcover what condition his army was in. His brother received him with all the marks of eſteem, and, after a long conference, he invited Aurengzeb to join forces with him, and that as ſoon as he came to the crown, he would make him and his heirs free ſovereigns of Guzerat. Aurengzeb anſwered, that as for his own part, he had rather live a ſubject than a ſovereign, whoſe care about government diſturbed the mind, and rendered it unfit for ſweet contemplation, and he only brought his army there to join him who inclined moſt to peace, which he found his brother Morad Bucks averſe to, but that he would join neither till the laſt extremity; and on his return, he went to Morad, and told him, that his eldeſt brother's army was much inferior to theirs, and adviſed him to put all to the fortune of a battle, that he would ſtand at a little diſtance neuter, till the battle began, and then he would fall on the enemy's flank and rear with his army, which accordingly he did, when his eldeſt brother had no ſuſpicion of ſuch uſage. The battle was ſhort, but bloody, and the eldeſt brother was killed, which the remnant of his army ſeeing, begged for quarter, and had it, and liſted into the conqueror's armies. The victory was wholly imputed to Aurengzeb's conduct, by all the three armies, which was a great mortification to Morad Bucks, who expected that honour. But Aurengzeb had another game to play whilſt the armies were ſo much at his devotion, for his brother Morad Bucks was violently inclined to the love of wine, though forbidden by their laws. Aurengzeb got ſome of his own creatures of the beſt rank, to procure wine and carouze with him, which they did, and he got beaſtly drunk, and vomited on the fine carpets he lay on. While he was in that pickle, Aurengzeb came to his tent with his guard, and demanded preſent admittance, for there were news brought of the greateſt importance, which he muſt, without delay, communicate to his brother, and ſtepping haſtily into the tent, his guards following him, he found his brother in the condition he wiſhed for, and calling him ſeveral times by his name, he was not able to anſwer, wherefore Aurengzeb, out of an holy zeal to religion, vented many angry words againſt the beaſt his brother, and then, in a ſanctified choler, ordered one of his guards to ſtrike off his head, which was forthwith executed. The news of the fratricide flew like wild fire through the armies, but Aurengzeb's being in arms ſoon calmed thoſe that had a mind to raiſe troubles, and, in the morning, made an oration that pleaſed the armies ſo well, that they ſwore obedience to his commands. The clergy run his praiſes as high as their prophet's Paradiſe, commending his godly piety and zeal for poor diſtreſſed religion, and, no doubt, would have done the ſame for the drunkard, had he been as politick as Aurengzeb, who is now ſaluted Pautſhaw, or Emperor, by the army, notwithſtanding his father was then alive.

Cha Jehan having loſt two of his ſons, expected that all his troubles were now ended, ſent to Aurengzeb to come to him, and conſult about ſettling the peace of his country, which had been ſo long diſturbed by civil wars, but Aurengzeb would not truſt himſelf within the walls of a city, where he had not the command in his own hands, but wrote very ſubmiſſive letters to his father, and adviſed him to lay down the heavy charge of government on his ſhoulders who was young, and much better able to manage it than a man whoſe age required reſt, and gave orders to build an high wall round the palace, and placed his own creatures to guard the palace, which ſo vexed the old King, that he ordered all the Jewels of the crown to be broken, and particularly his throne, which he himſelf had cauſed to be made, worth above a million ſterling,

but

but none durſt obey him. And Neur Mahaal, who had given her brother Aurengzeb private informations of her father's deſigns all the time of the rupture, advertiſed him of the old man's deſign in that affair, and cautioned him to take care of what meat and drink he took, and to ſend an army into Bengal, to reduce Sultan Sujah, who was invited by the old King, to come with his army to Agra. Aurengzeb durſt not leave that country where his father was well beloved, for fear of a revolution in his affairs, but ſent an army under the command of a truſty general called Emirjemal Chaun, who, in three years time, chaſed Sultan Sujah out of the dominions of Bengal, and Cha Jehan then dying, brought a ſerene peace throughout the whole empire. Aurengzeb remembering his ſiſter's ſervices, made her governeſs of the palace, and retained her always near his perſon, and would eat nothing but what came from her hand.

Being now ſettled in peace, he invited his holy brethren the Fakires, who are very numerous in India, to come to Agra, and receive a new ſuit of clothes, as a teſtimony of his kindneſs for them. Great numbers came on the invitation, and he pitched tents in many places round the city to entertain them, and he proclaimed, that on a certain day the diſtribution ſhould be made, and appointed officers in every tent to deliver the new clothes, but to retain the old rags in their rooms, which ſtratagem brought many millions into his treaſury, for thoſe pretended ſaints having good ſtore of diamonds and gold ſewed up in their rags, were forced to leave all behind them. He then bent his thoughts on enlarging his dominions, and quarrelled with the King of Orixa near Bengal, and with the King of Viſapore near Decan, and, in ten years, he annexed their dominions to his own large empire. And ſo I leave him to take his pleaſure till the year 1707; that he died in his tent near Agra, and lies buried in a ſmall tomb of ſeven feet long and three high, on the ſide of an high-way that leads to that city.

He was a prince every way qualified for governing. None ever underſtood politicks better than he. The balance of diſtributive juſtice he held in an exact equilibrium. He was brave and cunning in war, and merciful and magnanimous in peace, temperate in his diet and recreations, and modeſt and grave in his apparel, courteous in his behaviour to his ſubjects, and affable in his diſcourſe. He encouraged virtue, and diſcountenanced vice, and he ſtudied the laws of humanity and obſerved them as well as thoſe of religion, for in that part he inclined to ſuperſtition. He had five ſons, but three only made any figure. The eldeſt was Dara, or vulgarly Hazan Tarah, the ſecond Shaw Allom, the third Furuckſier, the fourth Eckbar, and the fifth Shaw Hazander. The three firſt contended for the crown after their father's death, but Shaw Allom carried it.

From Surat to Damaan, a town belonging to the crown of Portugal, and at twenty-two leagues diſtance, are ſeveral rivers and villages, under the ſuperintendency of Surat. Dumbaſs is the firſt, but of ſmall conſequence, either in trade or manufactory. Nunſaree is the ſecond, that has a good manufactory of cotton cloth, both coarſe and fine. Gundavee is next, where good quantities of teak timber are cut, and exported, being of excellent uſe in building of houſes or ſhips. Seragoung is a river of no other conſequence but limiting the Mogul's dominions on the ſea ſide, as well as the Portugueze territories. It is diſtant from Damaan about four miles.

CHAP. XVI.—*Treats of the Cities and Towns on the Sea-coaſt, belonging to the Crown of Portugal, from Damaan to Bombay.*

DAMAAN was, in former times, a place of good trade, but at preſent reduced to poverty. It ſtands at the mouth of a river on the ſea-ſhore, and is naturally very ſtrong, by a deep marſh that almoſt ſurrounds it. The town is about half a mile long, and near as broad, walled with a good ſtone wall, as the reſt of the buildings of the city are built of; and it has a large cathedral to adorn it, that is conſpicuous a long way at ſea. There are two or three other churches, and a convent, a monaſtery, a nunnery, and an hoſpital, and there is a caſtle ſtands on the oppoſite ſide of the river, chriſtened by the name of St. Salvadore, and it is well ſecured by the moraſs as well as the town. It has been for a long time a great eye-ſore to the governors of Surat, who have often picked quarrels with the Portugueze, and laid ſiege to Damaan, but without ſucceſs.

From Damaan to Baſſaim is about eighteen leagues along the ſea-ſhore. There are ſeveral rivers and villages by the way, viz. Danaw, Tarrapore, Mahim, Kellem, and the iſland Vaccas, but they are all of ſmall account in the table of trade.

Baſſaim is a fortified city belonging to the crown of Portugal. It ſtands on a little iſland ſeparated from the continent by a ſmall rivulet. Its walls are pretty high, and about two miles in circumference around the city, which has a little citadel in the middle of it. It contains three or four churches, and ſome convents and monaſteries, with a college and hoſpital.

It is a place of ſmall trade, becauſe moſt of its riches lie dead and buried in their churches, or in the hands of indolent, lazy country gentlemen, who loiter away their days in eaſe, luxury, and pride, without having the leaſt ſenſe of the poverty and calamity of their country. The town is about half a league diſtant from the iſland of Salſet, which inlet ſerves it for an harbour for ſmall ſhipping, but there is not water enough to accommodate great ſhips. The governor is ſtiled by the Portugueze, General of the North, having Diu, Damaan, and Chaul, with all their territories, ſubordinate to him, but the church ſuperintends, which makes his government both uneaſy and precarious.

Salſet is an iſland about twenty-five miles long, and, in ſome places, ten miles broad. It is fruitful in roots and fruits, but not in corn. It is ſtocked with villages and churches, but has no city on it, but an old one, called Canra, hewn out of the ſide of a rock, but by whom I never could learn. It is near a mile in length, and many antique figures and columns curiouſly carved in the rock, and has ſeveral good ſprings of water to accommodate it. At preſent it is inhabited only with wild beaſts, and birds of prey. The iſland is almoſt cut in two by a narrow river that biſects it at a town called Verſua, which lies on the ſea-ſhore, and has a little narrow harbour, deep enough to receive ſhips of the greateſt burden, and is ſecured by a ſmall fort ſtanding on the north ſide, but the town is on the ſouth ſide of the river. It drives a ſmall trade in dry fiſh, made here, and tranſported to the inland countries and villages, that want the benefit of fiſhing. The fiſhers here catch their fiſh in long nets, faſtened to ſtakes placed in the ſea, the outwardmoſt of which are driven in the bottom on nine fathoms water; and they appear to ſtrangers like a wood in the ſea. There are ſeveral villages ſtanding between Verſua and Bombay, on the ſea-ſhore, but Bandara is the moſt conſpicuous, which fronts Mahim on Bombay, about a mile diſtant. The Portugueze have

ſome great guns planted at Bandara, but they have no trade, becauſe the river belongs to the Engliſh; and all cuſtoms of goods, either imported or exported, are paid to the cuſtom-houſe of Mahim. The mouth of the river is peſtered with rocks, that forbid entrance to any veſſels of burden.

In anno 1694, the Muſkat Arabs made a deſcent on Salſet, and committed great depredations in plundering and burning villages and churches, killing the prieſts, and carried about 1400 captives into irredeemable ſlavery. And about the year 1720, the prieſts of Salſet diſturbed the Engliſh at Mahim, animating the people to arms; but a bomb or two thrown into the church at Bandara, had no reſpect to the prieſthood, but ſacrilegiouſly killed one or two, beſides ſome lay brothers, which made them know that war was not their trade. They were alſo troubleſome to the Engliſh in anno 1722, but the Engliſh ſurpriſed a parcel that were about repairing an old fort, contrary to articles of agreement, and killed a ſcore or two, which made the reſt take to their heels, and be quiet.

CHAP. XVII.—*Gives a Deſcription of Bombay, with ſome hiſtorical Remarks on its Wars, Government and Trade, till anno* 1687, *when the Foundation of a War was laid, which proved the Ruin of the then Engliſh Eaſt India Company.*

BOMBAY comes next in courſe, an iſland belonging to the crown of England. It was a part of Katharine of Portugal's portion, when ſhe was married to Charles II. of Great Britain, in anno 1662. Its ground is ſterile, and not to be improved. It has but little good water on it, and the air is ſomewhat unhealthful, which is chiefly imputed to their dunging their cocoa-nut trees with Buckſhoe, a ſort of ſmall fiſhes which their ſea abounds in. They being laid to the roots of the trees, putrify, and cauſe a moſt unſavoury ſmell; and in the mornings there is generally ſeen a thick fog among thoſe trees, that affects both the brains and lungs of Europeans, and breed conſumptions, fevers, and fluxes.

After the marriage, King Charles ſent my Lord Malberry, with four or five ſhips of war, to take poſſeſſion of it, and the King of Portugal ſent a viceroy to deliver it, and all its royalties, to the ſaid Lord, and Sir Abraham Shipman was ordered to be governor for King Charles. They arrived at Bombay in September 1663, but the church withſtood the crown, and diſobeyed the order: nor would they acknowledge the viceroy, unleſs he would come into their meaſures, which, rather than loſe his new dignity, he did. And the Engliſh fleet was forced to go to Swally to land their men, and get refreſhments; but the governor of Surat, in whoſe diſtrict Swally is, grew jealous of the numbers and bravery of the Engliſh, and threatened the factory eſtabliſhed in Surat, if they did not ſpeedily re-embark, which, to avoid ſuſpicion, they did, and the governor allowed them the free uſe of the markets, ſo that they had no want of proviſions and merchandize whilſt they ſtayed there. In January 1664, my lord went back to England, carrying two ſhips with him, and left Sir Abraham with the reſt, to paſs the weſterly monſoons, in ſome port on the coaſt, but being unacquainted, choſe a deſolate iſland, called Aujadiva, to winter at. It is ſo far from an harbour, that it is even but a bad road for ſhipping in thoſe boiſterous ſouth-weſt winds and turbulent ſea; however he landed all the land forces, and built huts to defend them from the weather. The iſland is barren, but has ſome ſprings of good water. It is about a mile long, and 300 paces broad. Here they ſtayed from April to October, in which time they buried above 200 of their men.

When

When the monſoons were over, the ſquadron put to ſea, and put into Bombay, to try if the church had conſidered on the obedience due to the King of Portugal's orders, or if they had a mind to draw the arms of England, as well as their Sovereign's, upon them. Some of them had not forgot what damages Spain and Portugal had ſuſtained by the Engliſh fleet in Cromwell's time, adviſed the church to obey the King, ſetting forth the miſeries they ſhould be brought into in caſe of non-compliance. At length their holy zeal abated, and they were content to admit of a treaty, but, before the treaty was concluded, Sir Abraham died, and one Mr. Humphrey Cook, who was next in commiſſion, continued the treaty, and articled that the inhabitants ſhould enjoy their lands and religion under the King of England, but forgot to inſert the royalties appending on Bombay, which reached as far as Verſua on Salſet, which omiſſion has been a bone of contention for both parties ever ſince.

Mr. Cook, according to the treaty, took poſſeſſion of the iſland, in the King's name, and forthwith began to fortify regularly, and, to ſave charges of building an houſe for the governor, built a fort round an old ſquare houſe, which ſerved the Portugueze for a place of retreat, when they were diſturbed by their enemies, till forces could be ſent from other places to relieve them.

After the fort was lined out, and the foundations laid, Sir Gervas Lucas arrived from England with two ſhips, but affairs being ſettled before he came, did not ſtay at Bombay longer than January 1666, and left the government of the iſland in the hands of Mr. Cook and his council, the preſidency for the then company, reſiding at Surat. Their trade flouriſhed, and increaſed wonderfully; but, after the fort was finiſhed, the King finding, that the charge of keeping Bombay in his own hands would not turn to account, the revenues being ſo very inconſiderable, he made it over to the Eaſt India Company in fee tail, which continues ſo till this time.

In building the fort where it is, Mr. Cook ſhewed his want of ſkill in architecture, where a proper and convenient ſituation ought to be well conſidered, for it is built on a point of rocks that jets into the ſea, where there are no ſprings of freſh water, and it ſtands within 800 paces of an hill, called Dungeree, that overlooks it, and an enemy might much incommode it from that hill, as we found by experience in anno 1689, when the Mogul ſent an army on Bombay. As for the magnitude, figure, and materials of the fort, there is no fault to be found in them, for it is a regular tetragon, whoſe outward polygon is about 500 paces, and it is built of a good hard ſtone, and it can mount above 100 pieces of cannon; and that is all that is commendable in it: but had it been built about 500 paces more to the ſouthward, on a more acute point of rocks, called Mendam's Point, it had been much better on ſeveral accounts. Firſt, it had been much nearer the road for protecting the ſhipping there, it had been farther off Dungeree hill, it would have had a ſpring of pretty good water, which ſerved the hoſpital that was afterwards built there, and the ſhipping had been better ſecured that lay in the little bay between the point where the fort now ſtands, and Mendham's Point.

They went about building ſeveral other little forts and ſconces in convenient places, to hinder an invaſion, if any of their neighbours ſhould have attempted one. At Mazagun there was one, at Souree one, at Sian one, at Mahim one, and Worlee had one, and ſome great guns mounted on each of them. Notwithſtanding the company was at ſo much charge in building of forts, they had no thoughts of building a church, for many years after Sir George Oxendon began to build one, and charitable collections were gathered for that uſe; but when Sir George died, piety grew ſick, and the building of churches was grown unfaſhionable. Indeed it was a long while before the iſland

had people enough to fill a chapel that was in the fort, for as faſt as recruits came from Britain, they died in Bombay, which got the iſland a bad name.

There were reckoned above 5000l. had been gathered towards building the church, but Sir John Child, when he came to reign in Bombay, converted the money to his own uſe, and never more was heard of it. The walls were built by his predeceſſors to five yards high, and ſo it continued till the year 1715, when Mr. Boone came to the chair, who ſet about building of it, and, in five years time, finiſhed it by his own benevolence, and other gentlemen, who, by his perſuaſions, were brought in to contribute. The Company alſo contributed ſomething towards that pious end.

About the year 1674, Preſident Aungier, a gentleman well qualified for governing, came to the chair, and, leaving Surat to the management of deputies, came to Bombay, and rectified many things that were amiſs, and brought the face of juſtice to be unveiled, which before lay hid in a ſingle perſon's breaſt, who diſtributed her favours according to the governor's direction. He erected a formal court, where pleas were brought in and debated; but that method laſted but a few years, when Sir John Child came to the chair the court was done. Mr. Aungier adviſed the Company to encloſe the town from Dungeree to Mendham's Point, for ſecuring the trading people from the inſults of their troubleſome beggarly neighbours on the continent; but his propoſals were rejected, and that neceſſary piece of work was reſerved for Mr. Boone alſo. And happy it was for the inhabitants that the town was ſecured by a wall, otherwiſe Connajee Augarie would have haraſſed them with continual inſults ſince his war with the Engliſh began.

The name of Mr. Aungier is much revered by the ancient people of Surat and Bombay to this day. His juſtice and dexterity in managing affairs, got him ſuch eſteem, that the natives of thoſe places made him the common arbitrator of their differences in point of traffick: nor was it ever known that any party receded from his award.

There are no dangers in going into Bombay Road, but one ſunk rock that lies about half a league from the caſtle. It is dry at low water, and has a channel within it deep enough for the greateſt ſhips to paſs. I never heard of any damage done by that rock, but to a ſmall ſhip called the Baden, which by careleſneſs, run on it at noonday, and was loſt.

In the year 1673, the Dutch Eaſt India Company having an eye on Bombay, ſent a ſquadron of ſhips, with a little army, to try if they could take it in amongſt their other conqueſts of India, but, on their landing, met with ſo warm a reception, that they were glad to get off with the loſs of two or three hundred of their men, and ſo left the Engliſh to the quiet poſſeſſion of it.

The governors proved tolerable good, till 1682, when Sir John Child ſpoiled it. The India Company knowing how to make uſe of King Charles's neceſſities, made him ſome preſents of money, and he, in grateful acknowledgments, granted them power to rob their fellow ſubjects in India; but they uſed that power to their own deſtruction; for Mr. Child's pride and oppreſſions grew ſo intolerable, that even the gentlemen in the Company's ſervice had not the free exerciſe of trade, and much leſs private merchants. And he, trampling on the eſtabliſhed laws of England, by advice of his nameſake who governed the Company in Europe, by impriſoning and murdering their fellow ſubjects, grew hateful to all.

In anno 1684, he made his brother-in-law, Mr. Ward, his deputy of Bombay, who deſigned to fiſh in troubled waters. Mr. Child being honoured with the title of baronet, by the powerful motive of the Company's money to the King, he, at the ſame time,

got the commiſſion of general, which puffed him up ſo, that he contemned all laws human and divine. The military gentlemen, who had made contracts in England for their ſalaries, though paid at 20 per cent. loſs, yet to ſhew himſelf a good œconomiſt for his maſter's intereſts, ſent his deputy orders to reduce their pay to 30 per cent. leſs than it was before, though it was ſo ſmall, that they could hardly bring both ends to bear at the month's end. That hard pill the ſons of Mars could not ſwallow, and ſo bent their minds on a revolution: and having come to ſome knowledge of Mr. Ward's tampering with the Sevajee to land on the iſland, they detected ſome letters of his to that purpoſe, which gave them a ground for a revolt. The Sevajee indeed ſent a fleet of 80 ſail of ſmall veſſels to land on the back bay which faces the ocean; but, on their trying to land ſome forces, they were warmly repulſed, and loſt many of their men, which made them draw off again in confuſion, and Mr. Ward, being confronted with his own letters, and having little to ſay in his own defence, was made a priſoner; and General Child's faction was ſent to Surat to him. The iſlanders, taking the government of the iſland into their own hands, choſe captain Kegwine major of the military, to ſuperintend military affairs, and one captain Thorburn to overſee the civil.

General Child ſoon diſpatched letters to England, and gave an account of the rebellion, and King Charles diſpatched a frigate, called the Phœnix, for India, to demand the reſtitution of the iſland, and put it again into the Company's hands. They arrived at Bombay, in September 1685, and ſhewed the King's orders, with a full pardon to all who yielded obedience, which unanimouſly the iſlanders did; but, for their own ſecurity, drew up ſome articles to be ſigned by general Child and captain Tyrrel, who commanded the Phœnix, one of which articles was, that any perſon that had a mind to go for England, ſhould have free liberty, and a paſſage on board the Company's ſhipping, which being agreed to and ſigned, captain Kegwine took his paſſage on board the firſt ſhip; but Thorburn being a married man, and having a ſmall eſtate, as well as a family on the iſland, could not ſo eaſily remove, but truſted to the act of grace, and the treaty they had made.

After general Child had gotten the reins of government again into his hands, he became more inſupportable than ever. He erected a court of inquiſition, and made an old Greek, one captain Garey, judge, who had condemned a man to be hanged on a Tueſday, and the man ſuffered according to ſentence; but, on Friday after, the poor dead fellow was ordered to be called before the court, but he would not comply with the orders.

Captain Thorburn was the firſt that felt the weight of Mr. Child's diſpleaſure. He got ſome fellows to ſwear him out of his little eſtate, who brought in forged bonds for ſums borrowed from one King, whom he never had any dealings with, and found witneſſes to atteſt them. All that Thorburn had, was too little to pay the ſums, for which his eſtate was taken from him, and himſelf put in priſon, without the permiſſion of one ſlave to attend or ſerve him in priſon. His own wife was not permitted to viſit him, which hard uſage brought him into a violent fever, that ſoon put an end to his life. About two days before he died, the goaler acquainted his lady of his danger, and ſhe, with two ſmall children, went to the general, and, on their knees, begged that a doctor might be permitted to viſit her huſband, but he was inexorable, and would allow no ſuch favour, only granted her leave to be in priſon with him till he died, and ſhe ſtayed but one day and a part of a night till he expired. When the tragedy was over, ſhe was going home to her diſtreſſed family, but found her ſlaves and children removed into a little out-houſe of hers, and the doors of her dwelling-houſe ſhut againſt her. The lady had two ſiſters married on the iſland, and ſhe, hoping to find relief from them,

went to viſit the eldeſt, but ſhe met her at the door and told her ſhe could have no admittance, her huſband being liable to proſcription, if he admitted her into his houſe; and ſhe believed the other ſiſter's huſband durſt not entertain her in his houſe. The poor lady, full of ſorrow and grief, being abandoned by all her friends and relations, went back to her diſtreſſed family, and, having no viſible way of ſupport, had once ſome thoughts of putting an end to her miſeries; but her ſiſters, unknown to their huſbands, ſent her ſome relief by a truſty female ſlave in the night, and a letter (that they deſired her to burn as ſoon as ſhe had read), wherein they promiſed to be aſſiſting in the maintenance of her and her children, till the Almighty ſhould think proper to deliver her out of the perſecution.

The poor lady had both beauty and diſcretion enough to recommend her to the virtuous part of mankind; but none of the gentlemen that wiſhed her well, durſt make addreſſes to her, only one, who had the command of a ſhip in the Indian merchants ſervice; as he had no dependence on the general, nor his maſters in England, thought he could not well come within the reach of their perſecution, ſo he courted her, and married her, but that was thought a capital crime, and the general acquainted his Indian owners, that without they diſcharged him their ſervice, they ſhould alſo find the weight of his diſpleaſure; and accordingly, to avoid conteſts with his excellency, he was diſcharged: but grief put an end to his troubles, for he died within a year after his marriage, and left the poor lady another child to take care of, and above 10001. ſterling of ſtock for her and her family's ſupport.

As the Phœnix was in her way to India, ſhe called at the iſland of Johanna, and there found an Engliſh ſhip, called the Briſtol, ſtopping ſome leaks in her bottom. Captain Tyrrel, by a diſpenſing power from the King of England, ſeized her, and deſigned to have carried her to Bombay, in company of a ſmall veſſel that he had ſeized on the coaſt of Madagaſcar. The Briſtol ſunk the third day after they put to ſea, but the other came ſafe. The Briſtol's men were looked on as pirates, and one Mr. Mews, a ſupercargo was arraigned before the general's tribunal, where he himſelf ſat lord chief juſtice, and, after his uſual manner of beſtowing opprobrious names, he condemned Mr. Mews to loſe all that he had in the world, and 10001. beſide, and to lie in priſon, at his own charges, till the fine was paid; but Mr. Vaux, who was judge of the iſland in petty affairs, ſhewed him the weakneſs of his ſentence, and perſuaded him to ſet the poor man at liberty, and ordered him a paſſage for England.

When Mr. Child firſt got his commiſſion to plunder, there were two of his own council at Surat that were great eye-ſores to him, viz. Meſſieurs Petit and Boucher. They were gentlemen of good intereſt in England, and had great remittances of monies on the Company's ſhipping coming yearly to them, to buy up diamonds and ſend home. General Child let them know, that he expected half of their commiſſions as a perquiſite to his poſt, but they could not be brought to think ſo: however they condeſcended, that if he would join his commiſſions to theirs, which were much greater than his, they would be content to make an equal dividend in the commiſſions; but that propoſition he rejected, and was reſolved to carry his point by fraud, and wrote to the Company in England, of thoſe two gentlemen's ill ſervices relating to the Company's affairs, though none knew of any, but Mr. Child himſelf. Thoſe gentlemen's friends in the committee of the company in England, acquainted them, by letters over land, of the danger they were in, and gave them warning to be on their guard; and they accordingly took an houſe contiguous to the factory, and, by degrees, conveyed what they thought fit into their new lodgings, but retained their old ones in the factory. When the ſhipping arrived, and the Company's packet was opened, and read at the

council table, Mr. Petit ſat in his place as ſecond, and Mr. Boucher in his as fourth. When ſome few paragraphs were read, one was to diſmiſs thoſe gentlemen from the Company's ſervice, and were forthwith ordered to withdraw, which accordingly they did, and went to their new lodgings without the factory. As ſoon as the council broke up, Mr. Child ſent orders to confine them in their factory rooms; but word being brought that they were not in the factory, but their doors were locked, he gave orders to break them open, and ſecure all that was found in them for him, eſpecially their papers and books; but they found nothing but a bed furniſhed, and ſome empty trunks. When Mr. Child underſtood that their effects and papers were removed, he raved like a mad man, but to no purpoſe, ſo he perpetrated their deſtruction by fraud; but the proſcribed being well beloved by the brokers, who were always of Mr. Child's cabinet council, were timely advertiſed of his plots, and prepared to counterplot him. He was the firſt that bribed the Mogul's governors to join in villainy with a preſident; but 'tis now a very common piece of policy at Surat, and has been often made uſe of againſt the Engliſh Company, ſince Mr. Child's time: however, for a ſum of about 4000l. ſterling, he got the governor of the town to ſtretch his commiſſion, in pretending to diſtribute juſtice, which is only the Cadjee's place to do. He got the governor to command the two victims to meet at a garden near the town, and to deliver them up to the general, who was there with a dozen grenadiers to receive them, and carry them on board of a ſhip that lay ready to tranſport them to Bombay, and there to feed on the bread of affliction as long as they lived. He had ſuborned a gentleman to draw up an account, wherein the delinquents were brought in debtors to the Company 114,000 rupees, or 14,250l. ſterling, and that gentleman ſwore to the account. The two defendants being forewarned of the plot, had given bonds to their Mahometan and Heathen friends, for above double the ſum that the honeſt general demanded; and it is againſt their law to force any perſon out of the Mogul's dominions, who is indebted to his ſubjects; but when Mr. Harris had ſworn to the account, (for that was the gentleman's name) the governor ordered the two gentlemen defendants to be put in irons, and to be delivered to Mr. Child; but their friends proteſted againſt their going, till they had ſatisfied their creditors, and declared the governor liable to make good all the ſums contained in their bonds, if by violence they were ſent away. That proteſt ſtartled the general and governor both, ſo the gentlemen were delivered to their friends, and the governor was no loſer by the general's honeſty: however, they could not live in quiet, ſo Mr. Petit bought a ſhip to go a trading, whilſt Mr. Boucher went to the Mogul's court, or rather his camp, to try if he could procure a phirmaund or charter to be under the Mogul's protection; but the Company's money had crept into the ſecretary of ſtate's purſe, which retarded Mr. Boucher's affair ſome time: but the general, being afraid of his ſucceſs, ſent a Banyan from Bombay to poiſon Mr. Boucher. This Banyan being often about his tent, got acquainted with his cook, thinking him to be the propereſt perſon to make uſe of in that affair; and, after ſome diſcourſes about General Child and Mr. Boucher's quarrel, he told the cook, that he had a commiſſion from the general to ſettle a ſalary on him during life, and the ſum of 500 rupees in hand, if he would poiſon his maſter. The cook ſeemed to like the propoſals, and bid the Banyan bring him the poiſon and the 500 rupees, and accordingly the next day he did, and, on the delivery of the money, he gave him a paper with ſome powder of white arſenick to mix with his maſter's rice, which is a common diſh there. The cook gave him large promiſes of performing what he would, and ſo left him, and went to his maſter with the bag of money and the paper of arſenick, and told him, that he had made a bargain with General Child's vakeel, or attorney, to poiſon him, and told him

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the terms he had agreed on, and ſhewed the money and poiſon. Mr. Boucher commended the cook's fidelity, and told him, that he would give him 600 rupees to be honeſt, and a maintenance during life. And Mr. Boucher being bred a druggiſt in his youth, preſently knew the poiſon, and carried it to the Cautwal or Sheriff, and ſhewed it. The Cautwal uſed his utmoſt endeavours to catch the Banyan, but he could never be found there.

Mr. Boucher had been fourteen months ſoliciting to procure his phirmaund; but his repeated petitions to the ſecretary had no effect: but he had an Engliſhman, one Swan, for his interpreter, who often took a large doſe of arrack. Aurengzeb one day had ordered his camp to remove to another place, and had got on horſeback. Swan took hold of that opportunity, and got pretty near the King, holding his petition or rocca above his head, and cried with a loud voice in the Perſian language, that his maſter wanted juſtice done him. The Mogul ſeeing him in an European garb, ordered him to be brought to him, and aſked the cauſe of his complaint. He anſwered, that his maſter had been ſo long at court about procuring a phirmaund to become a ſubject of His Majeſty's, to be freed from the oppreſſions of the Engliſh Company, who were grown intolerable by the connivance of His Majeſty's governors of Surat, and therefore conjured His Majeſty, as he ſhould anſwer before God at the great day, to do his maſter juſtice, and grant him a phirmaund. The King was ſtartled at the bold expreſſions, ordered his ſecretary to get one ready for the ſeal againſt the next day, which was accordingly done, and Mr. Boucher had it delivered to him as ſoon as it was ſigned, and then took his leave of the court.

While Mr. Boucher was at court, Mr. Petit made ſome voyages into the Gulf of Perſia, and going thither once, met with ſome Sanganian pirates, who attacked him. He defended himſelf bravely, and beat them off; but his gunner firing a blunderbuſs out of one of the gun-room ports, blew the ſhip up, and the Sanganians took up thoſe that were ſaved by ſwimming, among whom was Mr. Petit himſelf.

The Sanganians carried their priſoners to Baet on Guzerat, and laid a ranſom on them, which Mr. Petit agreed on, and ſent letters to his friends at Surat to pay the money: but general Child hearing of Mr. Petit's misfortune, and where he was, diſpatched a Banyan to Baet, to perſuade the pirates not to part with their priſoner under 25,000l. ſterling, and they hearkening to the Banyan, would not ſtand to the ſtipulated ranſom of 5000l. Mr. Petit ſtayed about ſix months their priſoner, and then died through grief, and the ill treatment he had received by Mr. Child's perſuaſion; but the pirates getting no ranſom, curſed the general for his counſel.

In anno 1683, the Dutch diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh Company of their factory of Bantain, on the weſt end of Java; and the Engliſh having a mind to regain it by force of arms, built ſeveral ſhips between 60 and 70 guns, ſo that in anno 1685, they had a fleet ready victualled, and manned with 7 or 8000 men, to the number of 23 ſail of the line of battle ſhips, which expence, and the continual craving of the court, brought their ſtock very low; yet ſince the maw of the court was not enough crammed, the King laid embargoes on the fleet from time to time, for nine months, and then the Dutch ambaſſador had orders to preſent His Majeſty with 100,000l. if he would command the Company not to uſe violence. He ſnapped at the bait, and defeated the deſign to all intents and purpoſes.

CHAP. XVIII.—*Continues the Obſervations on the Affairs of Bombay, with the Articles exhibited by Mr. Child, in order to embroil the Company's Affairs with the Mogul and his Subjects.*

THE Company having ſuch a number of great ſhips on their hands, were obliged to ſend them abroad; but having no ſtock to employ them, ordered the general and chiefs of their factories in India to borrow what ſums they could on the Company's credit, from the Indian merchants, to lade their ſhips home, which accordingly they did, and what they could not lade home, they were to employ by freights in India. And I ſaw a letter from the governor of the Company in England, intimating, that when they had got as much credit of the Mogul's ſubjects as they could, then they would pick quarrels with the creditors, and put a general ſtop to their trade, which was accordingly done; for in 1686 and 1687, the Surat merchants traded briſkly by ſea to Mocha, Perſia, and Baſſora, to the weſtward, and to Bengal, Atcheen, Malacca, and Stam, to the eaſtward. The general granting paſſes to all who required them, then, about the latter end of the year 1687, he laid down a complaint and grievance before the governor of Surat, and demanded redreſs and ſatisfaction. The articles of his grievances I ſaw in a printed copy, and were as follows, in 35 articles.

" I. Laſt year a ſhip of Molah Abdel Gafoar's coming from Juddah, in her return met with two Daniſh pirates, who made a prize of her. The news coming to Surat, the ſaid Molah Abdel Gafoar, by perſuaſions of Meir Nazam, and other merchants, made their complaints to Sababat Caun (then governor), and other officers of Surat, ſaying, the Engliſh belonging to Surat had taken his ſhip, at the ſame time ſending his attorney to court, to complain to the King, who ordered the governor, &c. officers of Surat, to enquire into it, and to do juſtice accordingly. In this affair, by bribery, and diſgracing me to the King and his ſubjects, as alſo the Dutch, French, and other nations, making them believe it to be true, for which diſgrace I am not able to trade in theſe parts; but I hope the diſgrace will light on him, that hereafter no ſuch ſcandal may be put on me, or any other, we having traded here theſe eighty or ninety years, but never before accuſed as robbers, but daily enriched the port of Surat.

" II. The complaints of Mulah Abdel Gafoar have been much to my prejudice, by reaſon I could not clear my money out of the cuſtom-houſe, nor ſhip my goods for Europe, which were ſeized and hindred, which hath made me leave the port and trading, and retire to Bombay. I have by me 30 or 40 lacks of rupees in money and goods in a readineſs; if you pleaſe to ſend any body, you may be certified of the truth. Conſider the loſs I am at in the uſe of my money, damage of my goods, and detaining my ſhips a year. I deſire your anſwer.

" III. Mulah Abdel Gafoar's diſgracing me, makes people afraid to truſt me, my credit being loſt by his falſe reports, having 12 ſhips laden with goods, which I deſigned to have ſent to Surat, there to have provided goods, and relade for Europe; but his diſgracing me is the occaſion of the great charges I am at, my ſhips wintering in theſe parts, and my goods lying on my hands, we merchants trading for profit, which hindrance hath not only been a great loſs to the King in his cuſtoms, but to me, which I muſt anſwer to my maſters.

" IV. Mr. Petit and Mr. Boucher being indebted to the Company ſeveral ſums of money, I would have called them to account for the ſame; but they, like traitors, went to the governor Cortalab Caun for protection. As for Mr. Petit he is dead and gone

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to the devil. Mr. Boucher ſtill remains at Surat. I demand him, his wife, or child, children, family, and all Engliſhmen belonging to him, with their effects, that they be delivered to me, and that he may not make his eſcape from Surat.

" V. Formerly ſuch goods as we brought from the Malabar coaſt, Mocha, and other parts, which were for Europe, and not to ſell here, we had liberty to bring them aſhore at Swally, to clean them, and ſhip again, without paying cuſtom; but the governor Cortalab Caun, in his time, forced us to pay cuſtom for thoſe goods. My demand is, that what he took more than the former cuſtoms, may be reſtored, and he do not the like again.

" VI. Of late years we bring more money than formerly, which hath much enriched the port, of which the governor did acquaint the King, who was pleaſed to take no more than 2 per cent. we paying no more for many years. Of late, the governor of Surat did write to the King, to make us pay 3½ per cent. for money as well as goods, which has been a great prejudice to our trade. My deſire is, that we may pay no more than formerly, and that the former overplus may be repaid. Which exactings made Salabat Caun over-rate our goods in the cuſtom houſe, to our great damage.

" VII. Formerly we never paid cuſtom for apparel or proviſions, but of late Salabat Caun forced us to pay cuſtom for them. My deſire is, that may be re-paid, and, for the future, no more trouble on that account.

" VIII. When our goods came out of the country, if robbed by thieves, or otherwiſe, on the road, it is the King's order, that the governors and officers make good all damages, or elſe the King to ſatisfy us himſelf. Few years ſince our goods coming from Amadabant and Durrimgum, were robbed in the way to Surat. We have petitioned the governor of Surat for ſatisfaction, but never obtained any. My deſire is, that the King order ſatisfaction to be made for the loſs we ſuſtained, being great and conſiderable.

" IX. Several of the natives are indebted to us, of whom we can get no ſatisfaction, having ſeveral times made complaints to the governors, where they reſide, for their aſſiſtance, but, as yet, could have no redreſs from them. Our deſire is, that all governors and their officers may be aſſiſtant to us in recovering our debts.

" X. We bring more treaſure into the country than any other nation, which is carried to the cuſtom-houſe; when cleared from thence, we ſend it to the mint to be coined; but the officers, for their own intereſt, delay the coining, to the hindrance of the diſpatching our buſineſs, for, if our caſh was coined in time, we could have our inveſtments out of the country, and lade our ſhips according to the monſoons or ſeaſon of the year. Our requeſt is, that, for the future, the coiners may not delay the coining, and that our treaſure may be coined apart, for its more ſpeedy performance.

" XI. At the arrival of our ſhips, when unladen, we carry our goods to the cuſtom-houſe, where they are thrown up and down very careleſsly, where they are broken, damaged and ſtolen. Our requeſt is, that we may have a ware-houſe apart by that of the Dutch, to put our goods in, that we may be no further ſufferers; that when we diſpoſe of our goods, or ſend them to our factory, that the cuſtomer take account of the King's cuſtoms, clearing them without farther moleſtation.

" XII. Formerly when we cleared our treaſure, &c. goods from the cuſtom-houſe, we uſed to make up the account of our cuſtoms at the latter end of the year, and then paid it. Of late years, the officers of the cuſtom-houſe daily and monthly ſend to our broker, demanding the cuſtom; for which reaſon, we are forced to fee the officers not to affront our broker, which has been much to our prejudice. Our requeſt is, that they demand not the cuſtoms till the end of the year, as formerly accuſtomary.

" XIII. When

" XIII. When Gaſſadean Caun was Governor of Surat, by order of the King, the city was walled, at which time we had a garden near Brampore gate, about which we built 34 ſhops, ſtables for horſes, a ſummer-houſe, and ſeveral other convenient places, all firm buildings, which coſt to the amount of 25,000 rupees, when the wall came near our garden, our buildings were broke down, and our garden ſpoiled. We petioned the governor for ſatisfaction, he promiſed to allow us charges out of the King's treaſury; but we have not received any ſatisfaction. We demand ſatisfaction for the ſaid charges.

" XIV. Formerly when our goods came from other parts to Surat, we paid no more than due cuſtom, and ſhipped them for Europe, or other places, without any farther trouble. Of late years the officers of thoſe places, from whence our goods come, put us to much trouble in demanding the governor's and officers of Surat's receipts of us, and many times detain our goods on that account, by which their proceedings our ſhips ſometimes return empty, and ſometimes are forced to remain in the country, which is a great loſs to the King in his cuſtoms, as well as to us. Our requeſt is, that, for the future, ſuch receipts may not be demanded of us, but that we may have the ſame liberty as formerly.

" XVI. When our goods are in a readineſs, we ſend them to the accuſtomed place to be ſhopt, with a true invoice of the contents of the bales. Formerly they uſed to make choice of one or two bales, and if they found them according to invoice, then to ſhop and clear the reſt without any farther trouble. Of late the cuſtomer and officers, for their intereſt, and to delay time, open moſt of our goods, which is not only a great charge to us in repacking our goods, but alſo our goods are damaged. Our deſire is, that they may be ſhopt and ſhipt according to invoice, without any farther trouble, as accuſtomary.

" XVI. Our ſloops and boats coming from Swally to the cuſtom-houſe, the Meerbar uſed to ſearch them, if empty, cleared them, without any farther trouble. Of late Years the Meerbar, &c. officers will not clear them in three or four days, which is a great hindrance to us in the diſpatch of our buſineſs. Our deſire is, they may be ſearched and cleared as formerly, without delay.

" XVII. Sometimes merchants that buy our goods, break, plead poverty, that they have not wherewithal to pay us, applying ourſelves to the governor and officers for juſtice, and their aſſiſtance, we can have no redreſs. Our deſire is, either that the governor, and officers order payment to be made, or to ſatisfy us out of the King's cuſtoms, that we may be no longer ſufferers by his ſubjects.

" XVIII. Sometimes we ſend our brokers or ſervants to the governor and officers, as our affairs require, who cannot be admitted without bribing the ſervants of ſaid governor and officers. We deſire it may be remedied for the future.

" XIX. Our horſes that come from Perſia, Baſſora, and at their arrival we uſed to ſend them to our ſtables, without farther delay. Of late years at their landing are carried to the governor, his ſeal put about their necks, and ourſelves not truſted to uſe or diſpoſe of them. Our deſire is, that we may either ride them, or diſpoſe of them as formerly.

" XX. The governor and officers often ſend to us for broad cloth, ſword-blades, &c.; in civility we cannot deny them, but when we ſend for the money, they deny the payment, and abuſe our ſervants, by which we are ſufferers. Our deſire is, that, for the future, if the governor and officers deſire any goods, they may pay for them before they carry them away.

 " XXI. Goods

" XXI. Goods provided at Agra, Amadabant, &c. coming to Baroach, the governor forces us to pay 18 per mill. cuſtom, which is contrary to the King's order, for we ought to pay but in one place as the Moors and Banyans. Our deſire is to be cleared of that cuſtom, that at the arrival of our goods at Surat, they may be ſent for out abroad without farther trouble, paying the King his due cuſtom. We deſire the ſame goods ſhipped at Baroach, Cambay, &c. that our ſhips may not loſe their paſſage to Europe.

" XXII. At the arrival of our European ſhips we ſend our goods to the Cuſtom-houſe, when cleared, carry them to the factory, ſometimes we have preſent vend, and ſometimes we ſend them to other places, as we think convenient, and for our intereſt; in caſe we ſend our goods to any other place, within the term of ſix months, then to pay half cuſtom for the ſaid goods, but if kept a full year, then to pay full cuſtom. Sometimes we ſend to Swally more goods than will lade our ſhips, the remainder we dare not keep there, for fear of fire or thieves. Our requeſt is, that for all ſuch goods as have paid cuſtom, we may freely bring them to Surat, keep them there for our next ſhipping, and ſhip them off without farther trouble or demands.

" XXIII. Our ſervants, Engliſh, Gentows, and others, many times we ſend up the country for the ſpeedier diſpatching of our affairs. When we ſend to them for our accounts, being at a diſtance and out of our reach, like to Mr. Petit and Mr. Boucher, they go to the governors for protection, by which means we cannot call them to an account, to our great loſs, and farther proceedings againſt them. Our requeſt is, that whatever Engliſhman, employed in your ſervice, without our leave and diſcharge, that they, with their effects and eſtates, be delivered to us, that they may not be protected, but we may proceed againſt them, as we think convenient.

" XXIV. It is near 90 years that we have traded here. At our firſt coming, the King granted us a piece of ground for a bunder to repair our ſhips and veſſels. Of late years Meer Naſſam hath forced it from us, and made it a garden. We are deſtitute of a place for repairing our veſſels, and other conveniencies. Our requeſt is, that we may have the ſame ground as formerly, or ſome other near the water ſide, fitting our occaſions.

" XXV. Formerly we uſed to pay for each bale of indigo, two and an half rupees per bale, without opening it. Of late years the officers open it, valuing it at their pleaſure, damaging the goods, which is a great loſs and charge to us in repacking it. Our deſire is, that, for the future, it may not be opened, paying the cuſtom as formerly.

" XXVI. The governor and officers buy of us, for the King's account, iron, guns, lead, giving us ſome money in hand. When they are turned out, and others come, when we demand the remainder, they delay the payment of the money, ſaying the King did not want our goods, that we may take them again, ſometimes after they have kept them one or two years. Our requeſt is, that whatever they buy of us for the King's account, we may be paid before they take them from us, and whatever goods we have that the King has no occaſion for, we may diſpoſe of them at our pleaſure.

" XXVII. As to the iſland of Bombay, it produceth no corn. The Mogul's fleet often winters there, which makes proviſions ſcarce and dear. We are in want of ſupplies from Surat, and other the Mogul's ports. When we ſend to theſe places, the ſaid governor and officers will not let us have any without giving them one and one

fourth per cent. Our requeſt is, to be free of this tax, that we may have liberty of ſending what is neceſſary for ſupply of the King's people and ſaid iſland.

" XXVIII. A ſhip, with her cargo, to the amount of 254,000 rupees, came out of England without our King's licence, which came to Surat. Our King's orders came to us to ſeize ſhip and cargo, which accordingly we did; but Salabat Caun then being governor, forced her from us, and delivered her to Mr. Boucher. Our deſire is, the ſaid ſhip may be re-delivered us, that Mr. Boucher and his broker give us a juſt and true account of the remainder of the cargo, and that the governor take care it be not ſquandered away by them.

" XXIX. It is the King's grant, that merchants pay but one cuſtom for their goods, without farther moleſtation, and, when they pay it, to take a diſcharge. Of late years, the officers have forced us to pay double cuſtom, beſides their perquiſites which they have demanded, which has been a great hindrance to the timely arrival of our goods. We deſire we may not be forced to pay more than accuſtomary.

" XXX. We formerly rented a piece of ground for ſtables, on which we were at conſiderable charges in building and reparations. Meer Naſſam, by buying it, deprived us of it. We deſire he may ſatisfy us the ſaid charges.

" XXXI. Some years ſince we loſt an anchor at the river's mouth, which Mirza Moſſum's people took up. We have often demanded it, offering to defray the charges he was at, but cannot get it. Our requeſt is, that his ſon Mirza Mahomud Araff deliver the ſame, we paying the charges they were at.

" XXXII. At the arrival of our ſhips, they ſend the boat up with news. At the cuſtom-houſe they ſtop her a whole day before they will let our people come on ſhore with letters, which is a great impediment to our affairs. Our requeſt is, that they may not be hindred for the future, but ſuffered to land as ſoon as they come to the cuſtom-houſe.

" XXXIII. As concerning my Bengal, we hear ſeveral ſhips have been taken and burnt, in which affair we are not concerned, neither do we know whether peace be concluded there or not. Our requeſt is, that the King iſſue out his orders, that no perſon queſtion us, or make demands on us on that account.

" XXXIV. Some years ago the Sedee, with the King's fleet, wintered at Bombay, in which time ſome of his people murdered two of our Engliſhmen, which made our men reſolutely reſolve to revenge their death, but, with great perſuaſions were pacified, being promiſed ſatisfaction. We acquainted the governor of it, who ordered the murderers to be impriſoned; but, three days after, they were cleared by the Sedee. Our requeſt is, they may be delivered that we may proſecute them, and that juſtice may be done.

" XXXV. When we are minded to take our pleaſure out of the city, although we return before the uſual time of ſhutting the gates, the porters ſhut them againſt us, demanding money before they will let us enter the city. Our requeſt is, that order be given by the governor, that we be no more affronted by thoſe people."

Theſe grievances were the foundation on which General Child built a war with the Mogul, without ever ſending them to court to know the King's pleaſure, but, without declaring war, ſeized his ſubjects ſhips wherever they were found, although they had the ſanction of his own paſſes. If the fourth article be Chriſtian the Mahometans and Heathens abhor it. The ſeventeenth and twenty-third are unjuſt, as well as the twenty-eighth; and the thirty and thirty-firſt were but weak arguments to help to ſupport his complaints and raiſe a war, that coſt his maſters above 400,000 pounds before they could lay it, beſides the loſs of their credit with the Mogul and his ſubjects, which, to this time, is

not quite recovered. Or by what rule in policy could Sir Joſiah or Sir John Child think to rob, murder and deſtroy the Moguls ſubjects in one part of his dominions, and the Company to enjoy a free trade in the other parts? or how they could expect that he would ſtand neuter? let politicians anſwer them, and I will proceed.

The general having ſuch a number of great ſhips on his hands, and little employment for them, ſent them to Mocha, Perſia and Bengal, where the Suraters had ſent theirs under the protection of his paſſes. Captain Andrews in the Charles II. went to Mocha, and ſet up the King of England's flag on his factory; and there he ſeized two Engliſh ſhips, one from England, called the Streights Merchant, commanded by captain Bear, and another belonging to Mr. Samuel White at Siam. She was commanded by one Captain Wren, whom they killed in his cabin, becauſe he would not deliver his ſhip up voluntarily. There was but little of their cargoes on board of the ſhips, ſo they might as well have let them alone: However ſuch doings diſpleaſed the governor and merchants of Mocha, and they had a deſign to force Captain Andrews to reſtore the ſhips, but he ſuſpecting as much, fled on board, and left his colours flying on his factory.

He ſoon after left Mocha, and carried his two prizes with him, and Mr. Clive, ſuper-cargo of the Streights Merchant, got bills for his ſtock, payable at Grand Cairo, except about 60 bales of coffee that he carried with him to England, where it ſold very well, and the Company were obliged by the law to make good all the ſhip's cargo *pro rata*, as thoſe 60 bales ſold for, which amounted to 32,000 pounds. The Briſtol's cargo was alſo made good to her owners, with the ſhip that was taken at Johanna by the Phenix, which came to 60,000 pounds. And the Little Betty, that was alſo taken by the Phenix, in her way to India, coſt them 12,000 pounds, though ſhe and her cargo were ſold at Bombay for leſs than 600 pounds. The owner of that veſſel was one Mr. Haſtewell, a Quaker, and a ſubſtantial merchant in London, who arreſted Captain Tyrrel going off the exchange. The captain proffered King James for bail, but the Quaker would not accept of him, but was content to accept of Sir Joſeph Herne who became bail.

The Charles, Cæſar, and Royal James and Mary way-laid the Surat ſhipping, and brought in fourteen ſail to Bombay, where I ſaw them lying in anno 1688, and yet no war with the Mogul, only with the inhabitants of Surat, whom he threatened to humble.

In October 1688, he went to Surat road, in the Royal James and Mary, with three or four other ſhips of countenance, to try if he could bully the governor, and frighten the merchants into a compliance of loſing their eſtates, but was diſappointed in both. He ſtaid there till the beginning of January 1689, and then left Surat in a huff, and brought all the Engliſh ſhips along with him, except the ſhip Adventure, whom the Phenix had forced over the bar, when ſhe was lying at the river's mouth, taking in a cargo for England, under the protection of Mr. Boucher's Phirmaund, which was the grievance complained of in the 28th article: However, her ſupercargo dying, the ſhips bottom was eaten up with worms in the river, and part of the cargo remained many years in Mr. Boucher's poſſeſſion.

On the general's paſſage to Bombay, he met with a fleet of veſſels that were carrying corn to an army of the Mogul's that lay at Dunder-rajah-pore, about 14 leagues to the ſouthward of Bombay. That fleet he alſo ſeized, and carried to Bombay, though againſt the opinion of moſt of his council. Before this ſeizure he aſked the opinion of ſome ſea-officers; and one Captain Hilder, being the eldeſt, adviſed him not to meddle with the corn fleet, becauſe it would ſtraiten the army, and force them to look abroad for proviſions, where it might be beſt procured, and perhaps might affect Bombay which,

which was in a great meaſure beholden to their neighbours for ſubſtenance and firewood. The general took him up with ſcurrilous language, calling him coward and fool, and bragg'd, that if Sedee Yacoup (which was the Mogul's general's name) ſhould dare to come with his forces on Bombay, he would blow him off again with the wind of his bum.

Cowards are generally ſtout when dangers are at a diſtance, and ſo was our general, who had never ſeen a ſword drawn in anger, and conſequently very ill acquainted with war; and when it came to his door, none was ever ſo confounded and dejected as he was, as appeared by his conduct in that war that he ſo fooliſhly brought on himſelf and his country.

CHAP. XIX. — *Gives an Account of the War of Bombay, between the Mogul and the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, with Aurengzeb's Letters of Advice to the Governor of Bombay, on granting them a Peace and new Indulgences in Trade.*

WHEN the news came to Sedee Yacoup, that his fleet, with his proviſions of corn and cloth, were ſeized and carried to Bombay, he ſent a civil letter to our general to diſcharge his fleet, proteſting, that as he had not meddled in the affairs between him and the Suraters, he would continue neuter, unleſs he was forced to do otherwiſe: but our general gave him an inſolent anſwer, and the fleet was unladed at Bombay.

Sedee Yacoup ſent again to deſire the delivery of his fleet in fair terms, otherwiſe he would be obliged to come with his army, and quarter on Bombay, where his proviſions were detained, and that if his fleet was not ſet at liberty before the 11th of February, which was near at hand, he would certainly be on Bombay the 14: but ſtill receiving uncivil anſwers, he performed his promiſe to a tittle, for that very night he landed at a place called Souree (about four miles diſtant from the main fort), with 20,000 men at his back.

Our general's ſecurity had made him neglect providing for receiving ſuch gueſts, truſting to the reputation of his forces, who were greater then than ever they had been before, or ever were ſince that time, and he had ſmall ſhips enough, had they been placed in proper places, that might certainly have hindered his landing, and forced him home again; but all thoſe neceſſary preparations were neglected, and the Sedee landed at mid-night, and the redoubt where he landed, fired a great gun to give the alarm, and ſo deſerted their poſt, and the Sedee took poſſeſſion of it. At one in the morning the caſtle fired three guns to give the general alarm, which brought ſuch fear on thoſe that lived ſecurely in their houſes without the caſtle, that the poor ladies, both white and black, run half-naked to the fort, and only carried their children with them; but they were all obliged to wait without the wall, till day-light relieved them.

Next morning the Sedee marched to Mazagun, a ſmall fort of 14 guns, and about a random ſhot diſtant from the caſtle. On the enemy's approach, that fort though ſituated on a point of rocks, where the ſea defended three quarters of it, was alſo deſerted in ſuch precipitancy, that eight or ten cheſts of treaſure, which generally contain 1000 pounds each, and four cheſts of new arms, were left behind, though the ſeamen that were ſent in boats to bring them off, preferred to carry them along with them; but the commanding officer thought them not fit to be truſted with money and arms, and ſo they were left for a preſent to Sedee Yacoup, with fourteen cannon, two mortars, with ſome powder, ſhot and ſhells: but why that treaſure, and thoſe arms and ammunition were depoſited in Mazagun, few could account for, and the reaſons

reaſons why they were left to the enemy were as wonderful; but it was plain, that the old way of fiſhing in troubled waters was known at Bombay, and the officer was never called to account for his overſight.

Sedee Yacoup finding no oppoſition, ſent a party of men towards Mahim, to plunder the poor peaſants, and to take that fort, which he thought, might be deſerted as the reſt had been, and was not in the leaſt out in his conjecture, for the garriſon had embarked in boats, and came by ſea to Bombay, before they ſaw an enemy. The Sedee taking poſſeſſion of Mazagun, hoiſted his flag there, and made it his head quarters.

The following day ſome of the enemy appeared on Mazagun hills, which grieved our general's righteous ſoul to ſee infidels come ſo near him in an hoſtile manner. He called a minion of his own, one Captain Pean, who was no better ſoldier than himſelf, and ordered him to take two companies, each containing about ſeventy men, and march to thoſe hills, and drive the enemy out of his ſight. He ordered one Monro, who had been a ſoldier at Tangier, to be his lieutenant. In Tangier he had received a wound in his heel, that ſpoiled his running, and accordingly they marched in good order within ſhot of the enemy, who ſhewed their heads above the ſurface of the hill, but did not offer to advance or expoſe their bodies. Several gentlemen volunteers took their arms, and accompanied the little army.

The lieutenant adviſed the captain to march up the hill in platoons, to ſeparate the enemy's forces. The captain took it as an affront to be adviſed, told his lieutenant, that, when he had the command in his own hands, he might uſe it as he thought fit, but, as it was intruſted to him, he would uſe it according to his own mind, and ſo ordered his men to ſpread as much as they could, and when they ſaw the enemy open in the plain, to diſcharge all at once amongſt them, which, he ſaid would terrify them. Monro oppoſed his ſcheme, and told him of the danger he would bring himſelf and them into, if the enemy ſhould attack them whilſt their arms were reloading; but nothing could diſſuade him from his project, and ſo commanded his men to fire as he had directed. The Sedee's being ten to one in numbers, and better runners than our men, and better acquainted with cloſe fighting with ſword and target, took hold of the opportunity, and advanced with all their ſpeed, which the captain perceiving, betook himſelf to his heels, and was the foremoſt man to the Portugueze church, where he took courage to look behind him, to ſee what was become of his men. Poor Monro thinking to ſtop the enemy's career by a part of the wing that he commanded, found himſelf deſerted by all, but 13 or 14 ſtout fellows, who where ſoon ſurrounded by the enemy, and cut to pieces.

Pean had not ſtop at the Portugueze church, had he not found a party of 100 men that lay there ready to ſupport or receive him, as his caſe ſhould require. He was a fellow as well made for running as any I ever ſaw, and was ſo much in the general's favour, that he had not ſo much as a reprimand for his cowardice and miſbehaviour. This relation I had from a gentleman volunteer, who kept always near the captain while he could keep pace with him.

When the general left Surat, there where ſeveral gentlemen in it, ſome in the Company's ſervice, and ſome private perſons, who were all impriſoned, and put in irons, except Mr. Boucher and his dependents, who were protected by his Phirmaund. Thoſe impriſoned were ſcurvily uſed, being obliged to paſs through the ſtreets with irons about their necks, for ſpectacles to pleaſe the mob. Captain Johnſon and Captain Yeaman, though particular merchants, were obliged to act their parts in the tragi-comedy, and continue priſoners, where Captain Johnſon died; but Captain Yeaman got his liberty at the end of the war, which was about the beginning of June 1690.

I will

I will now return back to the year 1686, when Sir John Weyburn was ſent from England, with a commiſſion of judge admiral from the King; and he had likewiſe another commiſſion from the governor of the Company (which they made him believe was alſo from the King) to condemn and hang 13 of the inhabitants of St. Helena, where, in a tumult cauſed by the oppreſſions of the governor of that iſland, one Johnſon the ſecond was killed. Sir John Weyburn took his paſſage to India on board the ſhip London, and, in his way, called at St. Helena, and hanged up the 13 proſcribed perſons, without form of proceſs, for which the Company paid dear afterwards, and ſo had Sir John, had he lived; but he finding the illegal proceedings of Mr. Child to be inſupportable, and meeting with many affronts (from that man without manners) died at Bombay about two months before the Sedee came on it. He was much lamented by all honeſt men that knew him. He was captain of the Happy Return who accompanied the Gloceſter when ſhe was bringing the Duke of York to Scotland, and loſt by the way. It was Captain Weyburn that ſent his barge to wait on the Duke, and brought him ſafe on board of the Happy Return, who carried him forward to Scotland, for which good ſervice he was knighted. He was ever after a great favourite of King James, who ſeeing he could not be brought into his meaſures, put that employ on him, to diſmiſs him with honour.

And now the Sedee being maſter of the whole iſland, except the caſtle and about half a mile to the ſouthward of the caſtle, he raiſed batteries on Dungeree Hill, which overlooked the fort wall, and diſturbed the garriſon very much; then he put four great guns in the cuſtom-houſe, commonly called the India-houſe, and raiſed a battery at the Moody's houſe, within 200 paces of the fort, and another in the lady's houſe that he had been ſo unkind to, ſo that it was dangerous to go out or in at the caſtle gate, till we got up an half moon before it. All men were then preſt into the Company's ſervice, and I amongſt the reſt. We paſſed the months from April to September very ill, for proviſions grew ſcarce by the addition of 3000 Sevajees that were employed as auxiliaries in the military ſervice of the Company. When the winter months were over, at September we went to ſea with our ſmall ſhips, to cruize on the Mogul's ſubjects, and had pretty good ſucceſs. I was employed in that ſervice, and had the command of a ſmall privateer of ſeven or eight tuns, with twenty fighting men, and ſixteen rowers. In three or four months I brought nine prizes into Bombay, laden moſt with proviſions and clothes for the enemy's army, which was now increaſed to 40,000: but we were not allowed any plunder, but were rather plundered ourſelves, for when we brought our prizes in, our cheſts were ſeverely ſearched, and if we had ſaved any of our pay, it was ſeized for the Company's uſe, as money we had found in the prizes, which made us careleſs in purſuing the enemy at ſea. Except when hunger pinched we never looked out for prizes, by which indifference of ours many of the enemy eſcaped that we could have taken.

The ill ſucceſs we had aſhore with the enemy made our General ſick, and, in December, he diſpatched two factors to the Mogul's court, with a Surat merchant, called Meer Mezamie. He was our friend, and had ſome intereſt at court. They went under the name of the Engliſh ambaſſadors. Mr. George Weldon was firſt in commiſſion, and Abraham Navaar, a Jew, was ſecond. In fifteen days they arrived at court, being then at Jehanabant. They were received but coldly; but, about the middle of April, by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of preſents to the officers at court, they were admitted to audience, but were brought to Aurengzeb's preſence after a new mode for ambaſſadors, their hands being tied by a faſh before them, and were obliged to proſtrate. The King gave them a ſevere reprimand, and then aſked their demands.

They

They firſt made a confeſſion of their faults, and deſired pardon, then that their Phirmaund, which was forfeited, ſhould be renewed, and that the Sedee and his army ſhould be ordered off Bombay. Their ſubmiſſion he accepted of, and pardoned their faults, on condition that Mr. Child ſhould leave India in nine months, and never come back again, the Phirmaund to be renewed, on condition that ſatisfaction ſhould be given his ſubjects on account of debts contracted, robberies committed, and loſſes and damages made good, and, on ſecurity given for the due performances of theſe premiſſes, the Sedee and his army ſhould be ordered off the iſland. In January General Child died, which much facilitated their affairs, but it was kept ſecret at court, till they knew how the King would order the affair about him. In March Meer Mezamie died alſo, and, it was ſuppoſed, was poiſoned by ſome enemies contracted by his good ſervices to the Engliſh. When he was given over by phyſicians, our ambaſſadors ſent to know what he had done with 50,000 rupees, he had received for ſecret ſervices. He anſwered, that he was ſorry that ever he had meddled in their affairs, for he had ſerved them even with his life, and yet they were not contended, for what uſe that ſum was put to, he durſt not divulge.

When our affairs were in ſo bad circumſtances at the Mogul's court, the Dutch Company had one Mr. Baroon their ambaſſador there, who deſigned to impoſe on Aurengzeb, who, he thought was ignorant of European affairs. The news of the revolution in Britain being arrived in India, when he had an audience of Aurengzeb, he began to magnify the power and grandeur of his country, and vilify the Engliſh. The Mogul ſeemed to be pleaſed with his diſcourſe, to encourage him to go on. He told, that the Engliſh were but contemptible in compariſon of his ſovereigns, for they were forced to ſend the Engliſh a King to rule over them, and that if His Majeſty would exclude the Engliſh from the trade of his dominions, the Hollanders would carry it to a much greater height, and enrich his treaſury, and the Engliſh would not know where to get bread. The Mogul gravely anſwered, that if his maſters were ſo much ſuperior to the Engliſh in power and riches, they might eaſily drive them out of India, engroſs all the trade of his countries to themſelves; and commanded him to tell his maſters, that he expected it from them. Then the ambaſſador excuſed himſelf, and told, that he could act nothing in that affair till he received orders from Holland. Aurengzeb then reprimanded him, and ſhewed him wherein he had lied; for, ſays he, about ſeventeen years ago, the King of France conquered moſt of your country in a few days, and that it was the Engliſh, and not the power of Holland, that repelled him, and that if England did not hold the balance of power, either the Emperor or the King of France could conquer it in one campaign.

The ambaſſador knew not how to anſwer to thoſe truths: but, being ſent to ſolicit ſome indulgence in their trade, he could obtain none, and ſo left the court diſſatisfied.

After our ambaſſadors had obtained pardon, they began to be reſpected, and had liberty to take their diverſion abroad, till a new Phirmaund was drawing up, which, according to the method of the eaſtern courts, took up ſome time: however, orders were ſent to the Sedee to forbear hoſtilities, and the Engliſh had the ſame orders, ſo that frequent viſits paſt between the Sedee's people and ours. And, during the war, about 60 Europeans of ſeveral nations, had deſerted from us, and took pay of the Sedee. The reaſon they gave for their deſertion, was ill uſage they had received from ſome Iriſh officers; yet moſt of them returned after the war, on promiſe of pardon.

The Phirmaund being ready, and the required ſecurity given, Sedee Yacoup left Bombay the 8th of June, 1690; but he alſo left a peſtilence behind him, which, in four

months time, deſtroyed more men than the war had done, and, for joy, made a malicious bonfire of his head quarters Mazagun fort.

Now we may ſee the Mogul's ſtyle in his new Phirmaund to be ſent to Surat, as it ſtands tranſlated by the Company's interpreters, which runs thus in the printed copy annexed to Sir John Child's 35 articles of grievances:

THE occaſion of your writing to me, was your being in fault of all theſe troubles, that you have repented of what you have done, that you made ſeveral complaints againſt former governors, all which I have here from ſeveral of my Umbras, and the ſeveral abuſes received from them, and their officers, all which you ſhould have acquainted me with, before you proceeded ſo violently. Having acknowledged your error, and deſired pardon, I do not only grant your requeſt, pardoning what is paſt, but granting you a Phirmaund according to your deſire, and have ordered Aſſit Caun to forward it to the governor of Surat, with ſuch particulars as he will acquaint you with.

At the arrival of my Phirmaund, receive it with great reſpect, acknowledging the great glory you have got in obtaining the ſame, that you may trade as formerly at your pleaſure, and as accuſtomary. That you deliver the merchants, that have complained againſt you, their ſhips with their effects. That, for the future, you do not commit the like error, in doing as you have done, and proceed according to my will and pleaſure, and be not forgetful of the ſame.

If you receive any affronts from my governors, or their officers, or any of my ſubjects, be not negligent in acquainting me of the ſame. I have ordered Aſſit Caun to write accordingly.

What you write concerning former governors, protecting Mr. Boucher, that you have ſeveral demands of him, that you cannot call him to an account, deſiring that he may be delivered to you. My order is, that you prove your demands according to law, that juſtice may be done accordingly.

Dated the 31ſt year of Aurengzeb's reign.

It ſeems the King was not ignorant of the hard uſage his ſubjects had met with, nor was he deſirous to uſe ſeverity in puniſhing offences and affronts; but, like an indulgent prince, only told them of their faults, and prudently admoniſhed them not to be guilty of falling into ſuch like errors, and, in a majeſtic ſtyle, adviſed them to receive his favours and graces with great reſpect, and that they ought to make the law the ſtandard of juſtice, and, in all his words and actions, uſed a Chriſtian moderation.

General Child being dead, Mr. John Vaux ſucceeded him in the government of Bombay; but Mr. Bartholomew Harris, who had been priſoner at Surat (all the time of the rupture) had the ſeigniority in the Company's ſervice; but it being not the cuſtom for one that had been the Mogul's priſoner (for any crimes judged to be capital) to receive public marks of eſteem from the ſtate, without a ſingular amneſty from the King, Mr. Vaux was obliged to go to Surat and receive the Phirmaund and the King's ſerpaw or preſent, which, on ſuch occaſions, is generally a fine horſe, and a ſuit of clothes from head to foot, made of rich atlaſſes or zeerbaſtas. Thoſe are ſatins and taffetas full of gold or ſilver flowers wrought in them. The horſe muſt never after be ſold, on no account whatſoever. They have alſo a fine turban, embroidered ſhoes, and a dagger of value, ſtuck into a fine cummerband or ſaſh; and, being equipt in that habit, the Phermaund is preſented (by the gooſberdaar or hoſbalhouckain, or, in Engliſh, the King's meſſenger,) and the governor of the pro-

vince or city makes a ſhort ſpeech adapted to the occaſion, ſetting forth the great honour conferred upon him by the greateſt King in the world, with an admonition to make future actions deſerve the merit of ſuch favours.

After the aforeſaid manner Mr. Vaux received the Phirmaund in a gilded box, and, according to cuſtom, put it on his turban for a little while, and, by an interpreter, returned the governor's compliment, acknowledging the King's favours, and the governor's civilities; and then the governor conducted him from the garden (where the ceremony was performed) into the city, through a great concourſe of people, who welcomed him with ſhouts of joy as he paſſed through the ſtreets to the Engliſh factory.

After Mr. Vaux had ſtaid in the city about a week, he ſent to acquaint the governor of the neceſſity he lay under to return back to his government of Bombay; but the governor ſent him word, that none but he could be truſted by the King to ſee the performance of the contract accompliſhed, and begged, that he would not think of leaving the city, leſt the King ſhould take it amiſs, and repent him of the favours he had ſhewed to the Eaſt India Company; and ſo Mr. Vaux was detained an hoſtage for his maſter's future good behaviour.

Mr. Harris, according to that Company's ordinary cuſtom, demanded the preſidency from Mr. Vaux, who, to ſave contention, gave it to him, though his mind was ſo debilitated, that he was but few degrees wiſer than an ideot, and, in two years time, Mr. Vaux was ſuſpended the Company's ſervice, and to remain their hoſtage at his own charges, and ſo he continued till the year 1697, when he, by accident, was drowned in Surat river, by a pinnace's overſetting, in which he and his lady had been taking a pleaſure on the water.

This Mr. Vaux had been book-keeper to Sir Joſiah Child in England, and, for his good ſervices and behaviour, was preferred by his maſter to a ſupercargo's poſt in a ſhip to China, which trade, in thoſe times, was the moſt profitable of any within the limits of the Company's charter. In anno 1684, he was ſent thither on board a ſhip called the Carolina, commanded by one Captain Harding; but Mr. Vaux and Harding diſagreeing in their paſſage to China, Mr. Vaux laded the ſhip, and ſent her back to England, while he himſelf went paſſenger on board a Surat ſhip for Bombay, where he was entertained in the Company's ſervice as a factor, and wrote to Sir Joſiah Child the reaſons he had for leaving the Carolina, and his reſolution of ſtaying in India. Sir Joſiah continued his eſteem for Mr. Vaux, and procured him ſeveral profitable poſts at one and the ſame time in the Company's ſervice, and, amongſt the reſt, conſtituted him judge in civil affairs, which brought him both a good ſalary and perquiſites. After he was inſtalled in that office, Sir Joſiah wrote him a letter of admonition and reminiſcence, wherein, after many poſtulates, he put him in mind of the many favours he had done him, and that now, having the power of condemning the Company's enemies, or ſuch as ſhould be deemed ſo, particularly thoſe who ſhould dare to queſtion the Company's power over all the Britiſh ſubjects in India, and that he expected his orders from time to time, ſhould be obſerved and obeyed as ſtatute laws.

Mr. Vaux gratefully acknowledged Sir Joſiah's favours in his anſwer to that letter, and promiſed, that, as he had put him into that poſt of honour and profit, he would ſtrive to acquit himſelf with all the integrity and juſtice he was capable of, and that the laws of his country ſhould be the rule he deſigned to walk by.

In anſwer to that letter, Sir Joſiah ſeemed to be angry, and wrote roundly to Mr. Vaux, that he expected his orders were to be his rules, and not the laws of England, which

which were an heap of nonſenſe, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good government of their own private families, much leſs for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce.

I am the more particular in this account, becauſe I ſaw and copied both thoſe letters in anno 1696, while Mr. Vaux and I were priſoners at Surat, on account of Captain Evory's robbing the Mogul's great ſhip, called the Gunſway.

Having given an account of ſome part of Sir John Child's reign, I muſt alſo remark a few ſlips in the government of ſome of his ſucceſſors, and of the ways that they took to get into the chair of Bombay.

I remarked before, that Mr. Harris was a very weak and indolent perſon, very unfit to govern a colony and the factories ſubordinate to Bombay, and, by that means, a cunning deſigning fellow, one Mr. Samuel Anneſley, had the reins of the government wholly in his management, who ſhewed, that he had malicious wit and avarice enough to embroil both his maſters and the private merchants affairs in Surat in Harris's time, and, on Harris's death, got into the preſidency, or rather tyranny.

The Mogul's ſubjects have a good many fine large ſhips that trade all over India. The owners of thoſe ſhips had a very great regard for the courage, conduct, and art of navigation of the Engliſh, above any other European nation in India; and, for thoſe qualifications, the Indian owners procured Engliſh officers to go in their ſhips, and allowed them very handſome ſalaries and indulgences. The captains had from 10 to 15l. per month. Mates from ſix to nine pounds, and the gunners and boatſwains had alſo good ſalaries, beſides the privilege of carrying ſome goods and merchandizes, freight free.

Mr. Anneſley thought thoſe ſalaries and indulgences were too great for ſeamen, ſo he went about to reduce them to about one half, and the other moiety he looked on as his own due by virtue of his poſt.

Some, through fear or neceſſity complied, others again, who diſpiſed both his power and tyranny, would, by no means, come into his meaſures, and thoſe he looked on as rebels, and perſecuted them to the utmoſt of his power, bribing the Mogul's governor to plague us; ſo ſome were ruined by his villainy, whilſt others bade him open defiance: and we were not wanting on our ſide to expoſe him and his maſters to the Mogul's ſubjects, which, in the end, was the loſs of both their eſteem and credit among the trading people of that country. The poorer ſort, whoſe maintenance depended on their labour and induſtry, loſing their employs in the Mooriſh merchants ſervice, were obliged to fall on new ſchemes to ſupport themſelves, not very well ſuited to the Company's intereſt, for ſome went and joined themſelves with the pirates.

The Company in England received accounts from every one that came from India, of Harris and Anneſley's mal-adminiſtrations, ſent out Sir John Gayer to take care of their affairs. He arrived in anno 1694, with the lofty title of General of all India. He continued Anneſley in the Company's ſervice till the year 1700, but diveſted him of all power of doing more miſchief; and, in the end, he diſmiſſed him the Company's ſervice.

Sir John Gayer was a man not vicious in his temper, yet he had ſome ſlips in his government that proved prejudicial to his character, though, in matters of common commerce he acted pretty regularly, till a young laſs of 3000l. portion made him diſpenſe with the common methods of matrimony. This young gentlewoman was a daughter of Mr. Ward, before mentioned. She had no relations alive, and unad-

viſedly married one Mr. Solomon Lloyd, a factor, and the marriage was clandeſtine, which was poſitively againſt the ſtatute law of Bombay, where no marriage is binding but when the governor's conſent is tacked to it. This law Sir John had got by heart, and unmarried the poor factor after conſummation, and married her to his own ſon; but the ſecond marriage was attended with ill conſequences, for, whilſt her huſband was at China, one Coleman was ordered to teach her to write good Engliſh, but, neglecting thoſe orders, he taught her ſomething elſe, and was diſcovered in the practiſing, by a watchful mother-in-law. The poor ſchool-maſter was ſent, in irons, on board a ſhip for England; and the poor huſband's head ached as long as he lived.

Another piece of ill conduct was in forcing the Mocha frigate's men on board, againſt their wills, to proceed on a voyage to China, notwithſtanding their juſt complaints againſt Edgecomb their captain, whom the mutineers ſhot in his cabin, and then turned pirates, and infeſted the ſtreights of Malacca, robbing and plundering all ſhips that they could overcome. Captain Hide, in the Dorrel, met her there in her paſſage to China, and had a ſharp engagement with her, but got clear with the loſs of 16 men killed, and ſome wounded, which diſabled the Dorrel ſo, that ſhe proceeded no farther than Malacco.

And another fault of Sir John's was in ſuffering himſelf and his lady to be taken priſoners at Swally, by the governor of Surat's order, when he might either have avoided that diſgrace by force or flight; but it was generally believed, that that was only a piece of policy to get to Surat, in order to employ his money, which he could do much better there than at Bombay.

Sir Nicholas Waite ſupplanted Sir John in the government of Bombay, and in the preſidency. He was a man of very looſe morals; and his bare-faced injuſtices and prevarications irritated the inhabitants and ſoldiery of Bombay, that they ſeized him, and ſent him priſoner for England. Though his reign was ſhort, it was very pernicious to his maſters, as well as to particular merchants under his juriſdiction. But, to return from this digreſſion.

Bombay was governed by a deputy, ſince the preſident was obliged to ſtay at Surat. And of ſeven or eight hundred Engliſh that inhabited before the war, there were not above ſixty left by the ſword and plague, and Bombay, that was one of the pleaſanteſt places in India, was brought to be one of the moſt diſmal deſerts; but the ſpirit of injuſtice ſtill reſided in it, for thoſe who had ventured through the war and plague in defence of the iſland, had not the liberty of returning home to their own country, nor to raiſe their fortune by private trade, but all were continued preſſed men in the Right Honourable Company's ſervice, without the hope of preferment, which made ſome diſcontents.

And, even in the time of war, when ſtrangers ſhould have been encouraged to bring proviſions on the iſland, the Company's taxes of five per cent. were exacted with great ſeverity, for I have ſeen the Portugueſe ſubjects bring twenty or thirty poultry to the market, and have had five of the beſt taken for the cuſtom of the reſt.

CHAP. XX. — *Gives an Account of what is remarkable on ſome Iſlands, and of the Sea-coaſt, as far as* Goa.

TWO leagues from the caſtle is a ſmall iſland belonging to the Company, called Butcher's iſland; it is of no uſe, beſides hauling ſhips aſhore to clean, and graze a few cattle. And, a league from thence, is another larger, called Elephanto, belonging to the Portugueze, and ſerves only to feed ſome cattle. I believe it took its name from an elephant carved out of a great black ſtone, about ſeven foot in height. It is ſo like a living elephant, that, at two hundred yards diſtance, a ſharp eye might be deceived by its ſimilitude. A little way from that ſtands an horſe, cut out of a ſtone, but not ſo proportionable and well-ſhaped as the elephant.

There is a pretty high mountain ſtands in the middle of the iſland, ſhaped like a blunt pyramid, and, about the half of the way to the top, is a large cave, that has two large inlets, which ſerve both for paſſage into it and lights. The mountain above it reſts on large pillars, hewn out of a ſolid rock, and the pillars curiouſly carved. Some have the figures of men, about eight feet high, in ſeveral poſtures, but exceedingly well proportioned and cut. There is one that has a giant with four heads joined, and their faces looking from each other. He is in a ſitting poſture, with his legs and feet under his body. His right hand is above twenty inches long. There are ſeveral dark rooms hewn out of the rock, and a fine ſpring of ſweet water comes out of one room, and runs through the cave out at one of the inlets. I fired a fuſee into one of the rooms, but I never heard cannon nor thunder make ſuch a dreadful noiſe, which continued about half a minute; and the mountain ſeemed to ſhake. As ſoon as the noiſe was over, a large ſerpent appeared, which made us take to our heels, and got out of the cave at one door, and he, in great haſte, went out at the other. I judged him about 15 foot long, and two foot about. And theſe were all that I ſaw worth obſervation on that iſland. I aſked the inhabitants of the iſland, who were all Gentows, or Gentiles, about twenty in number, if they had any account, by hiſtory or tradition, who made the cave, or the quadrupeds carved in ſtone; but they could give no account. About a league from Elephanto, is an iſland called Salvageo. It affords nothing but fire-wood, with which it ſupplies Bombay. And, about half a league from it, is the iſland of Carronjaa, belonging to the Portugueze. It affords no trade, but eatables for Bombay, from whence it lies eaſt about two leagues. Between it and the main land, is the mouth of Pen river. And four leagues ſouth of Bombay, are two ſmall iſlands, Undra and Cundra. The firſt has a fortreſs belonging to the Sedee, and the other is fortified by the Sevajee, and is now in the hands of Connajee Angarie. The Engliſh have made ſeveral attempts to take it, but never could, though in anno 1719, it had certainly been taken, had not a Portugueze traitor, who lay on one quarter of it with ſome veſſels of war to hinder relief coming to it, betrayed his truſt, and let ſome boats paſs by in the night with proviſions and ammunition, which the iſland was in great want of. The Engliſh landed, and were obliged to retire by ſome loſs they received.

About four miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Cundra, is Culabee, a fort built on a rock a little way from the main land; and, at high water, it is an iſland, belonging to the Sevajee. And, two leagues to the ſouth of Culabee, is Chaul, a town belonging to

the Portugueze, whoſe river affords an harbour for ſmall veſſels. The town is fortified, and ſo is an iſland on the ſouth ſide of the harbour, called Chaul Moar, which may be known five or ſix leagues off at ſea, by a white church built on it. Chaul, in former times, was a noted place for trade, particularly for fine embroidered quilts; but now it is miſerably poor.

Dande Rajapore lies ſeven leagues to the ſouthward of Chaul, a town belonging to the Sedee, who generally lies there with a fleet of the Mogul's veſſels and ſhips of war, and an army of 30 or 40,000 men. This place affords a good harbour for his fleet, and the country about feeds good numbers of black cattle, from whence Bombay is moſtly ſupplied, when they keep in good terms with the Sedee, otherwiſe he makes them feed on fiſh, which that iſland is plentifully ſtored with; but now worſe than before the Sedee's war. There is a rock fortified by the Sevagee, that lies within a league of the mouth of Dande Rajapore river, to the northward, and another as far to the ſouthward, called the Whale, that ſhews his back at low water.

Coaſting to the ſouthward from Dande Rajapore, are ſeveral ſmall rivers, and fiſhing towns. Zeferdon is the beſt, and two little iſlands called Horney Coat, fortified and kept by the Sevagee. It lies five leagues to the northward of Dabul, which ſtands at the mouth of a large river, and, of old, was a place of trade, and where the Engliſh once had a factory.

There is an excellent harbour for ſhipping eight leagues to the ſouthward of Dabul, called Sanguſeer; but the country about being inhabited by raparees, it is not frequented: nor is Rajapore, about ſeven leagues to the ſouthward of Sanguſeer, though it has the conveniency of one of the beſt harbours in the world, and had formerly both an Engliſh and French factory ſettled there; and the place where General Child had his education, from ten years old to eighteen, under his uncle Mr. Goodſhaw, who was chief there, and having betrayed ſome of his uncle's ſecrets, in making uſe of the Company's caſh in his own private trade, his uncle was caſhiered, and, before the nephew was come to four and twenty, he had the honour to fill his chair.

About the year 1685, when Aurengzeb's army was in Decan, in order to bring Sevajee Rajah to ſubmiſſion, but could never do it, a ſon of Aurengzeb, called Sheek Eckbar, had contracted a friendſhip with the Rajah. His father having notice of it, diſſembled his reſentment, till he had, by fair promiſes, enticed the Sevajee to come to his camp on the public faith, but had a deſign to have him cut off in his return from the camp. Sheek Eckbar forewarned him of his danger, while he was in the camp, which made the Rajah depart in the night, without taking a formal leave, which Aurengzeb imputed to his ſon's advice to the Rajah, and, to requite his ſon, he had a mind to make his life atone for the Rajah's, but deſigned it to be taken from him by ſtratagem; wherefore, pretending more kindneſs than ordinary to his ſon, he ſent him a fine horſe, richly furniſhed, and a veſt, which was very rich and beautiful, but was poiſoned by a perfumed powder. His ſon, with great acknowledgements, received the preſent, but, being too well acquainted with his father's ſubtility, put not the veſt on, but deferred it to another time, that he might put it on with more ſolemnity; however, he ordered it to be put on a ſlave, who died in a day or two after he put it on. On which Sheek Eckbar fled to Rajahpore, and took ſhipping, with a few attendants, for Muſkat, where he was kindly received by two Engliſh gentlemen, Meſſieurs Bendal and Stephens, and they provided a veſſel to carry him to Perſia, where he had a royal wel-

come, and was ſoon after married to that King's ſiſter, whom Merriweys dethroned, and beheaded at Iſpahan.

When the Engliſh had a factory at Rajahpore, that country produced the fineſt beteellas and muſlins in India; but now all arts and ſciences are diſcouraged, and the port not frequented. There are fine artificial ciſterns for water there, and a natural hot bath, within three yards of a very cold one; and both are reckoned very medicinal.

Ghiria is another harbour, about two leagues to the ſouthward of Rajapore. That is the common place of reſidence for Connajee Angarie, which is well fortified by a ſtrong large caſtle, waſhed by the ſea. Whether Ghiria is alſo called Vizendruck, or whether it lies about ſeven leagues more ſoutherly, I am not certain; but that place, to the ſouthward, determines the limits of his government that way.

About twelve leagues to the ſouthward of Ghiria, is an iſland about two miles in circumference, and fortified with a ſtone wall round it, called Malwan. It lies about a mile from the main land, and is governed by an independent Rajah, who is alſo a freebooter, and keeps three or four grabs at ſea to rob all whom they can maſter. And that is all I know of him.

Vingula lies about four leagues to the ſouthward of Malwan, and was formerly a place of trade; and the Dutch Company had a factory there for cloth, both fine and coarſe. But, in anno 1696, a Rajah, called Kempaſon, overrun that country, and ſubdued it, and, under pretence of viſiting the Dutch chief factor, took an opportunity of the Dutch being in ſecurity, ſeized their factory, and plundered it, but killed nobody. The trading people in the country, in and about the town, having no ſecurity for their perſons and eſtates, fled to the Portugueze dominions of Goa, that lie within ſix leagues of Vingula. The Rajah finding the country deſerted by the natives, wrote to the viceroy of Goa to ſend them back, but, on his non-compliance, entered the Portugueze territories, and plundered and burnt all he could lay hands on, not ſparing the churches and images, for which ſacrilege the Portugueze gave him the name of Kema Sancto, or, Saint Burner; and they raiſed a force ſufficient to drive him and his freebooters out of their dominions, but, for many years, continued in his robberies, when opportunity preſented, which kept the poor country peaſants continually alarmed; and, for all the Portugueze haughtineſs and pride, they were at laſt forced to buy a peace, and allow him a yearly penſion to keep him quiet.

He is a ſoldier of fortune, and will ſerve thoſe Rajahs who hire him beſt, ſo that if he aſſiſts one at one time, if another gives him better hire, he tacks about, and ſerves on the other ſide. His army conſiſts of 7 or 8000 men, and he had two grabs a pirating at ſea, but, in a diſpute about a prize which Connajee Angarie laid claim to, they went to war, and Connajee being much ſuperior to him in power, firſt took his grabs and burnt them, and then landed at Vingurla, and burnt and deſtroyed the villages near the town. And I know not if ever they made peace ſince.

Two leagues to the northward of Vingurla river there is a parcel of rocks that ſtretches about two leagues into the ſea. The outermoſt lies in 17 fathoms of depth. They ſeem to have been volcanoes.

The religion of all the countries, from Dande Rajapore, to the dominions of Goa, is Paganiſm; but they are not tied up to divine or moral rules. And ſo I leave them to take a view of Goa.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI. — *Gives an Account of Goa, its Situation, Trade, Religion and Churches, with the Fortifications about it, the Limits of the Portugueze Dominions there, as far South as Cabo de Rama.*

GOA, the metropolis of India, under the dominion of the crown of Portugal, ſtands on an iſland about 12 miles long, and ſix broad. The city is built on the north ſide of it, on a champaign ground, and has the conveniency of a fine ſalt water river, capable to receive ſhips of the largeſt ſize, where they lie within a mile of the town. The banks of the river are beautified with noble ſtructures of churches, caſtles, and gentlemen's houſes; but, in the city, the air is reckoned unwholeſome, which is one cauſe why at preſent it is not well inhabited. The viceroy's palace is a noble edifice, ſtanding within piſtol ſhot of the river, over one of the gates of the city, which leads to a ſpacious noble ſtreet, about half a mile long, and terminates at a beautiful church, called Miſericordia. The city contains many noble churches, convents and cloiſters, with a ſtately large hoſpital, all well endowed, and well kept. The market-place ſtands near the Miſericordia church, and takes up about an acre ſquare, where moſt things of the product of that country are to be ſold; and, in the ſhops about it, may be had what Europe, China, Bengal, and other countries of leſs note furniſh them with. Every church has a ſet of bells, that one or other of them are continually ringing, and, being all chriſtened, and dedicated to ſome ſaint, they have a ſpecific power to drive away all manner of evil ſpirits, except poverty in the laity, and pride in the clergy; but, to thoſe that are not uſed to nocturnal noiſes, they are very troubleſome in the nights. The viceroy generally reſides at the powder-houſe, about two miles below the city, on the river ſide, the ſprings of water there being reckoned the beſt on the iſland, which is a liquor very much eſteemed by the Portugueze, except when they can get wine or ſpirits coſt free, and then they will drink to exceſs.

The religion, eſtabliſhed by law, is the Romiſh, and here are the moſt zealous bigots of it; and the laws of the church (but not of their country) are rigorouſly obſerved, and there is a ſevere inquiſition court to puniſh any whom the inquiſitors have the leaſt ſuſpicion of, which awes both clergy and laity to ſuch a complacency, that I queſtion if there is ſuch a pack of notorious hypocrites in the world; and yet their Indian converts, who go by the general name of Cannarians, retain ſo much of their ancient heatheniſh ſuperſtition, that they abſtain from eating cows fleſh, becauſe of the veneration paid to that beaſt, above others, by the Gentows, whoſe offspring they are.

There are many Gentows dwell in the city, who cannot be brought to change their idolatrous ſuperſtition for the religion of Rome; but they are tolerated becauſe they are generally more induſtrious than the Chriſtians, eſpecially in mechanical employments and agriculture; but the mercantile part of them are very ſubject to the inſults of the Reynolds, or European Fidalgoes, who will often buy their goods, and never pay for them; which cuſtom has alſo crept into ſome countries better poliſhed than the Portugueze, only with ſome reſtrictions, that they dare not uſe force in taking what they have occaſion for, as the Portugueze do, nor inflict corporal puniſhments on their creditors, when they aſk for their money, ſo that it is dangerous for the poor induſtrious merchant, either to refuſe their goods, or aſk for their money when it is due,

due, for fear of a baſtinado in either caſe, and ſometimes worſe conſequences, which abuſes make the circulation of trade very faint and weak.

The clergy at Goa are very numerous and illiterate, and are a very great burden on the ſtate. Their churches are richly furniſhed with fine decorations and images, and, as I ſaid before, richly endowed to maintain the luxury of a great number of idle drones.

Their houſes are large, and their outſides magnificent; but within (like their owners heads) they are but poorly furniſhed, and their tables very mean. Green fruits and roots, in their ſeaſons, with a little bread and rice go far in their diet; and candied and preſerved fruits are their regalio in all ſeaſons. They have hogs and fowl plenty, but uſe them ſparingly; and the church feeds moſt on fiſh, but not miraculouſly, for the poor fiſhers dare ſell none till the prieſthood is firſt ſerved, ſo that the laity moſtly eat ſtale or ſtinking fiſh. And the ſoldiery, fiſhers, peaſants and handicrafts feed on a little rice boiled in water, with a little bit of ſalt fiſh, or atchaar, which is pickled fruits or roots, and drink fair water when they can get it. This fine ſpare diet never loads them with ſuperabundant fleſh on their bones, and, without the church, it is rare to find a corpulent man among them. They are generally very weak and feeble, but whether that proceeds from their diet, or from their too great inclinations to venery, or from both, I am not phyſician enough to determine.

Their ſoldiers pay is very ſmall and ill paid. They have but ſix xerapheens per month, and two ſuits of calico, ſtriped or chequered, in a year. Their two ſuits may amount to forty xerapheens; and a xerapheen is worth about ſixteen pence half-penny ſterling. Out of their ſix xerapheens in money that they are to receive, their captain, who is barrack-maſter and victualler to his company, detains five, and the other one is paid in ſmall money to diſcharge the accounts of the ſhoe-maker, tailor, barber, waſherman, and tobacconiſt, ſo that frugality is no great virtue among them, though theft is, and really they are very dextrous in that art, as well as in murder, for if they are detected in committing ſuch innocent crimes, the very next church is a ſanctuary for them, and neither divine nor human laws can affect them after they get in there.

This nation was famous in the fifteenth century for their navigation and diſcoveries tion the Eaſt Indies, where, by friendſhip or force, they made ſettlements all over its ſea-coaſts. Their ſettlements were thick ſet between Mozambique and Japon: and, as a monument of their grandeur then, their language goes current along moſt of the ſea-coaſt at this time: their inſolent pride and war with the Dutch have brought them to the poverty and contempt they are in, as I ſhall remark in their proper places.

The Muſkat war, (that has laſted ſince the Arabs took that city from them,) though the longeſt, has done the leaſt harm, for it obliges them to keep an armada of five or ſix ſhips, beſides ſmall frigates and grabs of war, which gives bread to great numbers of people who otherwiſe would be much more burdenſome to the ſtate, by crowding into churches. The Arabs and they have had many encounters, but no great damage done on either ſide. I was witneſs to one engagement near Surat bar, but it was not bloody.

They alſo have had ſeveral wars aſhore, but the moſt dangerous to the city of Goa was that with Sevajee Rajah, who got footing on the iſland about the year 1685. He raiſed ſome batteries againſt the town, which would have annoyed it very much, had not a Portugueſe heroine, in a ſally, got into a redoubt of the enemy's, and cut them to pieces, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into Sevajee's army, that they quitted their poſts and fled. The lady was alive in anno 1705, and received the pay of a captain all her

days after that noble exploit. She was called Donna Maria. She came to India in man's apparel, in queſt of a gentleman that had promiſed her marriage, and then deſerted her, and went, in quality of captain, to India; ſhe found him, and challenged him at ſword and piſtol, but he rather choſe to make the quarrel up amicably by marriage.

I have ſtood on a little hill near the city, and have counted about eighty churches, convents and monaſteries, within view; and I was informed, that, in the city and its diſtricts, which ſtretch about 40 miles along the ſea-coaſt, and 15 miles within land, there are no fewer than 30,000 church vermin, who live idly and luxurioufly on the labour and ſweat of the miſerable laity, ſo that every body that has ſons and ſubſtance, ſtrives to buy places for them in the church, becauſe neither military or civil preferments can be expected from the ſtate, or if by merit they chance to raiſe themſelves, yet the tyranny and oppreſſions of the domineering clergy is inſupportable; for inſtance, I knew a gentleman that bought a parcel of freſh fiſh, and a prieſt coming ſoon after to the fiſhers, and finding that none was left for the church, he demanded the gentleman's bargain, who excuſed himſelf, by telling the prieſt, that he had ſome friends to dine with him, and could not ſpare them. The prieſt gave him a reprimand in ſcurrilous language, and the gentleman uſing ſome tart language to the prieſt, that offended him, he let fly the ſharp dart of excommunication, that pierced him ſo deep, that it coſt him above ſeven pounds ſterling to take it out again, and beg his pardon on his knees before the Archbiſhop, before he could be abſolved.

In a fine ſtately church, dedicated to St. Paul the apoſtle, lies the body of St. Francis Xavier, a Portugueſe apoſtle, and a Jeſuit by trade, who died in his miſſion to Japon in the fifteenth century; and, about fifty years after, as a Portugueſe ſhip was going to, or coming from China, being near an iſland on that coaſt, called after St. Juan, ſome gentlemen and prieſts went aſhore for diverſion, and accidentally found the ſaint's body uncorrupted, and carried it paſſenger to Goa, and there with much veneration and eccleſiaſtical ceremony, it was depoſited in an aiſle of St. Paul's church, where it lies ſtill, and looks as freſh as a new ſcalded pig, but with the loſs of one arm; for when the rumour of the miracle reached Rome, the ſoveregin pontiff ordered his right arm to be ſent, that he might find out if there was any impoſture in it or no, or perhaps make him fadge in a China bonzee into his calender, under the name of a Chriſtian ſaint. Accordingly his arm was fairly cut off by the ſhoulder, and ſent to Rome to ſtand its trial. When His Holineſs had viewed it, he called for pen, ink and paper to be brought on a table, and the arm ſet near them. After a little conjuration, in full view of the ſacred college, who were there preſent, and no body elſe, the ſaint's hand took hold of the pen, dipped it in ink, and fairly wrote Xavier.

I take it to be a pretty piece of wax-work that ſerves to gull the people of their money, for many viſit it with great veneration, and leave ſomething at its ſhrine for the maintainance of candles and olive oil, that continually burn before it: And a prieſt attends weekly to ſhave his head and beard; but none but that prieſt has the honour to come within the iron rails that are placed about the corpſe, four or five yards diſtant from it. Now, if any ſhould queſtion the truth of Xavier's ſtory at Goa, they would be branded with the odious name of an obſtinate incredulous heretick, and perhaps fall in the hands of a convincing inquiſition.

But, if any incredulous heretick ſhould be ſqueamiſh, and cannot ſwallow the ſtory of Xavier without chewing it, I will tell them of another, that, doubtleſs, will go glibly down.

down. At a certain time, but God knows when, a ſhip of Portugal coming to India, got the length of Cabo de Bona Eſperanza, and then met with ſuch a violent ſtorm, that drove the ſhip ſo violently before it that it was paſt the pilots ſkill to keep her to rights in her courſe; and who ſhould come to their aſſiſtance in that critical juncture but Senhor Diabolo, who took the helm, and managed it very dexterouſly: and the Virgin Mary, to ſhew her kindneſs and ſkill in navigation, ſtood a whole night on the forecaſtle, directing the Devil how he ſhould ſteer, and behold, to the great admiration of all concerned, the ſhip was high and dry in the morning, in a valley on the ſouth ſide of the river of Goa, about half a mile within the land. The ſhip ſailed very well, for that in one night ſhe ran, according to a moderate computation, 1500 leagues. And in commemoration of this miracle, there is a fine church built where the ſhip anchored ſo ſafely, and the ſtructure is juſt the length, breadth, and height of the ſhip. The church I have often ſeen as I paſſed up and down the river. And this ſtory is ſo firmly believed at Goa, that it is dangerous to make any doubt of it.

Of all the churches in or about Goa none is honoured with glaſs-windows, but one in the city dedicated to St. Alexander, for the reſt are all ſerved with clear oyſter-ſhell lights, which are far inferior to lights of glaſs: all their ſtately houſes are furniſhed with oyſter-ſhell lights.

The country about Goa is ſterile in corn, but it produces ſome excellent fruits. The Goa mango is reckoned the largeſt and moſt delicious to the taſte of any in the world, and, I may add, the wholeſomeſt and beſt taſted of any fruit in the world. Their jambo Malacca is very beautiful and pleaſant, and they have very good pine apples and melons.

The little trade they have is moſtly from their arrack, which is diſtilled from toddy of the cocoa-nut tree, which grows in great abundance in the territories of Goa. The Engliſh are their beſt cuſtomers, for they buy great quantities yearly for punch. It is ſold by the candy, or two caſks, about 45 gallons each, for 25 xerapheens per caſk; but I have bought it for 20, when there was no great demand for it. They alſo make a great deal of ſalt in ponds made in low grounds, where they may convey the water at ſpring tides. It may be bought for a crown the tun, and ſometimes cheaper.

The river's mouth is guarded, and the entrance defended by ſeveral forts and batteries, well planted with large cannon on both ſides. On the iſland is the black fort, which ſtands within half a muſket-ſhot of the bar, which is ſhut up by the ſouth-ſouth-weſt monſoons, from April to September, when is St. Anthony's new-moon, as they call the firſt new-moon in September. The freſhes coming down from the mountains, carry off the ſands, which choke the mouths of the rivers along all the coaſts of India. And, without the black fort, is a battery built cloſe to the ſea on a little promontory, called Nos Senhor de Cabo, about a mile without the black fort. And, juſt over that battery, on a little hill about 40 yards high, is a fine monaſtery, always kept as white as ſnow, and may be ſeen a good diſtance off at ſea. The monaſtery has a large pleaſant garden towards the land, and an orchard of excellent fruit trees. And, on the oppoſite of Nos Senhor de Cabo, is a fort built on the face of a little hill, which commands that ſide of the river. And, without that, is the Aguada, fortified with a fort on its top, and ſeveral batteries at the foot of its high grounds, which are alſo about 40 yards high. In the caſtle is placed a large lantern for a light-houſe, to ſhew ſhipping the way into the road about the beginning of September, when thick clouds obſcure the land, that it cannot be well known at ſea. All boats that are bound to the city, are obliged to call at Aguada, to give an account from whence they came, and what their buſineſs is; and if any preſume to paſs without calling there, they are ſure of a

ſhot fired from a battery at them, to put them in mind of their duty. Two leagues to the ſouth of Aguada are the Marmagun iſlands, being five in number, and run a league into the ſea. The two innermoſt are fortified, to command the entrance of the river of St. Lorenzo, which is a branch of Goa river, parting about five leagues from their mouths, and compoſe the iſland called Goa iſland.

This country belonged formerly to the kings of Viſapore; but in the fifteenth century, when Albukerk ſettled the Portugueze colonies in India, he purchaſed the iſlands of Goa and Salſet, which lie contiguous to Goa, from the King, who did them many ſingular ſervices, which afterwards were repaid by ingratitude.

About the year 1660, when the Dutch had a war in America and India, with the Portugueze, the Dutch ſent a ſquadron, to try if they could add Goa to the reſt of their Indian conqueſts, but found its avenues ſo well fortified, that it was thought impractable to land. Their ſhips were forced to lie at a good diſtance from Aguada and Nos Senhor de Cabo, and ſo continued riding at anchor triumphantly, without action, except a little diverſion they had with a Portugueſe bravo, who, with a ſmall ſhip of forty guns, would needs paſs through the Dutch fleet as they lay at anchor; but they ſoon made him ſenſible of his raſh folly, by ſinking his ſhip, and either killing or drowning him and all his crew.

When the Portugueze and the Sevajee had war, (I think that Conde de Villa Verde was then viceroy,) there were ſo few ſoldiers, and ſo many prieſts, that he was obliged to take recruits for his army, out of the church; but the King of Portugal was forced to recal him for that great offence.

Between Goa and Salſet there is a little river that is another branch of the river of Goa, which diſembogues about a league to the ſouth of Marmagun, at a village called Bangricoal, and affords a little harbour for ſmall veſſels, from which place the iſland of Salſet ſtretches five leagues along the ſea-ſhore in a fine level plain, planted with cocoa-nut trees and churches. The product of this iſland is as that of Goa, arrack and ſalt. The churches and monaſteries are ſeminaries for black Romiſh prieſts, and the country, beſides them, produces good ſtore of hogs and poultry. At Cabo de Rama, which is contiguous to Salſet, are the limits of the dominions of the Portugueze on that part of India.

CHAP. XXII.—*Gives an Account of the Sundah Rajah's Dominions, the Product, Religion and Cuſtoms of his Country, with Obſervations on his War with the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, in anno* 1718.

CABO de Rama, or, as the Engliſh call it, Cape Ramus, begins the limits of the Sundah Rajah's country to the northward, and has a caſtle on the cape to ſecure his frontier; but there is no river or harbour for ſhipping, till we come to Sevaſeer, and that is but a bad one, though it has the cover of a large caſtle with few guns in it. But,

Carwar, which lies ſeven leagues to the ſouthward of cape Ramus, has the advantages of a good harbour, on the ſouth ſide of a bay, and a river capable to receive ſhips of 300 tuns. The Engliſh have a factory here, fortified with two baſtions, and ſome ſmall cannon for its defence. The Rajah is tributary to the Mogul at preſent, but formerly was a part of Viſapore's dominions, before Aurengzeb conquered that country. This Rajah's dominions reach from Cape Ramus to Merzee, about fifteen leagues along the ſea-coaſt, and ſixty or ſeventy leagues within land.

About

About the year 1660, Aurengzeb came into Viſapore with an army of 3 or 400,000 men, and ſoon conquered the open country; but the metropolis, called the city of Viſapore, took him ſeven or eight years to reduce it, for being built on a flat mountain of difficult acceſs, and room enough to ſow corn on it, obliged Aurengzeb to ſurround it with his army, and make a blockade; but at laſt it yielded, and Aurengzeb put the King in chains of ſilver, and carried him in triumph along with his victorious army, near the ſpace of thirty years, and then he died an inglorious captive. He was reckoned a good ſimple peaceable prince while he reigned, but was in no way related to the god Mars.

The Sundah Rajah's country is mountainous, and lies on both ſides of the mountains of Gatti. The vallies abound in corn and pepper, the beſt in India; and the woods, on the mountains, with many ſorts of wild beaſts, as tigers, wolves, monkies, wild hogs, deer, elks, and wild cattle of a prodigious large ſize. I have ſeen a wild bull killed there, whoſe four quarters weighed above a tun weight, beſides the hide, head and guts. I meaſured his horns, which were not long in proportion to their thickneſs, being twenty three inches in circumference about the roots, and his marrow-bones ſo large, that I took the marrow out with an ordinary ſilver-ſpoon. The fleſh was not ſo ſavoury as that of ſmall tame cattle, nor would it take ſalt kindly, but grew hard, dry and black when ſalted.

This country is ſo famous for hunting, that two gentlemen of diſtinction, viz. Mr. Lembourg, of the houſe of Lembourg in Germany, and Mr. Goring, a ſon of My Lord Goring's in England, went incognito in one of the Eaſt-India company's ſhips, for India. They left letters directed for their relations, in the hands of a friend of theirs, to be delivered two or three months after their departure, ſo that letters of credit followed them by the next year's ſhipping, with orders from the Eaſt-India Company to the chiefs of the factories, wherever they ſhould happen to come, to treat them according to their quality. They ſpent three years at Carwar, viz. from anno 1678 to 1681; then, being tired with that ſort of pleaſure, they both took paſſage on board a Company's ſhip for England, but Mr. Goring died four days after the ſhip's departure from Carwar, and lies buried on the iſland St. Mary, about four leagues from the ſhore, off Batacola, and Mr. Lembourg returned ſafe to England.

There are three ſpecies of tigers in Carwar woods. The ſmalleſt is the fierceſt. It is not above two feet high when it walks. It is very cunning, and delights much in human fleſh. The ſecond ſort is about three feet high, and hunts deer and wild hogs, and a little creature, called a piſſay. Its body has the ſhape of a deer, but its head like a ſwine; and, as a boar has two long tuſks growing upward from the nether jaw, ſo it has two long ſmall ſharp teeth which grow downward from the upper jaw, and reach as low as the under part of the lower jaw. They are very harmleſs and fearful, and feed on graſs and herbs. They are hardly ſo big as a full grown cat, and their fleſh is black, and taſtes like an hare's. The largeſt ſize of the tigers is above three foot and an half high, when they walk. They are leſs rapacious than the others, ſeldom greedy of human fleſh, and ſooner frightned. A poor peaſant in this country had a buffalo bemired in a bog, and while he went to his neighbours for aſſiſtance came a large tiger that ſaved them the trouble, for he pulled it out by his own dexterity and ſtrength, and when he had done, threw him over his ſhoulder, as a fox does a gooſe, and was carrying it, with its feet upwards, to his den, but, when he ſaw the people, he let it fall, and went away; but he had killed the buffalo, and

had ſucked his blood. It is a ſmall buffalo that weighs not above 500 lb. weight, and ſome weigh 1200.

I once was in the woods with my fuzee, to try if I could kill a deer, but a ſmall rain happened to fall that damped my powder, which was only wrapped up in paper; and my gun being uſeleſs, I was making towards the plain where our factory ſtands, and falling on a foot-path from the mountains towards the plain, I kept in that road, and had not gone far, till I eſpied a tiger of the largeſt ſize ſtanding in the ſame path, with his face towards me. As ſoon as he ſaw me, he ſquatted his belly to the ground, and wagged his tail, crawling ſlowly towards me. I thought it would be in vain to flee, ſo I ſtepped leiſurely forward, till I came within ten yards of him; I then clubbed my fuzee, and made what noiſe I could to frighten him, and he out of civility, ruſhed in amongſt a thicket of buſhes, and left me the road, which I did not think fit to accept of, but got in among the buſhes on the oppoſite ſide to him (I dare ſay) much more frightened than he was. And, before I got to the plain, I ſaw a wild bull and a cow grazing. The bull grew angry, and ſnorted, but the cow only gazed on me; but I ſoon got out of their ſight, and got ſafe to the factory; but never went into the woods again but with a numerous company.

The chief of the Engliſh factory is held in very great eſteem in this country, and when he goes a hunting, is generally accompanied with moſt part of the people of diſtinction in the vicinage, who bring their vaſſals and ſervants with them, armed with fire-arms and other weapons, both miſſive and defenſive, with trumpets, hautboys and drums. The fire men place themſelves at convenient diſtances, along the ſkirts of an hill or a wood, except ſome that are ſent in to guard thoſe who are ſent with their loud muſick to rouze the game. The drums, trumpets and hautboys ſpread themſelves ſometimes for a mile or two, and on a ſignal given, ſtrike up at once, and march towards the ſkirt where the fire men are placed. The wild inhabitants being aſtoniſhed with the unuſual noiſe, betake themſelves to their heels, and fall in the ambuſcade, and many of them are killed and wounded in their flight. I ſaw, in one of theſe huntings, above a dozen of deer killed, two wild cows with their calves, who would not leave their dead parents, though they had done ſucking; alſo four or five ſows, who had above a dozen of pigs following them, and were all killed, with ſome piſſays; and all in leſs than two hours ſpace. The hunters made good cheer of what they liked beſt, and what remained was ſent to the factory; and the chief ſoon following after, was conducted home by the whole company, and at the factory gate, made him a compliment, and departed. At this time, which was in anno 1692, the factory had about a ſcore of good dogs for game, of Engliſh brood, and the Company allowed each of them about two pounds of boiled rice daily, but now they are better huſbands of their money, and have diſcharged all their dogs and other ſuperfluities, except one good old cuſtom of treating ſtrangers that come there from Europe, with pretty black female dancers, who are very active in their dancing, and free in their converſation, where ſhame is quite out of faſhion.

The woods produce great quantities of good teak timber, uſeful in building both ſhips and houſes. It is more durable than oak. And there is good poon maſts, ſtronger, but heavier than fir. There is a ſhrub grows in the woods, that has a leaf bigger than that of the fig-tree; and the dew that falls on that leaf being carefully gathered, and ſet in the ſun a day or two, becomes the pleaſanteſt and ſtrongeſt acid that ever I taſted.

Before

Before Aurengzeb conquered Viſapore, this country produced the fineſt betteellas or muſlins in India. The Engliſh Company had a great cloth trade here, and employed about 50,000 people in that manufactory; but the Mogul's licentious ſoldiers fell into this province, and ruined all manner of trade, plundering the induſtrious inhabitants of all they could lay hands on, and cut the Company's cloth from the loom, and uſed the weavers ſo rudely, that they left their own country, to look for protection in countries farther to the ſouthward, where war had not ſet up her bloody banners.

When the Mogul's general had taken poſſeſſion of that province in his maſter's name, he invited the gentlemen of the Engliſh factory to an entertainment in his tent, under pretence of ſettling the Company's commerce, and, while they were at dinner, he ſent a party of men, who plundered and burned their houſe, which made the Company build and fortify what they now have; but he who built it where it is, had no great foreſight in chooſing his ground, for it ought to have been built in a place of free communication with the ſea, but now it ſtands a league from it. And in anno 1718, the Rajah ſhewed them their error, and built batteries at the mouth of the river, ſo that the factory is nothing at preſent but a genteel priſon, which by dear bought experience, we found in a war we had with him, by the indiſcretion of one Taylor who was chief, who pretended to be lord of the manor, in appropriating a wrack to his own uſe, that was caſt away above four miles from the factory. The Rajah could not bear to be ſo bare-facedly affronted in his own dominions, by tenants that would hear no reaſon. He beſieged the factory for two months before the ſeaſon would admit of forces coming to aſſiſt them by ſea; and when they arrived, the ſeas run ſo high on the ſhore, that there was great difficulty of landing in the teeth of an enemy, who had ten times our numbers, ſo that the firſt attempt of landing was unſucceſsful, by reaſon of our men's neglect and diſobedience to the orders they had received, and about fourſcore of our braveſt fellows were cut off, and ſome taken priſoners: but, about ſix weeks after, we had ſome revenge on the enemy in an engagement on the ſide of an hill among thick buſhes. The enemy being above our men began their fire at break of day, to beat our men from a ſpring of freſh water cloſe to the ſea: but our ſmall veſſels lying near the ſhore to cover about 400 men, that lay to guard the water, fired with ſuch good ſucceſs, that, in an hour's time, they were obliged to run, and leave nearly 200 dead in the woods; and our men purſuing them in their flight, did ſome execution on them.

We were in daily expectation of more forces, and did not offer the enemy battle, becauſe of their numbers and our want of experience; but we haraſſed the enemy in the nights, in burning villages, for there was little to plunder; and at ſea we took ſome veſſels laden with ſalt going to the enemy, and three ſhips of the Rajah's coming from Arabia with horſes, to the number of 140, which created us much trouble to find provender and water for them: however, when our reinforcement came, we could muſter, in our fleet, of ſeamen and ſoldiers, 2250 men. The enemy raiſed ſome batteries on the ſtrand to hinder our landing; and we took two of the prizes, and made them ſhot-proof above water, and laid them aſhore at high water to batter their batteries and keep the enemy at a diſtance with their great ſhot, till our men were landed and drawn up. Each of our floating batteries was covered with a frigate of 20 or 24 guns. When all was ready we landed 1250 men, without the leaſt hindrance from the enemy, for they were preparing to flee to the woods; but our freſh water land officers were ſo long drawing up their men in a confounded hollow ſquare, that the enemy took courage, and, with horſe and foot came running towards our men,

firing, and wounding ſome as they marched in their ranks, which our commandant ſeeing, pulled off his red coat, and vaniſhed. Some other as valiant captains as he, took example, and left their poſts, and then the the ſoldiers followed, and threw down their arms. We loſt in this ſkirmiſh about 250; but our floating batteries would not permit the enemy to purſue far, nor durſt they ſtay to gather up our ſcattered arms, ſo about 80 ſailors went on the field of battle, and brought on board of the commodore about 200 ſtand of arms, moſt of them loaded: however the enemy had ſome loſs too, for we found eleven horſes dead, and ſaw many fires along the foot of the hills to burn their dead men in.

The Rajah had, by this time, 7000 men engaged in this war, which expence he began to be tried of, and the loſs of his ſhips and horſes was ſome mortification to him, beſides the Saw Rajah had made an inroad into his northren borders, which made him incline very much towards a peace, and accordingly he ſent a Brahman on board the commodore of the fleet, to negotiate a peace. The commodore heard him, and adviſed him to make his overtures to Mr. Taylor; but he ſaid, that the Rajah would by no means conſent to treat with him, complaining, that he was not only the occaſion of that war, but even, before the war, had done ſome detriment to him and his ſubjects, for receiving the Company's pepper above 100 miles from the factory. He made the ſervants that went to receive the pepper, take certain quantities to ſell out by retail in his villages, to the utter ruin of many poor inhabitants, that had no other way to get their livelihood, but, by huckſtering; and becauſe the company's agreement with his forefathers and himſelf, gave them a free trade in all his dominions, he paſſed all over, but was forced to relieve the poor botickeers or ſhop-keepers, who before could pay him taxes; however we being tired of war as well as he, by the mediation of a Seid, who was a friend to both parties, in ten days after the firſt overture was made, peace was proclaimed on eaſy terms for both parties.

There is one trick that the prieſts yearly put upon the people in this country, that would puzzle the beſt merry-andrews in Europe to imitate, and that is, about the latter end of May, or the beginning of June, there is a feaſt celebrated to the infernal gods, with a divination or conjuration to know the fate of the enſuing crop of corn. The ceremony I ſaw here, and at other places on the coaſt of Canara. The prieſts having perſuaded ſome fools to bear a part in the farce, proclaim the feaſt to be on ſuch a day, at a certain grove, where ſeveral thouſands of people aſſemble, and in the middle of the grove is placed a black ſtone of 3 or 400 weight, without any deſigned ſhape, but ſome places bedaubed with red lead mixed in oil, to ſerve for a mouth, eyes and ears, with a little earthen pot of fire placed before the ſtone, and a girl about ten years of age to attend it.

Some prieſts, all naked, except a bit of cloth to hide their privities, run and dance round the ſtone and fire for half an hour, like mad-men, making ſtrange diſtortions in their phizes, and now and then bellowing like calves. This was the firſt ſcene. Thoſe prieſts had erected a ſcaffold on two axle-trees, that had trucks fitted for them like the carriage of ſhip guns. In the middle of the ſcaffold (which might be about 15 foot long, and as broad) was erected a piece of wood about 15 feet high, with a notch cut in the upper end, like the cheeks of a ſhip's pump, with holes bored for a bolt to paſs through, as pump cheeks have. A tree hewn for their purpoſe, about 40 feet long, was laid about the middle in the notch, and a bolt paſſing through the cheeks and that tree, like a pump-brake. At one end of the tree were placed two croſs pieces, one at the very end, and the other about four feet without it. Each of

theſe

theſe croſs pieces were about four feet long, and, at the other end had a rope faſtened to it. And this was the vehicle for the actors to hang on for a mile or two.

The actors preſenting themſelves to the prieſts, being four in number, dreſſed as the prieſts were; only on their heads, crowns were made round their temples, of ſugar-cane leaves, open at the top, like ducal crowns. The prieſts brought two tenter-hooks, ſuch as the butchers in Britain hang their meat on, for each actor, and, after ſome ridiculous ceremony, hooked them on each ſide of the back-bone, a little above the kidnies. Thoſe hooks had cords faſt to them, ſo they went dancing round the ſtone, and the prieſt holding their ſtrings faſt, and, after two minutes dancing, they came tamely to the end of the tree, where the croſs pieces were faſtened, and one was tied up to each end of the croſs pieces, and the mob was ready to hale down the other end, and faſtened it to the end of the ſcaffold, and the fooliſh fellows were hung up by the back, above ten yards from the ground. The populace broke ſome old cocoa-nuts on the ſcaffold, and ſome hundreds of them got hold of the ropes faſtened to the ſcaffold, and hauled it over ploughed ground, above a mile, to another grove; and the girl with the pot of fire on her head, walking all the way before. When they came to the end of their journey they were let down, and going into the grove, where was placed another black ſtone pagod, the girl ſet her fire before it, and run ſtark mad for a minute or two, and then fell in a ſwoon, and in that ſhe lay ſweating and foaming at the mouth prodigiouſly. When ſhe grew mad, the men fell flat on the ground before the image, and then aroſe after ſhe fell in her trance. She continued immoveable about a quarter of an hour, and then awoke, and ſeemed to be very ſick. The prieſts interrogated her about what ſhe had ſeen and heard from the terreſtrial gods, and ſhe gave them a ſatisfactory anſwer, on which they all bowed to the image, and put their hand on a cow that was there ready, dedicated to the image; and ſo all departed ſatisfied.

On ſight of the new moon in Auguſt they have another piece of ſuperſtition, in a feaſt dedicated to the ſea, for the proſperous navigation of the enſuing ſeaſon. They have the effigies of the god Gunnies, which is a man's body, with an elephant's head, clapped cleverly on his ſhoulders, and carried in proceſſion to a river's ſide, and thrown into the river, upon which, all rivers who have bars are opened for navigation.

This Gunnies was ſon to Ram, another god, who had a great war many years with a certain ſort of gigantick devils, that inſulted the land, and carried away all the virgins they could lay their paws on; at length Ram overcame them in a bloody battle, for which ſucceſs, he ſwore he would make a ſacrifice of the firſt living creature he ſhould meet in his own dominions, to the great god of heaven; and poor Gunnies was the firſt object that preſented himſelf; for being a good loving ſon, came on purpoſe to meet and welcome his father from his fatigues in war: you may judge what a pack of troubles Ram was in, but there was no remedy, but Gunnies muſt die; and, with great regret, he was about to have his head ſtruck off, when a clever fellow of a Brahman doctor came, and told Ram, that by his art he could ſave Gunnies's life, if his advice might be followed, which Ram promiſed to do, on which the doctor ordered a young elephant to be brought; and when the father whipped off his ſon's head, the doctor very ſkilfully cut off the elephant's at one ſtroke, and nimbly ſet it on Gunnies's ſhoulders, to the great admiration of all the beholders; and from that day to this, Gunnies has wore an elephant's head.

There are a ſet of Brahmans in this country called Buts, they ſtudy aſtrology, and are in great repute for their exemplary innocent lives, and ſkill in propheſying. In the year 1684, one Moam But told ſome things very ſurpriſing, when Mr. Walſel was chief for the Engliſh at Carwar.

In the ſpace of three years no Engliſh ſhip from Europe had called there, and the gentlemen longing for one, and Moam But coming to viſit the chief, Mr. Walſel aſked him if he could tell when a ſhip from Europe would call there. He anſwered, he could tell, and muſing a little while, told, that on that ſame day forty days, which happened to fall out on Sunday, one would arrive, and that ſhe was, at that time, at anchor at an iſland on this ſide of the Cape of Good Hope, taking refreſhments. The chief told him, if he propheſied true, he would preſent him with as much ſcarlet cloth as would make him a coat. The But anſwered, that he thanked him, but that neither of them would live to ſee her arrive, and therefore adviſed Mr. Walſel to ſet his houſe in order; and that, to prove ſome part of the prophecy true, the But himſelf ſhould die ten days after the day he propheſied, and that Mr. Walſel ſhould die ſo many days after. Accordingly the But died, which put the other's mind out of order, till the day of his death came, and that morning Mr. Walſel ſaid, he believed the conjurer was out in his reckoning, for he never was in better health in his days; but, after dinner, he had an apoplectic fit, that carried him off. And the ſhip's pinnance came aſhore at the factory gate that noon that the But told ſhe ſhould arrive. The ſhip was the Mexico Merchant, commanded by Captain Roger Paxton, whom I well knew.

The pretty nimble female dancers at Carwar are not ſo by choice; but all trades and occupations being liſted into tribes, none can marry out of their own tribe; and, as it fortuned, the originals of this tribe were ladies that could not be confined to one huſband, and ſo would not marry. Their poſterity are not ſuffered to marry, becauſe there are no men in their tribe allowed. When the laſſes bring forth children, the males are brought up ſoldiers, and the females are learned to dance, and what they earn by dancing goes to the Rajah, except a ſmall ſhare for the girl's maintenance. What they get by their kindneſs to ſtrangers is all their own; and I have ſeen ſome have very fine clothes and jewels acquired by their trade.

The Portugueze have an iſland called Anjediva (before mentioned), about two miles from Batcoal. They fortified it, for fear that Muſkat Arabs or the Savajees ſhould have ſettled on it; if they had, they might have incommoded the Goa fleet that goes yearly to Canara for corn.

At the mouth of Carwar river, are two fortified iſlands called Shipe and Gur. One is fortified by walls built round it, and ſome guns mounted on it. The other is ſteril and dry, and not worth walling. They both belong to the Rajah of Sundah. There are ſome iſlands lie athwart the mouth of the bay, that make the harbour of Carwar, but none inhabited. The bay has two large entrances for ſhipping. That to the north is clear from danger; but the ſouth channel has a ſharp rock like a pyramid in the middle of it, that ſeveral large ſhips have ſtruck on, for there is too much water on it for ſmall ſhips to be frightened by it, having at leaſt 15 feet water on its top.

There are ſeveral more little harbours in this Rajah's dominions to the ſouthward of Carwar, viz. Ankla, Cuddermuddy and Merzee, whoſe river terminates the Sunda's territories, and brings us on to a better country, viz. Canara.

CHAP. XXIII. — *Gives a Deſcription of Canara, ſhewing its Fertility, Product, Government, Religion, Cuſtoms, and Temper of its Inhabitants.*

ONOAR is its northermoſt port, and has the benefit of a river, capable to receive ſhips of two or three hundred tuns. It has a caſtle on a low hill, about a mile within

the bar, built, of old, by the Portugueze, when they were lords paramount of all the ſea-coaſts of India; but the Rajah of Canara was ſo affronted by them, that he laid ſiege to the caſtle, but was three years in reducing it; and ſo long he blocked it up, till hunger forced a ſurrender.

The religion, by law eſtabliſhed, here, as well as in Sundah, is the Pagan. And there is a pagod or temple, called Ramtrut, that is viſited yearly by great numbers of pilgrims. Cloſe by the temple, there is a fine ciſtern or tank, of a ſquare oblong figure. It is continually furniſhed with good water, that guſhes out of the face of a rock, as big as a man's thigh. There are about 50 ſteps cut out of the ſame rock, that lead from the ſurface of the earth down to the tank; and at the foot of the ſtairs is a little ſummer-houſe built. The tank is about three fathoms deep in the middle, and is ſtored with plenty of pretty brown fiſh, with a white ſtroke from their head to tail, on each ſide of the back-bone. And when any muſical inſtrument is played on by the ſides of the tank, they come in ſuch numbers towards the muſic, that they may be taken up in baſkets; but none dare meddle with them, becauſe they are conſecrated to the pagod.

Sometimes they carry the image of the pagod in proceſſion. In figure he is more like a monkey than a man. They put him into a coach in form of a tower, with a pyramidal top about 15 feet high, where eight or ten prieſts are ſet to bear the image company, and to ſing his praiſes. The coach has four wheels, and a rope of a good thickneſs made faſt to it, and drawn through the ſtreets by ſtrength of hand, with a great mob attending his godſhip, wherever he is drawn.

In Canara there are ſeveral cuſtoms peculiar to itſelf, and many of them are ſpread abroad to remote countries. Here it was, that the cuſtom of wives burning on the ſame pile with their deceaſed huſbands had its beginning. It is reported, that before the Brahmans invented this law, poiſon was ſo well known and practiſed, that the leaſt quarrel that happened between a married couple, coſt the huſband his life, and this law put a great ſtop to it; and now cuſtom ſo far prevails, that if any faint-hearted lady has not courage enough to accompany her ſpouſe to the other world, ſhe is forthwith ſhaved and degraded, and obliged to ſerve all her huſband's family in all kinds of drudgery.

I have ſeen ſeveral burned ſeveral ways. In this country they dig a pit about ten feet long, and ſix broad, and fill it with logs of wood. One great piece is ſet at the brim of the pit ready to fall down on pulling a bit of ſtring. When all is ready, there is good ſtore of oil or butter thrown on the wood, and then the huſband's corpſe is placed about the middle of the pile, and fire ſet to it, which blazes in an inſtant. Then the ſpouſe took her leave of all friends and acquaintances, and drums, trumpets and hautboys being playing cheerfully, ſhe walked three or four times round the pile, which, by this time, was all in a great blaze, and then leaps in on the corpſe. As ſoon as ever ſhe leaped in, a prieſt drew the ſtring, and down fell the great log of wood, at leaſt 500 pound weight, over her body, and all conſumed together.

In other parts they do not uſe pits, but a pile is built, and the corpſe laid on it, and fire put to it; and the victim dancing round it for a little time, to the noiſe of loud muſic, leaps in; and, if ſhe heſitates, the prieſts thruſt her in with long poles, making ſuch an hideous noiſe that ſhe cannot be heard; and, all the while ſhe is a burning the prieſts dance round the fire. Others again take ſomnific medicines, and ſtand by the pile till they fall on it while aſleep. I heard a ſtory of a lady that had received addreſſes from a gentleman, who afterwards deſerted her, and her relations obliged her to marry another, who died ſhortly after the marriage, and who, accord-

ing to cuſtom, was laid on the pile; and, as the fire was well kindled, and ſhe going to act the tragedy on herſelf, ſhe eſpied her former admirer, and beckoned to him to come to her. When he came, ſhe took him in her arms, as if ſhe had a mind to embrace him; but being ſtronger than he, ſhe carried him into the flames in her arms, where they both conſumed, with the corpſe of her huſband: yet I have known ſome faint hearted girls that had not the courage to accompany their ſpouſes into an unknown world, but rather live in this, though under the badge and umbrage of ignominy and ſhame.

This country of Canara is generally governed by a lady, who keeps her court at a town called Baydour, two days journey from the ſea. She may marry whom ſhe pleaſes; but her huſband never gets the title of Rajah, though if ſhe has ſons, the eldeſt of them does; but neither huſband nor ſon have any thing to do with the management of the government, while ſhe lives: nor are the queens obliged to burn with their huſbands. The ſubjects of this country obſerve the laws ſo well, that robbery or murder are hardly heard of among them. And a ſtranger may paſs through the country without being aſked where he is going, or what buſineſs he has.

No man is permitted in this country to ride on horſes, mules or elephants, but officers of ſtate or troopers, though we are allowed to ride on oxen or buffaloes: nor none are permitted to have umbrellas carried over them by ſervants, but muſt carry them themſelves if the ſun or rain offend them; but in all things elſe there is liberty and property.

The next ſea port, to the ſouthward of Onoar, is Batacola, which has the veſtigia of a very large city, ſtanding on a little river, about four miles from the ſea. There is nothing of it left now worth noticing, but ten or eleven ſmall pagods or temples covered with copper and ſtone. The country produces good quantities of pepper; and the Engliſh company had a factory there: but about the year 1670, an Engliſh ſhip coming there to lade, had a fine Engliſh bull-dog, which the chief of the factory begged of the captain.

After the ſhip was gone, the factory, which conſiſted of eighteen perſons, were going a hunting, and carried the bull-dog with them; and, paſſing through the town, the dog ſeized a cow devoted to a pagod, and killed her. Upon which the prieſts raiſed a mob, who murdered the whole factory; but ſome natives, that were friends to the Engliſh, made a large grave, and buried them all in it. The chief of Carwar ſent a ſtone to be put on the grave, with an inſcription, that this is the burial-place of John Beſt, with ſeventeen other Engliſhmen, who were ſacrificed to the fury of a mad prieſthood, and an enraged mob. The Engliſh never reſettled there ſince; but often buy pepper there. The iſland St. Mary lies weſt-north-weſt from the mouth of the river of Batacola, about four leagues diſtant, being the burial-place of Mr. Goring before obſerved. There are ſome more iſlands lying cloſe to the ſhore, but are beſet with rocks under water. And what ſhips paſs between St. Mary and them, ought not to venture above two miles within that iſland; but there is no danger within a quarter of a mile of it, but what is viſible.

The next town to the ſouthward of Batacola, is Barceloar, ſtanding on the banks of a broad river, about four miles from the ſea. The country abounds in rice, having in many places two crops in a year, by the advantage they have of ſome lakes at the feet of the mountains of Gatti, whoſe waters being confined by ſluices, are let out at convenient times to water their rich fields. The Dutch have a factory here, only to buy up rice for their garriſons on the Malabar coaſt. It ſtands about a mile from the river's mouth, that has a bar of 13 or 14 feet water on it at

ſpring tides, and has a caſtle on its north ſide for its guard, that none may go in or out without leave.

The Portugueze alſo get ſupplies of rice for Goa, and they have ſix or eight ſhips, belonging to Barceloar, that carry their cargoes of rice to Muſkat, and bring back in return, horſes, dates, pearls, and other merchandize of the product of Arabia. To the ſouthward of this place, on a plain road that leads to Mangulore, are planted four rows of trees, on the ſides of a walk about eight or ten miles long, which being very large, and having ſpreading branches ever green all the ſummer, ſerve for umbrellas to paſſengers that travel that road. And, on ſeveral places, there are huts built, where ſome old people ſtay in the day time, with jars of fine clear water for the paſſengers to drink gratis, at the charge of the ſtate. Baccanoar and Molkey lie between Barceloar and Mangulore, both having the benefit of rivers to export the large quantities of rice that their fields produce.

Mangulore is the greateſt mart for trade in all the Canary dominions. It has the conveniency of one river produced by three that come into it different ways, viz. from the north, ſouth, and eaſt, all proceeding from the great rains and dews that fall from the mountains of Gatti, which lie 25 or 30 leagues up in the country, and are the inland bounds of the Canary dominions. Thoſe three rivers join about a mile from the ſea, and, at Mangulore, diſembogue at one mouth into the common receptory of rivers.

The Portugueze had a factory for rice here, and a pretty large church, becauſe great numbers of black Chriſtians reſide there. The prieſts, as well as their congregations, are the very ſcum of Chriſtianity. The clergy are ſo ſhameleſs, that they will bargain with a ſtranger to pimp for them. And the laity look on whoring, thieving, and murder, as no ſin, if any gain can be got by them.

The fields here bear two crops of corn yearly in the plains; and the higher grounds produce pepper, bettlenut, ſandal-wood, iron and ſteel, which make Mangulore a place of pretty good trade. The town is poorly built, along the ſides of the rivers, and has no defence againſt an enemy, but two ſmall forts, one of each ſide of the river's mouth. The Rajah or Rana keeps generally about 15,000 ſoldiers on their Malabar frontiers, to repel the inſolence of the Malabars, and another army towards the Sevagee borders, to cover them from the inroads of thoſe Harpies; for the Malabars and Sevagees being poor in reſpect of the Canarines, watch opportunities to borrow the ſuperfluities of their rich neighbours. Such practices have been uſed, in former times amongſt us in Britain, and, no doubt, would ſtill be ſo, if good wholeſome laws, backed with good forces to ſee them put in execution, did not reſtrain us.

Along the Malabar frontiers, the Canarians have forts built of earth, wherein are kept about 2 or 300 ſoldiers ready, on all occaſions, to encounter any ſmall party of the Malabars that clandeſtinely come in to thieve or rob; but the Muſkat Arabs, in anno 1695, came with a fleet, and plundered the ſea-coaſt of Canara, and burnt Barceloar and Mangulore, and carried away a great booty. And Connagee Angarie, in anno 1720, came along the coaſt, and inſulted it; but, on landing ſome men, found ſuch reſiſtance, that made him embark again, without doing much miſchief to the country.

There is only one ſmall ſea-port more in Canara, called Manguzeer, about five leagues to the ſouthward of Mangulore, and three from Decully, a large fort built on an iſland cloſe to the land. And three leagues farther ſouth is a ſmall river that divides the Canara and Malabar territories.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.—*Treats of the Malabars; their Forces and Families, Religion, Laws and Cuſtoms, Product of their Country, and their Commerce; with ſome miſcellaneous Obſervations on their Cuſtoms and Laws.*

MALABAR is a pretty large country, divided into many principalities, and I have a liſt of them as they were given in to the ingenious and curious Heer Van Rede, commiſſary general for affairs of the Dutch Eaſt India Company in anno 1694, who died off Bombay in his voyage towards Surat.

Each province can raiſe forces by its clans, as follows:

	Men.
Tipopoſoriwan:	
Terivancoar	100,000
Attinga	30,000
Eledaſoriwan	50,000
Peritalie	3,000
Seigenatie	30,000
Teirewey	15,000
Odenadie Carree:	
Coilcolong	50,000
Pana Pollie	15,000
Martin Gallie	15,000
Carimbalie	15,000
Teiom Balanore Koilie	3,000
Reubanie Aregalie	3,000
Chitawa Canaar:	
Tellicherry Baakie, Elependre May Porombo	3,000
Dedamaadie Peneretta, Moeterte Manka Polie	15,000
Perombara Cormaa:	
Arregatte Calgampolie, Mamalie Madonie	15,000
Bambellendada:	
Kilpolie Chitway	75,000
Martingalie Coer	37,000
Tekellenore	37,000
Doenjatte Penmaal	3,000
Cottenadie:	
Zembaga Cherry	30,000

	Men.
Teſegidin Genatie:	
Elertecore	10,000
Moutere Coree	10,000
Ambada Coree	10,000
Rapolin:	
Elengoly Serewan	5,000
Courour Nadie:	
Corour Monta Coil	15,000
Billiatte Serewan	15,000
Badecancore:	
Manne Tellum	30,000
Moda Callie	3,000
Boy Pilcore	15,000
Kilmalle Core	15,000
Perimba Daponadie:	
Martingaly Tavil	3,000
Moute Tavil	3,000
Palombe Tavil	3,000
Teilor Tavil	3,000
Ela Tavil	3,000
Teſieragatta Nadie:	
Teiragalle Caymaal	15,000
Padanarie erte Caymaal	8,000
Pindereretol Nade:	
Pindereretel Nambi Deri	15,000
Coil Pade	1,000
Mangela Nade:	
Belatte Tavil	10,000
Cara ta Tavil	15,000

Nambouries,

	Men.
Nambouries, or, Prieſts:	
Bay Pinade - -	6,000
Aaron Ade - -	2,000
Merinade Nambouri -	3,000
Nanderetti Nade:	
Coro Seir Caymal -	30,000
Cories Caymal -	5,000
Siangrande Canmal -	5,000
Panna Maketts Caymal	3,000
Tollapoli Nade:	
Amacotta Nambedi -	15,000
Manacotta Nambedi -	15,000
Cacatte Nambedi -	15,000
Tiſtul Nambedi -	15,000
Terratekin Nair -	15,000
Nambiar; or, Prieſts of the ſecond order:	
Relolaſte Nambiar -	3,000
Relo Canadarie -	3),000
Erenaden Caree:	
Cannal Canadrie -	40,000
Rete Coil - -	5,000
Paro Pachoil -	3,000
Ropo Coil - -	2,000

	Men.
Tomera Serinade:	
Iregale Nade, a prieſt of the firſt order -	3,000
Candette Nayer	10,000
Omnitrie - -	10,000
Palangier Nayer -	3,000
Mangalacka -	3,000
Dana Seir Ilerda -	10,000
Ramenatte Corie -	15,000
Polletti Nade:	
Calliſtree Odirofe Coilan Palle Coilan Ziereck Coilan	23,000
Ballanore Burgary -	30,000
Tellicherry Mota Naire	15,000
Zitre Caymal Mar -	30,000
Alarte Tere Caymal -	30,000
Alarte Nade Adovodie	15,000
Paravia Coil -	60,000
Bayella Nade:	
Mangalette Naire -	1,000
Manetane Naire -	1,000
Callepatte Naire -	1,000
Teyka Patte Naire -	1,000
Motrel Naire -	1,000

Making in all 1,262,009 men fit to carry arms.

There are ſeveral other principalities in this country that I do not find mentioned in this liſt, as Cannanore and Tannore, whoſe government are in the hands of Mahometans, or Malabar Moors. The kingdoms of Couchin and Porcat are not put down in the liſt, nor Paarow, which are potent principalities; and the Samorin, or empire of Calecut, one of the moſt potent of them all, has no place in this liſt. But,

The country, though large and populous, is not fruitful in corn, for there is abundance of rice imported from Canara; but, being low and ſandy all along the ſea-coaſt, except a few riſing grounds, which are the moſt ſterile, yet it nouriſhes vaſt numbers of cocoa-nut and arecka trees, whoſe fruit brings them great gains from other countries. The higher grounds produce pepper and cardamums, the beſt in the world; and their woods teak timber and angelique for building, ſandal-wood, or ſaunders, white and yellow caſſia lignum, or wild cinnamon, and caſſia fiſtula, nux vomica, and cocolus India. Drugs grow plentifully in their woods, which are alſo well ſtored with wild game both for pleaſure and uſe. Their mountains produce iron and ſteel, but not ſo good as we have in Europe. And their ſea is ſtored with many ſpecies of excellent fiſhes.

When

When the Portugueze came firſt into India, the Samorin of Calecut was lord paramount of Malabar; and, in his dotage, when he was well advanced in years, he would needs be a Mahometan, and, to ſhew his zeal, would go in pilgrimage to Mecca, to viſit the tomb. Before he took his voyage, which was by ſea, he made a will, and having four nephews, bequeathed each of them a part of his empire. To the eldeſt he bequeathed Calliſtree, whoſe ſea-coaſt reaches from Decully to Ticorie, about 24 leagues. To the ſecond, whom he loved beſt, the title of Samorin and a ſea-coaſt from Ticorie to Chitawa, about the ſame diſtance. To the third, Attinge, which reached from Chitawa to Cape Comorin, about 50 leagues, becauſe that part of the country is confined between the ſea and the mountains of Gatti, and is divided by rivers from thoſe mountains, into more than 1000 iſlands between Chitawa and Quoiloan. The youngeſt had Coil, which reached from Cape Comorin to the river of Nayapatam, about 50 leagues more.

The old zealot dying in his voyage, made great diſturbances in the ſtate among the brothers; and, after a long and bloody war, they concluded on the partitions of the foregoing liſt. Many of the tribes continue tributaries to the provinces mentioned in the old king's will; but many more are independent. And ſo I will return to Decully and proceed in my obſervations along the ſhore.

Between Decully and mount Delly there is no harbour, though a fine deep river keeps its courſe to the ſouthward, along the ſhore, for about eight leagues, never, in all that tract, going above a bow-ſhot from the ſea. It diſembogues itſelf by the foot of mount Delly, over rocks and ſands, in a channel of half a league broad. The inhabitants are a wild, ſuperſtitious, uncivilized people. There is alſo a ſmall river that runs cloſe by the foot of mount Delly, on the ſouth-ſide. And three leagues ſouth from mount Delly is a ſpacious deep river, called Balliapatam, where the Engliſh Company had once a factory for pepper; and the aforementioned Mr. Boucher was the laſt chief for their affairs there.

Cannanore was formerly a town belonging to the crown of Portugal, with a very ſtrong fort to guard it, built on a point of land ſo commodiouſly, that the ſea fortified above four fifths of it, and had the conveniency of a ſmall bay for an harbour, that could ſhelter ſmall ſhips from the fury of the ſouth-weſt monſoons. The Dutch came with a fleet about the year 1660, and landed a ſmall army, and were joined by a great number of the natives, who were weary of the tyranny of the Portugueſe. The very firſt day that they opened their trenches a Portugueſe fidalgo was killed on a baſtion, by a ſhot from the Dutch, which ſo frightened the governor of the fort, that, in the night, he made his eſcape, and left the garriſon to capitulate for themſelves, which they did next day, to ſave the effuſion of Chriſtian blood by heretical cannon.

The Dutch continue ſtill maſters of the fort and added a large curtain, with two royal baſtions fronting the land avenues. They demoliſhed the town, and, with its ſtones, built thoſe defences. There trade is very ſmall, ſo that their garriſon conſiſts of about forty ſoldiers and a captain, who is governor of the fort; but there is a pretty large town built in the bottom of the bay, that is independent of the Dutch, and that town, with ſome circumjacent country, is under the government of Adda Rajah a Mahometan Malabar prince, who, upon occaſion, can bring near 20,000 men into the field. His government is not abſolute, nor is it hereditary; and, inſtead of giving him the truſt of the treaſury which comes by taxes and merchandize, they have cheſts made on purpoſe, with holes made in their lids, and their coin being all gold

gold, whaever is received by the treaſurer, is put into thoſe cheſts by thoſe holes; and each cheſt has four locks, and their keys are put in the hands of the rajah, the commiſſioner of trade, the chief judge and the treaſurer; and when there is occaſion for money, none can be taken out without all theſe four be preſent, or their deputies.

In anno 1668, the prince came into the Dutch fort to pay a compliment to the captain. He had brought about 50 attendants with him. While the prince was complimenting the captain, the Malabars took the opportunity of the Dutch ſecurity, and killed the ſentinel at the gate; but the Dutch ſoldiers being all in their barracks, and their arms ready made, a ſeaſonable ſally, and drove the Malabars out, with the loſs of twenty of their number; and the Dutch ſhut their gate. The fort is large, and the governor's lodgings at a good diſtance from the gate, ſo that the fray was over before either the prince or the Dutch captain knew any thing of the matter; and an officer bringing the news, the prince ordered a ſearch to be made for the ringleader, and being found, he ſentenced him to be ſmeared over with honey, and made faſt to a cocoa-nut tree in the ſun till he died. Next morning the ſentence was put in execution. Theſe cocoa-nut trees producing a ſweet liquor called toddy, bring vaſt numbers of waſps and large red ants to drink the liquor. Thoſe ants bite as painfully as the ſtinging of waſps. When the ſun begins to be hot, they leave the top of the tree, and burrow in holes about the root. In their paſſage downward they fixed on the carcaſe beſmeared with the honey, and ſoon burrowed in the fleſh. The poor miſcreant was three days in that ſenſible torment before he expired. The Dutch captain begged every day for a pardon, or at leaſt for a milder or quicker death; but the prince was inexorable.

In anno 1702, I hired a ſhip called the Albermarle, in ſervice of the new eſtabliſhed Eaſt-India Company, to ſerve me three months and an half on a voyage from Surat to the Malabar coaſt, and back; and having occaſion to call at Cannanore, I accompanied the captain of the fort and an Engliſh factor from Tellicherry to the court of Omnitree, ſucceſſor to the eldeſt ſon of the Samorin before mentioned, who died in his voyage towards Mecca.

Captain Beawes, who commanded the Albermarle, accompanied us alſo, carrying a drum and two trumpets with us, to make our compliment the more ſolemn. This was a viſit paid him by all his tributaries and friends to wiſh him many happy years, it being his birth-day. We travelled eight or ten miles before we came to his palace, which was built with twigs, and covered with cadjans or cocoa-nut tree leaves woven together. We were admitted to his preſence as ſoon as we arrived, in an open green, juſt by his palace window, which looked into it, where ſet his majeſty, with his queen, and three or four of his children, pretty well grown up. We paid our compliment each with a zequeen in gold, and a few grains of rice laid on it, and ſo, by an interpreter we had ſome frivolous diſcourſe. He treated us with toddy, ſome plaintains, and young cocoa-nuts; and then after an hour's ſtay, we had audience of leave, and ſo departed.

Omnitree himſelf was a man of a good aſpect, about forty years of age, of an olive colour. His dreſs was only a ſilk lungie or ſcarf made faſt by a girdle of gold plate, about his middle, that reached to his knees, with great jewels of maſſy gold, ſet with rubies, emeralds and pearl, hanging at his ears, but no ornament on his head, but a very beautiful head of hair hanging over his ſhoulders. His queen and daughters were in the ſame habit, only their hair was tied up behind. They were all naked above

the navel, and were bare-footed. The queen had a cheerful countenance, and very affable to us and others, who had the honour to ſtand near her, diſtributing beetle and arecka with her own royal hands, to ſtrangers, who came, as we did, to compliment the prince her huſband.

About the year 1680, there were three princes of the blood royal, who conſpired to cut him and his family off, to poſſeſs themſelves of the government of Calliſtree; but being detected, they were beheaded on altars built of ſtone. About two miles from Cananore the altars were ſtanding when I was there. They were only ſquare piles of hewn ſtone, about three yards high, and four yards each ſide.

Adda Rajah's dominions reach but ten miles to the ſouthward of Cannanore, to Tellicherry river, near which he has an harbour called Dormepatam. Its paſſage inward is deep enough, but embarraſſed with rocks in its entrance. It has an iſland againſt its mouth, called Cacca Diva, about half a league from the ſhore, invironed with rocks.

Adda Rajah has alſo the dominion over the Lacca Diva iſlands, which lie about 40 leagues off the Malabar coaſt, between the latitudes of eight degrees and an half and twelve and an half. I have ſeen eighteen of them. They are all very low, and have many dangerous ſhoals among them, and to the northward of them. The channel between them and the Maldiva iſlands, is called the eight degree channel. There are no dangers in it, and ſometimes we paſs through without ſeeing either the Maldivas, or them. There is another channel through them in 11 degrees latitude.

Their product is only cocoa-nuts and fiſh. Of the cocoa-nut kernels they expreſs oil, which is fine and clear, fitting for lamps; and, when it is new, ſerves their kitchens. Of the rind of the nut they make cayar, which are the fibres of the caſk that environs the nut ſpun fit to make cordage and cables for ſhipping, and for ſeveral other uſes. Their fiſh they dry, and export to the continent. Sometimes in the ſouthweſt monſoons they find amber-greaſe floating on the ſea. I ſaw a piece in Adda Rajah's poſſeſſion, as big as a buſhel, and he valued it at 10,000 rupees, or 1250 pounds ſterling. What religion they have is Mahometan, for no other reaſon but becauſe their prince is ſo, which complaiſance may teach others a leſſon of conformity.

The next province to Adda Rajah's dominions is Tellicherry, where the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company has a factory, pretty well fortified with ſtone walls and cannon. The place where the factory now ſtands belonged to the French, who left the mud-walls of a fort built by them, to ſerve the Engliſh when they firſt ſettled there, and for many years they continued ſo, but of late no ſmall pains and charge have been beſtowed on its buildings; but for what reaſons I know not, for it has no river near it that can want its protection, nor can it defend the road from the inſults of enemies, unleſs it be for ſmall veſſels that can come within ſome rocks that lie half a mile off, or to protect the company's warehouſe, and a punch houſe that ſtands on the ſea-ſhore a ſhort piſtol-ſhot from the garriſon.

The town ſtands at the back of the fort, within land, with a ſtone wall round it, to keep out enemies of the chief's making, for in 1703, he began a war that ſtill continues, at leaſt there were folks killed in 1723, when I was there; and I was informed by a gentleman of judgment there, that the war and fortifications had taken double the money to maintain them that the Company's inveſtments came to.

The occaſion of the war, as I was informed began about a trifle. The Nayer, that was lord of the manor, had a royalty, for every veſſel that unladed at Tellicherry paid

paid two bales of rice duty to him. There was another royalty of every tenth fiſh that came to the market there, and both together did not amount to 20*l.* ſterling per annum. The chief either appropriated theſe royalties to his own, or the Company's uſe, and the Nayer complained of the injuſtice, but had no redreſs. Theſe little duties were the beſt part of the poor Nayer's ſubſiſtence which made it the harder to bear, ſo his friends adviſed him to repel force by force, and diſturb the factory what he could, which he accordingly did (by the ſecret aſſiſtance of his friends) for above 20 years. The Company are the beſt judges whether the war is like to bring any profit to their affairs there, or no.

The eſtabliſhed religion of this country is Paganiſm; but there are a few black Chriſtians that live under the protection of the factory, and ſome of them ſerve for ſoldiers in the garriſon. They have a little church ſtanding within the outward wall of the factory, ſerved by a Portugueſe prieſt or two, who get their ſubſiſtence by the alms of the pariſh. And the Engliſh have punch-houſes, where the European ſoldiers make oblations to Bacchus, and if they want devotion, which their accounts can certify at pay-day, they are forced to commute with their officer, or undergo ſome wholeſome diſcipline or chaſtiſement.

About four miles to the ſouthward of Tellicherry, is a ſmall French factory lately ſettled at the mouth of a ſmall river, but for what end I know not; but I believe more to employ a little ſtock for the gentlemen of Calecut factory's account, than for the French Company's.

And eight or ten miles farther to the ſouthward is Burgara, a ſea-port in the dominions of Ballanore Burgarie, a formidable prince. His country produces pepper, and the beſt cardamums in the world. I once called at his port, and bought about 40 tuns of cardamums for the Surat market. My ſhip was large and of good force, ſo he ſent me a preſent of poultry and fruits, and ſent me word, that he had a mind to ſee me on board my ſhip. I returned anſwer, that his viſit would do me great honour, and I ſent my barge to wait on him. He came on board in her, and brought about 100 attendants in other boats, along with him. I carried him to the great cabin, and would have treated him with coffee, tea and wine, or ſpirits, but he would taſte none, telling me, that my water was polluted by our touch, but he thanked me. He deſired to ſee the ſhip every where; and I ordered he ſhould have free liberty, and went for an hour to and again, making his obſervations; and, when he had ſeen what he thought fit, he told me, that he would build a ſhip of the ſame dimenſions, but there wanted water enough in his rivers to float her.

This prince, and his predeceſſors, have been lords of the ſeas, time out of mind, and all trading veſſels between Cape Comerin and Damaan, were obliged to carry his paſſes. Thoſe of one maſt paid for their paſſes about eight ſhillings yearly, and thoſe with three paid about ſixteen; but when the Portugueſe ſettled in India, then they pretended to the ſovereignty of the ſeas, which occaſioned a war between him and them, that has laſted ever ſince. He keeps ſome light gallies that row and ſail very well, which cruize along the coaſt, from October to May, to make prize of all who have not his paſs. In our diſcourſe, I aſked him if he was not afraid to venture his perſon on board of a merchant ſhip, ſince he himſelf was an enemy to all merchants that traded on theſe coaſts. He anſwered, that he had heard of my character, and that made him fearleſs, and that he was no enemy to trade, but only vindicated his ſovereignty of thoſe ſeas before mentioned, and that our own king was inveſted with the like ſovereignty not only on his own coaſts, but on thoſe of France, Holland and Denmark, and could have no greater right than he had, only he was in a better condition to

oblige the tranſgreſſors of his laws to obedience than he was: however he would maintain his claim and right the beſt way he could, and whoever loſt their ſhips or veſſels for contempt of his authority, might blame their own obſtinacy or folly, and not him.

He ſtayed about three hours on board, and, at his going away, I preſented him with five yards of ſcarlet cloth, a ſmall carpet, a fowling-piece and a pair of piſtols finely gilt, which preſent he ſeemed highly pleaſed with; and he took a manila, or wriſt-jewel off from his left arm, on which was engraven ſomething of their language, in their own characters, and putting it on my left arm, declared me a free denizen in all his territories; and all his attendants paid their compliments to me with profound reſpect. At his going over the ſide, he gave the boatſwain ten zequeens for waiting on him while he viewed the ſhip, and ten more for the ſeamen to make a feaſt, and when my barge landed him, he gave the cockſwain five zequeens, and loaded her back with poultry and fruit. He was a very well ſhaped man, about 40 years of age, of a very dark colour, but not quite black, his eyes very lively and ſparkling, and ſomething of a majeſtick air in his deportment.

Next day I waited on him aſhore, and he carried me to his palace, which was very meanly built of reeds, and covered with cocoa-nut leaves, but very neat and clean. He had two rows of bettle trees, which are very tall and ſtraight, ſet in order about fifty yards from the door of his palace, for it was not large enough to be called a gate, and there he treated me with rice, fowl and freſh fiſh dreſt after their way; and, after dinner, he ſhewed me ſeveral warehouſes like barns, full of black pepper and cardamums; and he told me, he wondered why the Engliſh did not ſettle a factory in his dominions rather than at Calecut or Tellicherry, for he ſupplied both theſe countries with his commodities, and, conſidering the cuſtoms paid to him were but five per cent. and what was carried into their countries muſt pay other cuſtoms to the princes, the company would find pepper and cardamums much cheaper in his dominions, than they could poſſibly have them at their factories where they were ſettled. I told him, that ſending his veſſels to cruize on merchant ſhips had blaſted the reputation of his country. He anſwered, that if the Company would make a trial of a few years in trading with him, they would be convinced of his fair dealings; or, if I would come and ſtay in his country, he would build a good ſtone houſe at his own charge, and make a fortification round it, in any place that I ſhould chooſe in his dominions, and that I ſhould be ſuperintendant of all the commerce and trade in his country. I told him, that I could not accept of his favours without the approbation of our Company, and that would require time to be got. This happened in January 1703.

In 1707, he built a new ſhip, which I had a mind to buy. I was then at Couchin, and ſent him word, that I deſigned him a viſit. He returned an anſwer, that I was a freeman in his country, and might be aſſured of an hearty welcome. About ten days after I came in a ſmall boat, to a place belonging to him, called Mealie. When news of my arrival were carried to him, he ſent a perſon of diſtinction, with twenty armed men, to receive me, and ordered me to be lodged in a ſtone houſe, the common place for ambaſſadors to lodge in, when any had buſineſs to come to him. The bedding was only ſome mats ſpread on a couch; but it is the common bedding of the country, and his highneſs has no better. Before I was conducted to my lodgings, there was a preſent of rice, butter, hens, fruits and roots put into a pantry for me, and my retinue and guard, for ſupper. Next morning he ſent a compliment, that he deſired to ſee me at his palace. I went accordingly, and he received me very graciouſly, with many proteſtations of his friendſhip, and told me, he would make

good all that he had promiſed before, if I would continue in his country. I returned his compliment in the propereſt terms I could, and told him, I came to kiſs his hand, and to buy his new ſhip, if he and I could agree. He told me, that I ſhould have her at a very reaſonable price, but that his religion forbid him to ſell any ſhip that he either built or bought, till he had firſt employed her in one voyage himſelf. I ſtayed ſeven days in his country, and he treated me after the ſame manner as if I had been an ambaſſador, in defraying all my charges, and allowing his own ſervants to attend me.

When I went to his palace the firſt time, I was innocently guilty of ill manners; for, walking with him near his lodgings, I chanced to touch the thatch with my hat, which polluted it ſo much, that, as ſoon as I went away, he ſtript it of its covering, becauſe religion forbad him to ſleep under it when it was thus polluted; but it was ſoon re-ſanctified by a new thatching. If any of his own ſubjects had been guilty of the ſame fault, they might have run in danger of loſing their lives for the offence.

I daily received for my table ſix hens, two pounds of butter, five and twenty pounds weight of rice, a quarter of a pound of pepper, and ſome ſalt, ſome bettle leaves, and green arecka, with twenty young, and ten old cocoa-nuts, but no fiſh, which was a favourite diſh of mine. I ſent my own ſervants to the fiſhing-boats, when they came from fiſhing, to buy ſome; but the poor fellows durſt not take a penny of money, yet ſupplied me with what fiſh I wanted, and my ſervants took their opportunity to pay for them, when none of the prince's ſervants were preſent.

When I took leave to depart, he ſeemed to be ſorry that I ſtayed ſo ſhort a time with him, and ordered two days' proviſions to be put into my boat, and I preſented the officer that waited on me to the ſea ſide with five zequeens for a feaſt of bettle to him and his companions. I do not certainly know how far ſoutherly this prince's dominions reach along the ſea-coaſt, but I believe to Tecorie, about 12 miles from Mealie, and the half way is Cottica, which was famous formerly for privateering on all ſhips and veſſels that traded without their lord's paſs.

There is a rock lies off Cottica about eight miles in the ſea, which bears the name of Sacrifice Rock. There are no dangers near it for ſhips to be afraid of. How it came by its name is uncertain; but common tradition tells us, that when the Portugueſe ſettled firſt at Calecut, which lies about ſeven leagues ſouth-eaſt of this rock, the Cottica cruizers ſurpriſed a Portugueſe veſſel, and ſacrificed all their priſoners on that rock, which gave name to it. It is obſervable, that though the Protugueſe got footing in all the dominions of the princes whoſe lands reach to the ſea-ſhore of Malabar, yet they never could get a foot of ground in the Balanores country, though many trials have been made, and fair means uſed to effect it.

CHAP. XXV. — *Obſervations on the Samorin and his Country, their Religion, Laws, and Cuſtoms; Product of the Country and its Commerce; an Account of their War with the Dutch, begun in Anno* 1708: *and the Conſequences of it.*

THE Samorin's country reaches along the ſea-coaſt from Ticori to Chitwa, about 22 leagues. His chief city (if it may be called one) is Calecut, where he generally reſides. His place is built of ſtone, and there is ſome faint reſemblance of grandeur to be ſeen about his court. He is reckoned the moſt powerful king on the ſea-coaſt of Malabar, and has the beſt trade in his country, which makes both himſelf and people richer than their neighbours. The Engliſh had a factory there many years, but

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now the chief and the factors are removed to Tellicherry, and what quantities of pepper they procure there by their black ſervants, is ſent by ſea to Tellicherry. The French have a ſmall factory ſettled in anno 1698: but they are not in a condition to carry on a trade for want of money and credit: and the Portugueſe have a church, but poorly decorated, and pitifully endowed, for Chriſtian charity is much decayed there as well as in other places; and the prieſts' perquiſites are but ſmall by converts.

The product of the Samorin's country is pepper in abundance, bettle-nut and cocoa-nut, and that tree produceth jaggery, a kind of ſugar, and copera, or the kernels of the nut dried, and out of thoſe kernels there is a very clear oil expreſt; alſo ſandel-wood, iron, caſſia-lignum and timber for building, all which commodities they export to the great benefit of the inhabitants.

Many ſtrange cuſtoms were obſerved in this country in former times, and ſome very odd ones are ſtill continued. It was an ancient cuſtom for the Samorin to reign but twelve years, and no longer. If he died before his term was expired, it ſaved him a troubleſome ceremony of cutting his own throat, on a publick ſcaffold erected for that purpoſe. He firſt made a feaſt for all his nobility and gentry, who are very numerous. After the feaſt he ſaluted his gueſts, and went on the ſcaffold, and very decently cut his own throat in the view of the aſſembly, and his body was, a little while after, burned with great pomp and ceremony, and the grandees elected a new Samorin. Whether that cuſtom was a religious or civil ceremony I know not, but it is now laid aſide.

And a new cuſtom is followed by the modern Samorins, that jubilee is proclaimed throughout his dominions, at the end of twelve years, and a tent is pitched for him in a ſpacious plain, and a great feaſt is celebrated for ten or twelve days, with mirth and jollity, guns firing night and day, ſo at the end of the feaſt any four of the gueſts that have a mind to gain a crown by a deſperate action, in fighting their way through 30 or 40,000 of his guards, and kill the Samorin in his tent, he that kills him, ſucceeds him in his empire.

In anno 1695, one of thoſe jubilees happened, and the tent pitched near Pennany, a ſea-port of his, about fifteen leagues to the ſouthward of Calecut. There were but three men that would venture on that deſperate action, who fell in, with ſword and target, among the guard, and, after they had killed and wounded many were themſelves killed. One of the deſperados had a nephew of fifteen or ſixteen years of age, that kept cloſe by his uncle in the attack on the guards, and, when he ſaw him fall, the youth got through the guards into the tent, and made a ſtroke at his majeſty's head, and had certainly diſpatched him, if a large braſs lamp which was burning over his head, had not marred the blow; but, before he could make another, he was killed by the guards; and, I believe, the ſame Samorin reigns yet. I chanced to come that time along the coaſt and heard the guns for two or three days and nights ſucceſſively.

When the Samorin marries, he muſt not cohabit with his bride till the Nambourie or chief prieſt has enjoyed her, and, if he pleaſes, may have three nights of her company, becauſe the firſt fruits of her nuptials muſt be an holy oblation to the god ſhe worſhips: and ſome of the nobles are ſo complaiſant as to allow the clergy the ſame tribute; but the common people cannot have that compliment paid to them, but are forced to ſupply the prieſts places themſelves. Any women, except the firſt quality, may marry twelve huſbands if they pleaſe, but cannot have more at one time, and they muſt all be of her own caſt or tribe, under pain of excommunication and degradation of honour, if ſhe marries into a lower tribe; and the men are under the ſame

penalty if they tranſgreſs that law, but they are not confined to a ſet number of wives, as the women are to huſbands.

When a woman is married to the firſt of her huſbands, ſhe has an houſe built for her own conveniency, and that huſband cohabits with her till ſhe takes a ſecond, or ſo many as ſhe is preſcribed by law, and the huſbands agree very well, for they cohabit with her in their turns, according to their priority of marriage, ten days, more or leſs, according as they can fix a term among themſelves, and he that cohabits with her, maintains her in all things neceſſary, for his time, ſo that ſhe is plentifully provided for by a conſtant circulation.

When the man that cohabits with her goes into her houſe, he leaves his arms at the door, and none dare remove them, or enter the houſe, on pain of death; but, if there are no arms to guard the door, any acquaintance may freely viſit her. And all the time of cohabitation ſhe ſerves her huſband as purveyor and cook, and keeps his clothes and arms clean.

When ſhe proves with child, ſhe nominates its father, who takes care of its education, after ſhe has ſuckled it, and brought it to walk or ſpeak; but the children are never heirs to their fathers' eſtates, but the father's ſiſter's children are, and if there are none, then to the neareſt in conſanguinity from his grandmother. And this cuſtom is alſo practiſed among the Mahometan Malabars.

There are many degrees or dignities in the church as well as in the ſtate. The Nambouries are the firſt in both capacities of church and ſtate, and ſome of them are popes, being ſovereign princes in both. The Brahmans or Bramanies are the ſecond in the church only. The Buts or magicians are next to them, and are in great veneration. The Nayers or gentlemen are next, and are very numerous. The Teyvees are the farmers of cocoa-nut trees, and are next to the gentry. Merchants are of all orders, except Nambouries, and are in ſome eſteem. The Poulias produce the labourers and mechanicks. They may marry into lower tribes without danger of excommunication, and ſo may the Muckwas or fiſhers, who, I think, are an higher tribe than the Poulias, but the Poulichees are the loweſt order of human creatures, and are excluded from the benefit of human and divine laws.

If a Poulia or Teyvee meet a Nayer on the road, he muſt go aſide to let his worſhip paſs by, leſt the air ſhould be tainted, on pain of a ſevere chaſtiſement, if not of death; but the Poulichees are in a much worſe ſtate, for, by the law, they are not permitted to converſe with any other tribe, nor can they wear any ſort of cloth, but only a little ſtraw made faſt before their privities, with a line round their middle. They are not permitted to build houſes or huts on the ground, nor to inhabit the plains where there is corn ground, but muſt dwell in woods, and build on the boughs of trees, like birds, with graſs and ſtraw. If accidentally they ſee any body coming towards them, they will howl like dogs, and run away, leſt thoſe of quality ſhould take offence at their breathing in the ſame air that they do. They are not permitted to till and ſow the ground, only in obſcure places of the woods; they plant fruits and roots, whoſe ſeeds they ſteal from their neighbouring gardens in the plains, in the night, and if they are caught ſtealing, death is their puniſhment on the ſpot where they are taken, without any form or proceſs of law. When they want food, they come to the ſkirts of their woods, and howl like foxes, and the charitable Poulias and Teyvees relieve them with rice boiled or raw, and ſome cocoa-nuts and other fruits, which they lay down in a convenient place; and when their benefactors come within twenty paces of them with their alms, they walk off, and let the Poulichees come to their food, which they forthwith carry into the woods. They are very ſwift in running

ning, and cunning in catching wild beaſts and fowl; but they have few or no fiſh among the mountains.

The inferior tribes have liberty of conſcience in fancying their deities, and worſhipping them. I have ſeen at many Muckwas' houſes a ſquare ſtake of wood, with a few notches cut about it, and that ſtake drove into the ground, about two feet of it being left above, and that is covered with ſome cadjans or cocoa-nut tree leaves, and is a temple and a god to that family. Some worſhip the firſt animal they ſee in the morning, let it be cat, dog or ſerpent, and they pay their adorations to it the whole day. Others chooſe a tree of their father's or ſome dear friend's planting, and that he gets conſecrated, and it then becomes his god; but they all believe the immortality of the ſoul and tranſmigration, and the adoration of the great god, of whom they have many wild opinions.

The great god's image they can neither fancy nor make, but believe, that he ſent an huge large fowl from heaven, that laid a ſwinging egg in the ſea, and, in proceſs of time, it was hatched by the ſun, and forth came the world, with all animals, vegetables, &c. that inhabit it and now, that poor Adam was ſet alone on the top of an high mountain in Zealoan, which is called this day, Baba Adam, from that tradition; but, being tired of ſo loneſome a life, he deſcended into the plain, and there he met with Hevah, whom he preſently knew to be his kinſwoman, and they ſtruck hands, and were there married.

The great men of the clergy build temples, but they are neither large nor beautiful. Their images are all black, and deformed, according as they fancy the infernal gods to be ſhaped, who, they believe, have ſome hand in governing the world, particularly about the benign or malignant ſeaſons that happen in the productions or ſterility of the earth, for which reaſon they pay a lateral adoration to them. Their images are all placed in dark temples, and are never ſeen but by lamp-light, that burns continually before them.

When criminal caſes are brought before the magiſtrate, that want the evidence of witneſſes to ſupport them, the trial of truth is by ordeal. The accuſed perſon is obliged to put his bare hand into a pot of boiling oil, and if any bliſter appears, the party is found guilty; and I have been credibly informed, both by Engliſh and Dutch gentlemen, as well as natives, that had ſeen the trial, that the innocent perſon has not been in the leaſt affected with the ſcalding oil, and then the puniſhment due to the crime is inflicted on the accuſer.

The Samorin entered into a war with the Dutch Eaſt-India Company in anno 1714; and the chief of the Engliſh factory, who was a privy counſellor to the Samorin, had a great hand in promoting it. The quarrel began about a ſmall fort that the Dutch were building at Chitwa. The ground whereon it ſtood was a deſert moraſs by the river's ſide, and was claimed both by the King of Couchin and the Samorin. The King of Couchin made over his claim to the Dutch, who made ſmall account who had the beſt title, but carried on their work with diligence. The Samorin, with and by the advice of his council, got ſome of his ſoldiers to be entered into the Dutch ſervice, under the diſguiſe of daily labourers to carry ſtones, mortar, &c. for building the fort, and to take their opportunity to lie in ambuſcade in a moraſs overgrown with reeds near the fort.

Two Dutch lieutenants, who had the overſeeing of the work, were one evening diverting themſelves with a game at tables in a guard room about half a mile from the fort. They had let ſome of their Dutch ſoldiers go ſtraggling abroad, and the ſentinels were careleſs under the ſecurity of friendſhip, which gave the diſguiſed workmen an opportunity to kill the ſentinels, and make their ſignal for the ambuſcade, who,

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in a few minutes, took the half-built fort. The lieutenants came preſently after, with what forces they had, to retake it, but one being killed in advancing, the other thought it impracticable to attack greater forces within than he had without, and ſo embarked, with his men, on board ſmall boats for Couchin, about 10 leagues from Chitwa.

I fortuned to be at Couchin when he and his men arrived, and, by a court martial, he was ſentenced to be ſhot to death, which ſentence I ſaw executed. The Samorin's people next day erected a flag-ſtaff, and hoiſted the Engliſh flag, which the Engliſh chief had ſent by the ambuſcade, and immediately after ſet about demoliſhing the walls, that where built, of the fort, and carried off ſome great guns belonging to the Dutch. And this was the prelude of the war.

I knew pretty well the ſtrength of the antagoniſts, what power the Samorin had, and what powers the Kings of Couchin, Paaru and Porcat could aſſiſt the Dutch with, and I wrote to the chief the reſolutions of the Dutch, and adviſed him not to embark himſelf or his maſters in that affair, becauſe war was a different province from his. He took my advice ſo ill, that he wrote to Bombay, that I was in the Dutch intereſt, oppoſite to the right honourable Company, and alſo to his maſters in England, as if the Dutch Company could need my intereſt, advice or aſſiſtance; but, as I had forewarned him, he found the Samorin was forced, after three years war, to conclude a diſhonourable and diſadvantageous peace, wherein he was obliged to build up the fort he had demoliſhed, to pay the Dutch Company ſeven per Cent. on all the pepper exported out of his dominions for ever, and to pay a large ſum towards the charges of the war. Some part of the money, I believe, he borrowed.

Whether our Eaſt-India Company got or loſt by that war, I know not, nor will I pretend to paſs judgment on their affairs; but this I know that the chief loſt a good milk cow, for the chiefs of Calecut, for many years, had vended between 500 and 1000 cheſts of Bengal opium yearly up in the inland countries, where it is very much uſed. The water carriage up the river being cheap and ſecure, the price of opium high, and the price of pepper low, ſo that their profits were great both ways; for, if I miſtake not, the Company paid the higheſt prices for their pepper, and the Nayres in the Company's pay, were employed about the chief's affairs; and by the unexpected turn of affairs cauſed by the war, that trade is fallen intirely into the Dutch Company's hands, and it will be a very difficult taſk to get it out again.

The Engliſh company were formerly ſo much reſpected at Calecut, that if any debtor went into their factory for protection, none durſt preſume to go there to diſturb them; but that indulgence has been ſometimes made an ill uſe of, to the detriment of Engliſh private traders.

They have a good way of arreſting people for debt, viz. There is a proper perſon ſent with a ſmall ſtick from the judge, who is generally a Brahman, and when that perſon finds the debtor, he draws a circle round him with that ſtick, and charges him, in the King and judge's name, not to ſtir out of it till the creditor is ſatisfied either by payment or ſurety; and it is no leſs than death for the debtor to break priſon by going out of the circle.

They make uſe of no pens, ink and paper, but write on leaves of flags or reeds that grow in moraſſes by the ſides of rivers. They are generally about 18 inches long, and one and an half broad, tapering at both ends, and a ſmall hole at one end for a ſtring to paſs through. It is thicker than our royal paper, and very tough. They write with the point of a bodkin made for that purpoſe, holding the leaf athwart their

left thumb end over the foremoſt finger, and what they have to write is indented, or rather engraven into the leaf, but it does not pierce the leaf above half way through. And on two or three of theſe leaves they will write as much as we can on a ſheet of ſmall paper. All their records are written ſo on leaves, and they are ſtrung and rolled up in a ſcroll, and hung ſome time in ſmoke and then locked up in their cabinets. And I have ſeen ſome ſuch leaves ſmoke-dried, that, they told me, were above 1000 years old.

In anno 1703, about the middle of February, I called at Calecut in my way to Surat, and ſtanding into the road, I chanced to ſtrike on ſome of the ruins of the ſunken town built by the Portugueze in former times. Whether that town was ſwallowed up by an earthquake, as ſome affirm, or whether it was undermined by the ſea I will not determine; but ſo it was, that in ſix fathoms at the main maſt, my ſhip, which drew 21 feet water, ſat faſt a-fore the cheſs-tree. The ſea was ſmooth, and in a ſhort time we got off without damage.

The unfortunate Captain Green, who was afterwards hanged in Scotland, came on board of my ſhip at ſun-ſet, very much overtaken with drink; and ſeveral of his men came in the ſame condition. He told me, that he had ſome ſmall arms, powder, ſhot and glaſs-ware to diſpoſe of, and aſked me if I would take them off his hands at a very reaſonable rate. I told him, that next morning I would ſee them, and perhaps be a merchant for them. He told me, that the arms and ammunition were what was left of a large quantity that he had brought from England, but had been at Don Maſcherenas and Madagaſcar, and had diſpoſed of the reſt to good advantage, among the pirates, and had carried ſome pirates from Don Maſcherenas to St. Mary's.

I told him, that, in prudence, he ought to keep theſe as ſecrets, leſt he might be brought in trouble about them. He made but little account of my advice, and ſo departed.

About ten in the night his chief mate Mr. Mather came on board of my ſhip, and ſeemed to be very melancholy. He aſked me, if I thought one of my mates would be induced to go with Captain Green, that he might be cleared of his ſhip, and he would give that mate that would accept of his poſt, a very conſiderable gratuity. I told him, that ſuch a good poſt as he had on board the Worceſter was not eaſily procured in India, for we ſeldom preferred ſtrangers before we had a trial of them.

He burſt out in tears, and told me, he was afraid that he was undone. I aſked his reaſon for his melancholy conjecture. He anſwered, that they had acted ſuch things in their voyage, that would certainly bring them to ſhame and puniſhment, if they ſhould come to light; and he was aſſured, that ſuch a company of drunkards as their crew was compoſed of, could keep no ſecret, though the diſcovery ſhould prove their own ruin. I told him, I was ſorry for his condition, and that I had heard at Coiloan, that they had not acted prudently nor honeſtly in relation to ſome Moors ſhips they had viſited and plundered, and in ſinking a ſloop, with ten or twelve Europeans in her, off Coiloan. He aſked me if that was known at Coiloan. I told him, that the people there made no ſecret of it, but as long as you did them no harm, you are welcome to their trade. Next day I went aſhore, and met Captain Green and his ſupercargo Mr. Callant, who had ſailed a voyage from Surat to Sindy with me. Before dinner-time they were both drunk, and Callant told me, that he did not doubt of making the greateſt voyage that ever was made from England on

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ſo ſmall a ſtock as 500 pounds. I wiſhed him joy and ſucceſs, but told him, that we Indians underſtood none of thoſe profitable voyages, but were well content with 30 or 40 per cent.

In the evening their ſurgeon accoſted me in my walk along the ſea ſide, and aſked if I wanted a ſurgeon. I told him I had two, and both very good ingenious men. He ſaid, he wanted to ſtay in India, for his life was uneaſy on board of his ſhip, that though the captain was civil enough, yet Mr. Mather was unkind, and had treated him with blows for aſking a pertinent queſtion at ſome wounded men, who were hurt in the engagement they had with the aforementioned ſloop. I heard too much to be contented with their conduct, and ſo I ſhunned their converſation for the little time I ſtaid at Calecut. Whether Captain Green and Mr. Mather had juſtice impartially allowed them in their proceſs and ſentence, I know not. I have heard of as great innocents condemned to death as they were.

About two leagues to the ſouthward of Calecut, is a fine river called Baypore, capable to receive ſhips of 3 or 400 tons. It has a ſmall iſland off its mouth, about half a mile from the ſhore, that keeps it ſafe from the great ſeas brought on that coaſt by the ſouth-weſt monſoons. Four leagues more ſoutherly is Tannore, a town of ſmall trade, inhabited by Mahometans. They are a little free ſtate, but pay an acknowledgment to the Samorin. Five leagues to the ſouthward of Tannore, is Pennany, mentioned before. It has the benefit of a river, and was formerly a place of trade. The French and Engliſh had their factories there, but were removed about the year 1670. And about four leagues more to the ſouthward, is Chitwa River, which bounds the Samorin's dominions to the ſouth.

CHAP. XXVI. — *Gives an Account of Couchin; its Government and Strength, its ancient and preſent State, its Product and Commerce, with ſome Account of the Jews inhabiting there.*

THE King of Couchin's dominions are next in courſe along the ſea-coaſt, and reach from Chitwa about 24 leagues to the ſouthward. There are ſo many rivulets that run off the mountains of Gatti, that they reckon above 1000 iſlands made by their ſtreams. The mountains come within eight leagues of the ſea, and the rivulets join their ſtores at Cranganore, and make one great outlet to the ſea, and another great outlet is at Couchin city. Cranganore is about five leagues to the ſouth of Chitwa. The Dutch have here a ſmall fort, which retains the name of Cranganore. It lies about a league up the river from the ſea. In times of old it bore the name of a kingdom, and was a republic of Jews, who were once ſo numerous, that they could reckon about 80,000 families, but, at preſent, are reduced to 4000. They have a ſynagogue at Couchin, not far from the King's palace, about two miles from the city, in which are carefully kept their records, engraven on copper-plates in Hebrew characters; and when any of the characters decay, they are new cut, ſo that they can ſhew their own hiſtory from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to this preſent time.

Myn Heer Van Reede before mentioned, about the year 1695, had an abſtract of their hiſtory tranſlated from the Hebrew into low Dutch. They declare themſelves to be of the tribe of Manaſſah, a part whereof was, by order of that haughty conqueror Nebuchadnezzar, carried to the eaſtermoſt province of his large empire, which, it ſeems

reached as far as cape Comerin, which journey 20,000 of them travelled in three years from their ſetting out of Babylon.

When they arrived in the Malabar country, they found the inhabitants very civil and hoſpitable to ſtrangers, giving them liberty of conſcience in religious matters, and the free uſe of reaſon and induſtry in economy. There they increaſed, both in numbers and riches, till in proceſs of time, either by policy or wealth, or both, they came to purchaſe the little kingdom of Cranganore. And there being one family among them much eſteemed for wiſdom, power and riches, two of the ſons of that family were choſen by their elders and ſenators, to govern the common-wealth, and reign jointly over them. Concord, the ſtrongeſt bonds of ſociety, was in a ſhort time broken, and ambition took place, for one of the brothers inviting his colleague to a feaſt, and picking a quarrel with his gueſt, baſely killed him, thinking, by that means, to reign alone; but the defunct leaving a ſon of a bold ſpirit behind him, revenged his father's death, by killing the fratricide, and ſo the ſtate fell again into a democracy, which ſtill continues among the Jews here; but the lands have, for many ages, recurred back into the hands of the Malabars, and poverty and oppreſſion have made many apoſtatize.

Between Cranganore and Couchin, there is an iſland called Baypin, that occupies the ſea-coaſt. It is four leagues long, but no part of it is two miles broad. The Dutch forbid all veſſels or boats to enter at Cranganore: and at Couchin the channel is about a quarter of a mile broad, but very deep, though the bar has not above 14 feet water at ſpring tides.

The firſt Europeans that ſettled in Couchin were the Portugueze, and there they built a fine city on the river's ſide, about three leagues from the ſea; but the ſea gaining on the land yearly, it is not now above 100 paces from it. It ſtands ſo pleaſantly, that the Portugueze had a common ſaying, that China was a country to get money in, and Couchin was a place to ſpend it in; for the great numbers of canals made by the rivers and iſlands, made fiſhing and fowling very diverting; and the mountains are well ſtored with wild game.

On the inſide of Baypin iſland, there is an old fort built by the Portugueze, called Palliapore, to inſpect all boats that go between Cranganore and Couchin. And five leagues up the rivulets is a Romiſh church called Verapoli, ſerved by French and Italian prieſts; and when a biſhop comes into thoſe parts, it is the place of his reſidence. The Padre ſuperior of Varapoli, can raiſe, upon occaſion, 4000 men, all Chriſtians of the church of Rome; but there are many more St. Thomas's Chriſtians that do not communicate with thoſe of Rome, and ſome Portugueze, called Topaſes, that communicate with neither, for they will be ſerved by none but Portugueze prieſts, becauſe they indulge them more in their villainy, and abſolutions from crimes are eaſier purchaſed from the Portugueze than from the French or Italians, who are generally much more polite and learned than the Portugueze, who are permitted to take the habit of ſome order, without being examined whether the novice has the common qualifications of ſchool learning.

About two leagues farther up towards the mountains, on the ſide of a ſmall, but deep river, is a place called Firdalgo, where the inhabitants of Couchin generally aſſemble to refreſh themſelves in the troubleſome hot months of April and May. The banks and bottom of the river is clean ſand, and the water ſo clear, that a ſmall pebble ſtone may be ſeen at the bottom in three fathoms water. Every company makes choice of a place by the river's ſide, and pitch their tents, and drive ſome ſmall ſtakes before their tents, in

in the river, on which they hang up clothes for blinds, to hide the ladies when they bathe; but moſt of them ſwim dextrouſly, and ſwim under water through the ſtakes, into the open river, where the men are diverting themſelves, and there they dive, and play many comical mad tricks, till breakfaſt or ſupper call them aſhore, for it is in mornings and evenings that they bathe and ſwim; for in the heat of the day the ſun ſcorches. Very often the ladies lay wagers of treats with the gentlemen, about their ſwiftneſs and dexterity in ſwimming, but generally the ladies win the wagers, though, I believe, if the men would uſe their art and ſtrength, they might win the prize. The heat of the day they paſs with a game at cards or tables for treats, by which means they fare ſumptuouſly every day, ſometimes in one tent, and ſometimes in another; and, at night, every family ſleeps in their own tent, on the ſoft clean ſand, males and females promiſcuouſly.

There is a place on the ſide of that river, called Hell's Mouth. It is a ſubterraneous cave about four yards broad, and three high, hewn out of a ſpungy iron-coloured rock. I went into it with a lantern, and paſſed ſtraight forward about 200 yards, but ſaw no end to it. It is an habitation for ſnakes and bats, who were frightened by the light of our candle and noiſe. As we were tired with their company, ſo we returned back. They have no tradition why it was made, or by whom.

The water of this country, near the ſea-coaſt, from Cranganore to St. Andreas, which is about 12 leagues, has a bad quality of making the conſtant drinkers of it have ſwelled legs. Some it affects in one leg, and ſome in both. I have ſeen legs above a yard about at the ancle. It cauſes no pain, but itching; nor does the thick leg ſeem heavier than the ſmall one to thoſe who have them: but the Dutch at Couchin, to prevent that malady, ſend boats daily to Verapoli, to lade with ſmall portable caſks of 10 or 12 Engliſh gallons, to ſerve the city. The company's ſervants have their water free of charges, but private perſons pay ſixpence per caſk, if it is brought to their houſes; and yet, for all that precaution, I have ſeen both Dutch men and women troubled with that malady. And no cure has been yet found to heal or prevent it.

The old Romiſh legendaries impute the cauſe of thoſe great ſwelled legs to a curſe St. Thomas laid upon his murderers and their poſterity, and that was the odious mark they ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by; but St. Thomas was killed by the Tillnigue prieſts at Malliapore on Chormandel, about 400 miles diſtant from this coaſt, and the natives there know none of that malady.

Couchin is waſhed by the greateſt outlet on this coaſt, and being ſo near the ſea, makes it ſtrong by nature; but art has not been wanting to ſtrengthen it. The city built by the Portugueze was about a mile and an half long, and a mile broad. The Dutch took it from the Portugueze about the year 1660, when Heitloff Van Ghonz was general of the Dutch forces by land, and commodore of a fleet by ſea. The inſolence of the Portugueze had made ſeveral neighbouring princes become their enemies, who joined with the Dutch to drive them out of their neighbourhood, and the King of Couchin particularly aſſiſted with 20,000 men. The Dutch had not inveſted the town long before Van Ghonz received advice of a peace concluded between Portugal and Holland; but that he kept a ſecret to himſelf. He therefore made a breach in the weakeſt part of the wall, and made a furious aſſault for three days and nights, without intermiſſion, and relieved his aſſailants every three hours; but the Portugueze keeping their men continually fatigued in duty all the while, and finding danger of being taken by ſtorm, capitulated, and delivered up their city. In the town there were 400 Topaſes, who had done

done the Portugueze good ſervice in defending the city, but were not comprehended in the treaty. As ſoon as they knew of that omiſſion, and the cruelty and licentiouſneſs of the Dutch ſoldiery in India, they drew up in a parade, within the port that the Portugueze were to go out at, and the Dutch to enter in, and ſwore, that if they had not the ſame favours and indulgence that were granted to the Portugueze, they would maſſacre them all, aud ſet fire to the town. The Dutch general knew his own intereſt too well to deny ſo juſt a demand, ſo he granted what they deſired, and moreover to take thoſe who had a mind to ſerve in the Dutch ſervice, into pay, which many of them did.

The very next day after the Dutch had poſſeſſion, came a frigate from Goa, with the articles of the peace made with Holland, and the Portugueze complained loudly of the general's unfair dealings, but were anſwered, that the Portugueze had acted the ſame farce on the Dutch, at their taking of Pharnabuke in Braſil, a few years before. The Engliſh had then a factory in the city of Couchin, but the Dutch ordered them to remove with their effects, which accordingly they did to their factory at Pennany.

As ſoon as the Dutch became maſters of the city, they thought it was too large, and ſo contracted it to what it now is, being hardly one tenth of what it was in the Portugueze time. It is about 600 paces long, and 200 broad, fortified with ſeven large baſtions, and curtains ſo thick, that two rows of large trees are planted on them, for ſhades in the hot times. Some ſtreets built by the Portugueze, are ſtill ſtanding, with a church for the Dutch ſervice, and a cathedral for a warehouſe. The commodore or governor's houſe, which is a ſtately ſtructure, is the only houſe built after the Dutch mode, and the river waſhes ſome part of its walls, and a canal cut from the river up to the middle of the city, that paſſes cloſe by the governor's houſe.

Their flag-ſtaff is placed on the ſteeple of the old cathedral, on a maſt of 75 feet high, and a ſtaff a-top of it about 60 feet, which is the higheſt I ever ſaw; and the flag may be ſeen above ſeven leagues off. The garriſon generally conſiſts of 300 effective men: and from cape Comerin upwards they are allowed, in all their forts and factories, 500 ſoldiers, and 100 ſeamen, all Europeans, beſides ſome Topaſes, and the militia. They have their ſtores of rice from Barſalore, becauſe the Malabar rice will not keep above three months out of the huſk, but in the huſk it will keep a year.

The country produces great quantities of pepper, but lighter than that which grows more northerly. Their woods afford good teak for building, and angelique and pawbeet for making large cheſts and cabinets, which are carried all over the weſt coaſts of India. They have alſo iron and ſteel in plenty, and bees wax for exporting. Their ſeas afford them abundance of good fiſh of ſeveral kinds, which, with thoſe that are caught in their rivers, make them very cheap.

The King of Couchin, who, at beſt, is but a vaſſal to the Dutch, has a palace built of ſtone about half a league from the Dutch city; and there is a ſtraggling village not far from the palace, that bears the name of old Couchin. It has a bazaar or market in it, where all commodities of the country's product are ſold; but there are no curioſities to be found in it. The King's ordinary reſidence is at another palace ſix leagues to the ſouthward of Couchin, and two from St. Andrea; but he keeps but a very ſmall court.

Mudbay is a place, that, I believe, few can parallel in the world. It lies on the ſhore of St. Andrea, about half a league out in the ſea, and is open to the wide ocean, and has

has neither iſland nor bank to break off the force of the billows, which come rolling with great violence on all other parts of the coaſt, in the ſouth-weſt monſoons, but, on the bank of mud, loſe themſelves in a moment, and ſhips lie on it, as ſecure as in the beſt harbour without motion or diſturbance. It reaches about a mile along ſhore, and has ſhifted from the northward, in 30 years, about three miles. St. Andrea is only a village, with a church in it dedicated to St. Andrew, and is ſerved by St. Thomas's prieſts, who generally are both poor and illiterate. About two leagues to the ſouthward of St. Andrea begin the dominions of Porcat, or

Porkah. It is of ſmall extent, reaching not above four leagues along the ſea-coaſt. The prince is poor, having but little trade in his country, though it was a free port for pirates when Evory and Kid robbed on the coaſt of India; but, ſince that time, the pirates infeſt the northern coaſts, finding the richeſt prizes amongſt the Mocha and Perſia traders. The Dutch keep a factory at Porkah, but of ſmall conſequence.

Coilcoiloan is another little principality contiguous to Porkah, where the Dutch keep alſo a factory. And next to it is

Coiloan, another ſmall principality. It has the benefit of a river, which is the ſouthermoſt outlet of the Couchin iſlands; and the Dutch have a ſmall fort within a mile of it, on the ſea-ſhore, which they took from the Portugueze when they took Couchin. It keeps a garriſon of 30 men, and its trade is inconſiderable.

Erwa lies two leagues to the ſouthward of Coiloan, where the Danes have a ſmall factory ſtanding on the ſea ſide. It is a thatched houſe of a very mean aſpect, and their trade anſwers, every way, to the figure their factory makes.

Aujengo lies two leagues to the ſouthward of Erwa, a fort belonging to the Engliſh, built at the Company's charge, in anno 1695. It ſtands on a ſandy foundation, and is naturally fortified by the ſea on one ſide, and a little river on the other. It is in the dominions of the queen of Attinga, to whom it pays ground rent. Before it was built, the Engliſh had two ſmall factories in her country to the ſouth of Aujengo. One was called Brinjan, the other Ruttera; but, being naked places, were ſubject to the inſults of courtiers, whoſe avarice is ſeldom or never ſatisfied: but I wonder why the Engliſh built their fort in that place, for there is not a drop of good water for drinking within a league of it; and the road has a foul bottom for anchoring, and continually a great ſurf on the ſhore, when they might as well have built it near the red cliffs to the northward, from whence they have their water for drinking, and where there is good anchor-ground, and a tolerable good landing place for boats in the north-eaſt monſoons. The country produces good quantities of pepper and long cloth, as fine as any made in India.

When our factories were at Ruttera and Brinjan, they ſent a yearly preſent to the Queen of Attingen, whoſe court is about four leagues within land from Aujengo. In anno 1685, when the preſent was ſent, a young beautiful Engliſh gentleman had the honour to preſent it to her black Majeſty; and as ſoon as the Queen ſaw him, ſhe fell in love with him, and next day made propoſals of marriage to him, but he modeſtly refuſed ſo great an honour: however, to pleaſe her Majeſty, he ſtaid at court a month or two, and, it is reported, treated her with the ſame civility as Soloman did the Queen of Ethiopia, or Alexander the Great did the Amazonian Queen, and ſatisfied her ſo well, that when he left her court, ſhe made him ſome preſents.

About the year 1720, there were ſome civil broils in this country, and the annual preſent being demanded, the Engliſh chief refuſed to pay it to any but to the Queen herſelf,

herſelf, though thoſe that demanded it, aſſured him that they came to demand it by the Queen's order, and offered their receipt of it in her name; but he, being more poſitive than wiſe, continued obſtinate in his refuſal, upon which the Queen gave him an invitation to court; and he, to appear great there, carried two of his council, and ſome others of the factory, with moſt part of the military belonging to the garriſon, and by ſtratagem they were all cut off, except a few black ſervants, whoſe heels and language ſaved them from the maſſacre, and they brought the ſad news of the tragedy.

Tegnapatam, where the Dutch have a factory, lies about twelve leagues to the ſouthward of Aujengo. That country produces pepper, and coarſe cloth called catchas: but Colicha, which lies between the middle and weſt point of Cape Comerin, affords the beſt cloth of that ſort, beſides tamarinds in abundance; but the road is foul. It alſo produces ſalt; but neither the Engliſh nor the Dutch have any commerce or traffic there. And cloſe by Colicha, at the ſaid middle point, there is a ſmall cave or harbour that can ſecure ſmall veſſels from all winds and weather. It has a clean ſandy bottom, and three fathoms in it at low wather. Four leagues off the cape, in the ſea, there is a ſmall ſmooth rock bare at low water, and ſhews itſelf like the back of a whale. About one hundred paces from it, on all ſides, there is twenty-eight fathom water; and the ſea ſeldom breaks on it, which makes it the more dangerous. I knew a ſhip that rubbed her ſide on it, before thoſe on board could diſcover it, though they looked out for it.

Manapaar lies to the north-eaſtward of Cape Comerin, about eight leagues diſtant, and the Dutch have a factory there, ſtanding on an high ground about a mile from the ſea. And about 10 leagues more northerly is Tutecareen, a Dutch colony, though but ſmall.

Tutecareen has a good ſafe harbour, by the benefit of ſome ſmall iſlands that lye off it. That country produces much cotton cloth, though none fine; but they both ſtain and die it for exportation. This colony ſuperintends a pearl fiſhery, that lies a little to the northward of them, which brings the Dutch Company 20,000 l. yearly tribute, according to common report. There are ſeveral villages on the ſea-ſhore between Tutecareen and Coil, but none in any account for traffic. This Coil is a promontory that ſends over a reef of rocks to the iſland of Zeloan, called commonly Adam's Bridge.

That reef of rocks has ſo little water on them, that the ſmalleſt boats cannot paſs but at an iſland called Manaar, which lies almoſt mid-way between Zeloan and Coil, and that paſſage has not above ſix feet water on it, ſo that none but ſmall veſſels can paſs that way; and they muſt unlade, and pay cuſtoms to the Dutch who reſide at Manaar, and, after the veſſel is haled over the bridge, they take in their cargo again.

The Dutch have fortified Manaar, and make uſe of it for a priſon for Indian princes whom they can overpower or circumvene, when they are ſuſpected of making treaties contrary to their intereſt, or to ſuch as would willingly reaſſume their loſt freedom, by breaking the unjuſt yoke of the Company's tyranny, perhaps drawn on themſelves by too much faith or credulity; for that honeſt Company has always had a maxim, firſt to foment quarrels between Indian kings and princes, and then piouſly pretend to be mediators, or abitrators of their differences, and, always caſt in ſomething into the ſcale of juſtice to thoſe whoſe countries produce the beſt commodities for the Company's uſe, and lend the aſſiſtance of their arms to him who is ſo qualified by the product above mentioned, and, at the concluſion of the war, make

and poor conquered prince pay their charges for aſſiſting the conqueror; and, when all is made up, and treaties of peace ready to be ſigned, then the conqueror their dear ally and friend, muſt ſuffer them to poſſeſs the beſt ſea-ports, and fortify the moſt proper and convenient places of his country, and muſt forbid all nations traffick but their dear Dutch friends, under pain of having the Company's arms turned againſt them, in conjunction with ſome other potent enemy to the deluded conqueror.

The King of Charta Souri, on the iſland of Java, is a freſh inſtance of the truth of what I relate. *In anno* 1704, I ſaw him at Samarang a ſea-port on the ſaid iſland, in great ſplendour, and in high eſteem with the Dutch commodore; but in anno 1707, he fell under the diſpleaſure of the general and council of Batavia, and in 1708, falling into their hands, he was brought their priſoner to Manaar, and cooped up on that ſmall iſland, there to ſpend the remainder of his days in contemplation or comments on the deceit of worldly grandeur, and of the power and pleaſure of ſovereignty, or in humble thoughts on confinement, exile and poverty. And here I leave him, and paſs over the reſt of Adam's Bridge, (called by the natives Ramena Coil) and pay a ſhort viſit to Zeloan, beginning at the bridge, and travelling to the ſouthward, eaſt and northward, till I reach back again to the north ſide of the bridge.

CHAP. XXVII.—*Treats of the Iſland of Ceylon or Zeloan, its Product and Commerce, Religion and Cuſtoms, the Portugueze Pride and Folly the Cauſe of its falling into the Dutch Company's Hands; with other hiſtorical Remarks and Obſervations, both ancient and modern.*

ZELOAN is an iſland famous in many hiſtories for its fertility, particularly in producing the cinnamon tree, whoſe bark is ſo much eſteemed all over Aſia and Europe, beſides the precious ſtones that grow in it, viz. the emerald, ſapphire and catſeye being all valuable ſtones, though ſoft.

The firſt place, in courſe, to the ſouthward of the bridge, is a long iſland that lies cloſe to the ſhore, and reaches about 12 leagues ſoutherly, called Calpetine. It produces only timber for building: but Negombo, that lies near the ſouth end of it, has a ſmall fort, and a Dutch garriſon to forbid all trade to ſtrangers on that part of the coaſt. And ſeven leagues from Negombo, to the ſouth ſtands the city of Colombo, which was at firſt built by the Portugueze, about the year 1638, but, by their pride and inſolence, had made the King of Candia (who was, at firſt, ſovereign of the whole iſland) their enemy. The Dutch, taking that opportunity, made a league with the king offenſive and defenſive, and firſt attacked and carried Galle or Ponto de Galle in anno 1658, which is a fort and harbour on the ſouth-weſt point of the iſland about 20 leagues from Colombo. When they had ſettled affairs at Galle, they embarked, to the number of 3000 ſoldiers, and ſailed to Pantera, a ſmall river about 4 leagues ſouth of Colombo, and were joined by 2 or 3000 of the King of Candia's men. The Portugueze having information of the Dutch landing, and the ſmall aſſiſtance of the natives, contemned their forces, and raiſed an army of 10,000 men to chaſtiſe their folly in coming with ſo few forces. The Portugueze army was commanded by a fidalgo, called Antonio de Figuera, a freſh-water ſoldier, but a great braggadocio and promiſed to bring all the Dutch that did not fall by his ſword, into Colombo in chains; and the Portugueze ladies were ſo ſure of his performances, that they ſent

to compliment him, and beg the favour that he would pick them out ſome luſty Dutchmen to carry their palanqueens and ſomereras or umbrellas, which he promiſed to do on honour, and ſo went to meet his enemies.

The Dutch advancing towards the city, met the Portugueze unexpectedly, and there being a little ſhallow river between them, the Portugueze pretended to ſtop the Dutch there, and began to fire very briſkly, though at too great a diſtance, but did not advance towards their enemy. Upon which the Dutch paſt the river, and advanced till they came within piſtol-ſhot, and then fired on the Portugueze with ſo good ſucceſs, that they preſently broke, and betook them to their heels, and the Dutch kept a running march after them, and being nimbler than the Portugueze, entered the city with them, and made themſelves maſters of it, wherein they found immenſe treaſures: but the poor Portugueze ladies were ſtrangely diſappointed to find the Dutch were become their bed-fellows inſtead of their ſlaves.

The Dutch had one game more to play before they had done with that expedition. They knew that reinforcements were ſent from Goa, who came in ſight two or three days after the city was taken, and the Dutch fleet, which then lay in the road, pretended fear, weighed their anchors on ſight of the Portugueze fleet, and feigned a flight, while the Dutch, in the city, hoiſted Portugueze colours, and fired ſome guns towards the ſea, to make thoſe in the Portugueze fleet believe, that the firing was at the Dutch fleet. The ſtratagem took, and the Portugueze came and anchored in the road about a mile from the city, and ſent their boats aſhore, where they were detained; and the Dutch fleet being in the offing, came in with the ſea winds, and fell on the Portugueſe fleet, which ſoon yielded to them, for which piece of civility they had good quarter.

Upon the conqueſt of Colombo, followed all the other forts on the iſland, viz. Calkiſſie and Barbarin, between Colombo and Galle; and, on the ſouth end, Valta and Matura; on the eaſt ſide Batacola and Trankamalaya; and, on the north end, Jafnapatam, with a fort four leagues from Galle, within land, called Biblegam; and Tutecareen and Negapatam on the main continent, yielded.

The Dutch were no ſooner maſters of the ſea-coaſts of Ceyloan, but they began to give laws to their ally the King of Candia forbidding him to trade with any foreign nation but theirs, which uſage the King could not well digeſt, whereupon a war broke out, that continued many years, but, in the end, the Dutch made a peace upon very advantageous conditions. And Colombo being too large to be defended with a few forces, they have contracted it into one quarter of its ancient bounds, and have fortified it ſtrongly with a wall and baſtions. It is now about a mile in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth; and the Chriſtians and other natives inhabit a part of the old town, without the walls of the new. The ſtreets of the new town are wide and ſpacious, and the buildings after the new mode. The governor's houſe is a noble fabrick, and ſeveral other houſes are beautiful. It wants the benefit of a river, but has a ſmall deep bay capable to receive ſmall ſhips, and ſhelter them in the ſouth-weſt monſoons.

Ponto de Galle, I have mentioned before, is a bay with a dangerous entrance for ſhipping, but is capable to receive ſhips of the greateſt burden. About the year 1670, Lewis XIV. of France had a great mind for a ſettlement on Zeloan, and equipped ſeven or eight ſail of ſhips for that enterprize; and when they came to ſea and opened their orders, they found Galle was the place they were to take and fortify, and the management of that affair intruſted to one Mr. de l'Haye, which one Mr. Jean Martin, who had ſerved the Dutch many years in good poſts in India, and who had laid down that

project

project, was ſo chagrined with the diſappointment of another having the firſt poſt in that affair, that when they came to Galle they had but bad ſucceſs. They expected the Portugueze there before them to aſſiſt, but none came; but ſoon after Hitlof Van Gouze was with them, whom the French not caring to engage with, being equal in number of ſhips, and ſuperior in force, the French fled, and left their project on Galle unattempted.

They went then to Trankamalaya, and anchored in that bay, deſigning to force that ſmall garriſon to a ſurrender; but that vigilant Dutch man was ſoon after them with his fleet, and forced them to fight diſadvantageouſly in Trankamalaya bay, wherein the French loſt one half of their fleet, being either ſunk or burnt. With the reſt they fled to St. Thomas, on the coaſt of Cormandel, deſigning to ſettle there; but Van Gouze was ſoon there alſo, and ſeized their ſhips, many of their guns being diſmounted and carried aſhore: but they finding they could do no good againſt ſo powerful and vigilant an enemy, treated and capitulated with the Dutch to leave India, if they might be allowed ſhipping to carry them away, which the Dutch agreed to, and allowed them their admiral's ſhip, called the Grand Briton, and two more, to tranſport themſelves whither they pleaſed; but Mr. Martin was carried to Batavia, and there confined for his lifetime, with a penſion of a rix dollar per day.

Zeloan is fruitful in rice, pulſe, fruits, herbage and roots. And Jafnapatam exports great quantities of tobacco and ſome elephants. Thoſe of this iſland's brood are reckoned the moſt docile of any in the world, but they are not large, few of them exceeding three yards in height. They catch them wild by ſtratagem, and ſoon make them tame after they are caught.

The way they catch them, as they told me, is they drive large ſtakes into the ground for 2 or 300 paces, in a plain, and about 100 paces diſtant, they begin another row of ſtakes, that almoſt meets one of the ends of the firſt row, only leaving ſeven or eight foot open between them, for a door, and farther out from the door-place, are ſome ſtakes driven thicker than in the rows, like a ſquare chamber. In the door-place is a wooden portcullis or trap-door, fitted to pull up or let down at pleaſure. When all is ready, they bring a female elephant trained up for a decoy, and ſhe is put into the chamber, and the trap-door kept open. There are men placed in a little cloſe place built on the top of the ſtakes at the trap-door, and the female elephant makes a loud doleful moan. If a male elephant is near, he preſently approaches the chamber, on the outſide; but finding no entrance there, he walks along the outſide, till he finds the end, then walking back on the inſide of the ſtakes, he finds the door and enters. As ſoon as he is in, the watchmen let fall the trap-door, and go and bring two tame elephants to accompany him that is decoyed to their ſtables. When they come near the trap-door, it is pulled up and they enter, and place themſelves one on each ſide. If he proves ſurly, they bang him heartily with their trunks, and the female beſtows ſome blows on him too. When he is tired with their treatment, and finds no other remedy but patience, he even grows tame, and walks very orderly between his two guards, whitherſoever they pleaſe to conduct him, and continues very ſociable ever after, except when rutting time comes, and then, if he be young, he becomes very rude and troubleſome. That time is known by a great ſweating in his head, ſo they have ſtrong fetters ready to put on his legs, and faſtened to a great tree for eight or ten days that his madneſs continues.

There are ſeveral dangers, and rocks above water, on all the coaſts of Zeloan. The great Baxias are above water on its eaſt ſide, not far from the ſouth end of the

iſland; and the ſmall Baxias are under water about three leagues to the north of the other, and dangerous banks of ſand within them. To the northward of Trankamalaya there are ſome rocks high above water, and ſome alſo under water; and ſeveral ſpits of of ſand jetting a pretty way into the ſea from points of lands. I knew a gentleman that run his ſhip on one ſpit near point Pedro, by too much confidence of his own knowledge of that coaſt, for his mate told him, that, in his opinion they kept too near the ſhore. His captain anſwered, that his knowledge of that coaſt was ſo good, that if a ſingle ſhovel-full of ſand was carried off the ſea-ſhore, he would infallibly miſs it; but a few minutes after, this ſhip was faſt on a bank, and he and his crew deſerted her, and went aſhore, and the ſhip found the way off again of her own accord, which when the captain heard of, he, with ſome of the crew, returned, and took poſſeſſion of her again.

Point Pedro has the moſt dangerous bank off it, for they lie above four leagues from the ſhore, and the land being very low, makes thoſe banks the more dangerous. I have known ſeveral ſhips loſt there; and, *in anno* 1723, one Williams loſt his ſhip there, and he and all his crew were ſeized by the natives, and carried to the King at Candia, and, I am afraid, will be forced to end their days there.

The religion of Zeloan is Paganiſm, and, for want of a better image or relict to adore, they worſhip a monkey's tooth. When the Portugueze were ſettled there, the prieſts loſt their adorable tooth, and a ſly fellow, who had accompanied a Portugueze ambaſſador there from Colombo, pretended he had found it three years after it was miſſing. He had, it ſeems, ſeen it, and got one as like it as was poſſible. The prieſts were ſo overjoyed that it was found again, that they purchaſed it of the fellow for a round ſum, reported to be above 10,000 pounds ſterling.

All the natives of this iſland believe, that Adam was created on this ſpot, and there is the ſhape of a man's foot cut out of a rock on the top of the high hill (called Adam's Peak by the Engliſh) about five or ſix ordinary feet long. This opinion is alſo ſpread over many provinces on the continent, which brings many pilgrims to viſit the footſtep. And they alſo believe, that on Adam's tranſgreſſion, the bridge before ſpoken of, was made by angels to carry him over to the main land, whither I am obliged to follow him, having no more of Zeloan to treat you with, but ſome of the beſt arecka in the world that grows there.

CHAP. XXVIII. — *Treats of the Countries on the Sea-coaſt, from Adam's Bridge at Zeloan, to Fort St. George; with an Account of St. Thomas's Martyrdom, according to the Portugueze Legend.*

THE firſt place of note, to the northward of Adam's Bridge, on the continent, is Nagapatam a Dutch colony and fortreſs taken from the Portugueze. It has the benefit of a river, which formerly bounded the dominions of Malabar, though their language was, and is uſed farther northward. The river waſhes the fort walls, and its waters are reckoned very unhealthful; but about the year 1693, by the ingenuity and care of Myn Heer Van Reede, whom I have formerly mentioned, that cauſe of a mortal malady was removed, for he built ſome water boats, and ſent them four leagues off to another river, whoſe waters were reckoned very healthful, and by theſe boats furniſhed the garriſon with good water. In a ſhort time there was a viſible alteration for the better in the ſtate of the inhabitants' health; and making an eſtimate of the charges of thoſe water boats, and the uſual charges of the hoſpital, the Company found

found that they gained by the water boats. This colony produces very little beſides tobacco and long cloth. The natives are heathens.

Having thus run along the ſea-coaſt of Malabar, from Decully to Nagapatam, I muſt viſit the Maldiva iſlands, which lie off this coaſt and that of Zeloan, about 60 leagues diſtant from the neareſt part of them.

This cluſter of iſlands, which reaches from ſeven degrees twenty minutes north latitude into one degree ſouth, are all low, ſandy and ſterile, bearing no ſort of corn, and their only product is cocoa-nut. Their trees are not ſo high nor groſs bodied as thoſe which grow on the continent, or on Zeloan, but their fruit is pleaſanter. Of that tree they build veſſels of 20 or 30 tuns. Their hulls, maſts, ſails, rigging, anchors, cables, proviſions and firing are all from this uſeful tree. It alſo affords them oil for their kitchen and lamps, ſugar and candid ſweat-meats, and pretty ſtrong cloth. Their ſeas produce abundance of fiſh, but their trade is chiefly from a ſmall ſhell-fiſh called courie and the bonetta.

The couries are caught by putting branches of cocoa-nut trees with their leaves on, into the ſea, and in five or ſix months the little ſhell-fiſh ſticks to thoſe leaves in cluſters, which they take off, and digging pits in the ſand, put them in, and cover them up, and leave them two or three years in the pit, that the fiſh may putrify, and then they take them out of the pit, and barter them for rice, butter and cloth, which ſhipping bring from Ballaſore in Orixa, near Bengal, in which countries couries paſs for money from 2500 to 3000 for a rupee, or half a crown Engliſh.

The bonnetta is caught with hook and line, or with nets. They come among thoſe iſlands in the months of April and May, in ſhoals, as our herrings do. They cut the fiſh from the back-bone on each ſide, and lay them in a ſhade to dry, ſprinkling them ſometimes with ſea-water. When they are dry enough to put in the ſand, they wrap them up in leaves of cocoa-nut trees, and put them a foot or two under the ſurface of the ſand and, with the heat of the ſun, they become baked as hard as ſtock-fiſh, and ſhips come from Atcheen on the iſland of Sumatra, and purchaſe them with gold duſt. I have ſeen comelamaſh (for that is their name after they are dried) ſell at Atcheen, for eight pounds ſterling per 1000.

Their religions are Paganiſm and Mahometiſm, and their language Chingulay, or the Zeloan language. The King reſides on an iſland in the latitude of four degrees north, and his iſland, which bears the name of the King's Iſland, is fortified with a ſtone wall, without lime or mortar, and has a great many ſmall cannon for his defence, and his reign is arbitrary.

The iſlands are ſo many, and, in moſt places, ſo near to one another, that they could never yet be numbered. They are moſt part inhabited; but the inhabitants very poor. None of them dare wear any clothing above their girdle, but a turban on their head, without a ſpecial warrant from the King. He ſets governors of provinces over ſuch a number of iſlands, and they lord it over the poor ſubjects as much as a dragoon does over an Hugonot in France. They give burial to their dead, and not burning. And, at the iſland of Hammandow, which lies in ſeven degrees, I ſaw carving on ſome tomb-ſtones, as ingeniouſly cut with variety of figures as ever I ſaw in Europe or Aſia.

Their wells furniſh them with all the freſh-water they uſe, and they dig them near the depth of high water mark, which is about five or ſix foot; and if they go deeper, it becomes brackiſh, becauſe there being no ſubſtance of ſolid earth under the ſurface of the ſand, the ſea-water percolates through the ſand, and mixes with the rain water that ſupplies the ſprings. So having given the beſt account I can of a parcel of iſlands

that

that cannot be counted, I return back to Nagapatam, from whence I took my departure, and ſtretch along the coaſt of Chormondel.

I begin at the river of Nagapatam, becauſe it is the ſouthermoſt bounds of Golcondah, and coaſt along ſhore to Trincumbar a fortreſs and colony belonging to the Danes. The fort is ſtrong, the ſea waſhing one half of its walls; but the colony is miſerably poor. *In anno* 1684, they were ſo diſtreſſed with poverty, that they pawned three baſtions of their fort to the Dutch, for money to buy proviſions, which then was very ſcarce and dear in that country; but next year they redeemed all again, paying their debts by an unknown fund, which ſtill remains a ſecret: but that the Engliſh had a ſhip called the Formoſa, which, in her paſſage home to Surat, called at Calecut for water, wood and other ſtores. The Danes, at that time, had two ſhips cruizing between Surat and Cape Comerin, upon what account none could tell but themſelves. The Formoſa left Calecut at midnight, and ſtood to ſea, in order to proceed on her voyage, and being out of ſight of land, about 11 in the forenoon, thoſe aſhore heard a great firing of cannon from the ſea, and the Formoſa, nor none of her crew were ever heard of ſince that time. They ſtill keep their fort, but drive an inconſiderable trade either to and from Europe, or in India, for what they have to live by, is the hire that they freight their ſhips for to Atcheen, Malacca and Johore, and ſometimes, but rarely, to Perſia, by which they keep up the name of a company, but reſemble one no more than that of the Miſſiſſipi does in France.

They have a ſet of clergy there lately come as miſſioners from Denmark, to teach the natives Chriſtianity, which deſerves both commendation and encouragement, but what proſelytes they make, I cannot tell, though I ſaw ſome of the poorer ſort become diſciples. The product of the country is cloth, white and dyed.

The next place of commerce is Porto Novo, ſo called by the Portugueze, when the ſea-coaſts of India belonged to them; but when Aurengzeb ſubdued Golcondah, and the Portugueſe affairs declined, the Mogul ſet a Fouzdaar in it, and gave it the name of Mahomet Bander. The Europeans generally call it by its firſt name, and the natives by the laſt. The country is fertile, healthful and pleaſant, and produceth good cotton cloth of ſeveral qualities and denominations, which they ſell at home, or export to Pegu, Tanaſereen, Quedah, Johore, and Atcheen on Sumatra. The bulk of the people are Pagans.

Fort St. David is next, a colony and and fortreſs belonging to the Engliſh. About the year 1686, a Moratta prince ſold it to Mr. Elihu Yale, for 90,000 pagodoes, for the uſe and behoof of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company. The fort is pretty ſtrong and ſtands cloſe to a river; and the territories annexed to the fort by agreement were as far as any gun the Engliſh had, could ſling a ſhot, every way round the fort; but whether the buyer or gunner were conjurers or no, I cannot tell, but I am ſure that the Engliſh bounds reach above eight miles along the ſea-ſhore, and four miles within land. The country is pleaſant, healthful and fruitful, watered with ſeveral rivers that are as good as ſo many walls to fortify the Engliſh colony. And ever ſince the time that Aurengzeb conquered Viſapore and Golcondah, there are great numbers of malcontents and freebooters that keep on the mountains, and often fall down into the open country, and commit depredations, by ravaging and plundering the villages; and all the Mogul's forces cannot ſuppreſs them.

When the Engliſh bought Fort St. David, the Dutch had a little factory there, about a mile from the fort, and the good-natured Engliſh ſuffer them ſtill to continue a few ſervants in it. Our company did not find ſo much grace from the Dutch at Couchin, nor the gentlemen of Bantam and Indrapoura, when the Dutch ſeized thoſe places.

places. It is true, the Dutch can drive no open trade there, but what they muſt pay the Engliſh company cuſtoms for.

About the year 1698, the freebooters aforementioned had almoſt made themſelves maſters of the fort by ſtratagem and ſurprize. They pretended, that they had been ſent from the Mogul's viceroy at Viſapore, to take charge of the revenue collected at Porto Novo, and to carry it to the treaſury at Viſapore, and deſired leave to put their feigned treaſure into the fort for a few days, to ſecure it from the Moratta freebooters aforementioned, who, they ſaid, were plundering the open country, which favour Mr. Frazer, governor at that time, granted; ſo they brought into the fort ten or twelve oxen loaded with ſtones, and each ox had two or three attendants, and about 200 more of that gang, who came along with the carriage beaſts as a guard, lodged themſelves in a grove near the fort gate, to be ready, on a ſignal given, to enter the Fort. The freebooters within took an opportunity the very next morning, and killed the ſentinel and a few more that were aſleep in the gateway next to the grove; but, before they could break the gate open, the garriſon was alarmed, and killed all their treacherous gueſts, and the ambuſh without being come into the parade before the gate, met with ſo warm a reception, that they retreated in confuſion, and the Engliſh purſuing them, killed ſeveral, but loſt ſome of their own men.

Mr. Frazer ordered directly the grove to be cut down, for fear of future danger from it, but Fort St. David being ſubordinate to Fort St. George, the governor and council there called Mr. Frazer to their court, and fined him for preſumption, in cutting down ſo fine a grove for enemies to ſculk in, without leave aſked and given in due form; but their right honourable maſters adjuſted all that matter, and ordered the fine to be refunded, with the intereſt; but governors of different views and humours ſeldom agree.

This colony produces good long cloths in large quantities either brown, white, or blue dyed, alſo Sallampores, Morees, Dimities Ginghams, Succatoons, and ſteel. And, without the aſſiſtance of this colony, that of Fort St. George would make but a ſmall figure in trade to what it now does.

The river is but ſmall, though very convenient for the import and export of merchandize. And Cuddelore, that lies about a mile to the ſouthward, is capable to receive ſhips of 200 tuns in the months of September and October. The rivers have both of them bars, but are very ſmooth, whereas Fort St. George is always dangerous in going aſhore and coming off.

The company has a pretty good garden and ſummer-houſe, where generally the governor reſides; and the town extending itſelf pretty wide has gardens to moſt of their houſes. Their black cattle are very ſmall, but plentiful and cheap. And their ſeas and rivers abound in good fiſhes.

Punticherry is the next place of note on this coaſt; a colony ſettled by the French. It lies about five leagues to the northward of Fort St. David. The fortifications are fine, regular and ſtrong, but its trade is very ſmall, though the country produces the ſame commodities that cauſe the trade circulate in Fort St. David. About the year 1690, the Dutch brought forces from Batavia, and beſieged it, and being then very ſcarce in men, magazines and money, the French were forced to capitulate, and ſurrender on pretty honourable terms, but, in the concluſion of King William's war, the Dutch were obliged to return it by the articles of peace, which verified the fable of the cuckow in ſeizing of other birds neſts weaker than herſelf, in the ſpring, and quitting them again in autumn.

Connymere or Conjemeer is the next place, where the Engliſh had a factory many years, but, on their purchaſing Fort St. David, it was broken up, and transferred thither. At preſent its name is hardly ſeen in the map of trade.

Near Connymere are the ſeven pagods, one of which, whoſe name I have now forgot, is celebrated among the Pagans for ſanctity, and is famous for the yearly pilgrimages made there. The god was very obſcene, if his image rightly repreſents him, and his nymphs as lewd as any in Drury-lane, if their poſtures were really figured and carved as they are to be ſeen on the outſide of the temple. Here it was that St. Thomas's perſecution firſt began, becauſe he could draw a ſhort tree to a great length, as wiredrawers do metals, and the Pagan prieſts being ignorant of ſuch pieces of art, made them cry out, that St. Thomas was an arrant conjurer; for as the Romiſh ſtory goes, the freſhes coming down in rivulets, had made ſome of them pretty deep to what they uſed to be, and a lady going to church, could not get over one of them, becauſe a tree, that was laid for a common bridge, was too ſhort at that time, and St. Thomas, who preached in the country villages, a doctrine oppoſite to the eſtabliſhed church, accidentally being there, drew the tree to ſuch a length, that the lady could paſs without wetting her foot, upon which ſhe became a convert, to the great diſſatisfaction of the eſtabliſhed clergy, who loſt a devout and charitable benefactreſs by that trick of St. Thomas.

The prieſts, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, cried out, that the church was in danger, and ſo inflamed the minds of the populace, that St. Thomas, finding himſelf in greater danger than the church, thought it beſt to get out of harm's way, and ſo marched to the northward, whither I muſt follow him to.

Saderaſs, or Saderaſs Patam, a ſmall factory belonging to the Dutch to buy up long cloth. The country is healthful, and the ground fertile, which make them capable of aſſiſting their neighbours at Fort St. George with ſallading and pot herbs, the ground there being very ſterile.

Cabelon is next, where the Oſtenders have ſettled a factory. There is nothing remarkable there, but a point of rocks that runs about half a mile into the ſea, and thoſe make a ſmooth landing-place in the ſouthweſt monſoons.

St. Thomas is next, which lies about three miles to the ſouthward of Fort St. George. The city was built by the Portugueze, and they made the apoſtle its godfather; but, before that, it was called Malliapore. There is a little dry rock on the land, within it, called the Little Mount, where the apoſtle deſigned to have hid himſelf, till the fury of the Pagan prieſts his perſecutors had blown over. There was a convenient cave in that rock for his purpoſe, but not one drop of water to drink, ſo St. Thomas cleft the rock with his hand, and commanded water to come into the clift, which command it readily obeyed; and, ever ſince, there is water in that clift, both ſweet and clear. When I ſaw it, there were not above three gallons in it. He ſtaid there a few days, but his enemies had an account of his place of refuge, and were reſolved to ſacrifice him, and, in great numbers, were approaching the mount. When he ſaw them coming, he left his cave, and came down in order to ſeek ſhelter ſome where elſe; and, at the foot of the mount, as a teſtimony that he had been there, he ſtampt with his bare foot, on a very hard ſtone, and left the print of it, which remains there to this day, a witneſs againſt thoſe perſecuting prieſts. The print of his foot is about ſixteen inches long, and, in proportion, narrower at the heel and broader at the toes than the feet now in uſe among us. He, fleeing for his life to another larger mount, about two miles from the little one, was overtaken on the top of it,

before he was ſheltered, and there they run him through with a lance; and, in the ſame place where he was killed, he lies buried.

When the Portugueſe firſt ſettled there, they built a church over the cave and well on the little mount, and alſo one over his grave on the great one, where the lance that killed the apoſtle, is ſtill kept there as a relict; but how the Portugueſe came by that lance is a queſtion not yet well reſolved. In that church there is a ſtone tinctured with the apoſtle's blood, that cannot be waſhed out. I have often been at both mounts, and have ſeen thoſe wonderful pieces of antiquity.

At the foot of the great mount the company has a garden, and ſo have the gentlemen of figure at Fort St. George, with ſome ſummer-houſes where ladies and gentlemen retire to in the ſummer, to recreate themſelves, when the buſineſs of the town is over, and to be out of the noiſe of ſpungers and impertinent viſitants, whom this city is often moleſted with.

The city of St. Thomas was formerly the beſt mart town on the Chormondel coaſt, but, at preſent has very little trade, and the inhabitants, who are but few, are reduced to great poverty. The Engliſh ſettling at Fort St. George were the cauſe of its ruin, and there is little proſpect of its recovery.

CHAP. XXIX.—*Gives a ſhort Deſcription of Fort St. George, its firſt Settlement and and Riſe, its Situation and Sterility, and ſome Remarks on its Government, and the Actions of ſome of its Governors.*

FORT St. George or Maderaſs, or, as the natives call it, China Patam, is a colony and city belonging to the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, ſituated in one of the moſt incommodious places I ever ſaw. It fronts the ſea, which continually rolls impetuouſly on its ſhore, more here than in any other place on the coaſt of Chormondel. The foundation is in ſand, with a ſalt-water river on its back ſide, which obſtructs all ſprings of freſh-water from coming near the town, ſo that they have no drinkable water within a mile of them, the ſea often threatning deſtruction on one ſide, and the river in the rainy ſeaſon inundations on the other, the ſun from April to September ſcorching hot; and if the ſea-breezes did not moiſten and cool the air when they blow, the place could not poſſibly be inhabited. The reaſon why a fort was built in that place is not well accounted for; but that tradition ſays, that the gentleman who received his orders to build a fort on that coaſt, about the beginning of King Charles II.'s reign after his reſtoration, for protecting the Company's trade, choſe that place to ruin the Portugueze trade at St. Thomas. Others again alledge, and with more probability, that the gentleman aforeſaid, which I take to be Sir William Langhorn, had a miſtreſs at St. Thomas he was ſo enamoured of, that made him build there, that their interviews might be the more frequent and uninterrupted; but whatever his reaſons were, it is very ill ſituated. The ſoil about the city is ſo dry and ſandy, that it bears no corn, and what fruits, roots and herbage they have, are brought to maturity by great pains and much trouble. If it be true, that the Company gave him power to ſettle a colony in any part of that coaſt that pleaſed him beſt, I wonder that he chooſed not Cabelon, about ſix leagues to the ſouthward, where the ground is fertile, and the water good, with the conveniency of a point of rocks to facilitate boats landing, or why he did not go nine leagues farther northerly, and ſettle at Policat on the banks of a good river, as the Dutch have done ſince, where the road for ſhipping is

made eaſy by ſome ſand banks, that reach three leagues off ſhore, and make the high turbulent billows that come rolling from the ſea, ſpend their force on thoſe banks before they can reach the ſhore. The ſoil is good, and the river commodious, and convenient in all ſeaſons. Now whether one of thoſe places had not been more eligible, I leave to the ingenious and thoſe concerned to comment on.

However, the war carried on at Bengal and Bombay, by the Engliſh againſt the Mogul's ſubjects, from 1685 to 1689, made Fort St. George put on a better dreſs than he wore before; for the peaceable Indian merchants, who hate contention and war, came flocking thither, becauſe it lay far from thoſe incumberers of trade, and near the diamond mines of Golcondah, where there are, many times, good bargains to be made, and money got by our governors. The black merchants reſorting to our colony, to ſecure their fortunes, and bring their goods to a ſafe market, made it populous and rich, notwithſtanding its natural inconveniences. The town is divided into two parts. One where the Europeans dwell is called the White Town. It is walled quite round, and has ſeveral baſtions and bulwarks to defend its walls, which can only be attacked at its ends, the ſea and river fortifying its ſides. It is about 400 paces long, and 150 paces broad, divided into ſtreets pretty regular, and Fort St. George ſtood near its center. There are two churches in it, one for the Engliſh, and another for the Romiſh ſervice. The governor ſuperintends both, and, in filling up vacancies in the Romiſh church, he is the Pope's legate *a latere* in ſpiritualities. There is a very good hoſpital in the town, and the Company's horſe-ſtables are neat; but the old college, where a great many gentlemen factors are obliged to lodge, is ill kept in repair.

They have a town-hall, and underneath it are priſons for debtors. They are, or were a corporation, and had a mayor and aldermen to be choſen by the free burgers of the town; but that ſcurvy way is grown obſolete, and the governor and his council or party fix the choice. The city had laws and ordinances for its own preſervation, and a court kept in form, the mayor and aldermen in their gowns, with maces on the table, a clerk to keep a regiſter of tranſactions and caſes, and attornies and ſolicitors to plead in form, before the mayor and aldermen; but, after all, it is but a farce, for, by experience, I found, that a few pagodas rightly placed, could turn the ſcales of juſtice to which ſide the governor pleaſed, without reſpect to equity or reputation.

In ſmaller matters, where the caſe, on both ſides, is but weakly ſupported by money, then the court acts judiciouſly, according to their conſciences and knowledge; but often againſt law and reaſon, for the court is but a court of conſcience, and its deciſions are very irregular; and the governor's diſpenſing power of nulling all that the court tranſacts, puzzles the moſt celebrated lawyers there to find rules in the ſtatute laws.

They have no martial law, ſo they cannot inflict the pains of death any other ways than by whipping or ſtarving, only for piracy they can hang; and ſome of them have been ſo fond of that privilege, that Mr. Yale hanged his groom (Croſs) for riding two or three days journey off to take the air; but, in England, he paid pretty well for his arbitrary ſentence. And one of a later date, viz, the orthodox Mr. Collet hanged a youth who was an apprentice to an officer on board of a ſhip, and his maſter going a pirating, carried his ſervant along with him; but the youth ran from them the firſt opportunity he met with, on the iſland of Jonkceyloan, and informed the maſter of a ſloop, which lay in a river there, that the pirates had a deſign on his ſloop and cargo, and went armed, in company with the maſter, to hinder the approach of the pirates, and was the firſt that fired on them, yet that merciful man was inexorable, and the youth was hanged.

That

That power of executing pirates is ſo ſtrangely ſtretched, that if any private trader is injured by the tricks of a governor, and can find no redreſs, if the injured perſon is ſo bold as to talk of *Lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a pirate.

In *anno* 1719, I went on a trading voyage to Siam, on the foundation of a treaty of commerce eſtabliſhed in *anno* 1684, between King Charles and the King of Siam's ambaſſador at London; but, in *anno* 1718, Mr. Collet ſent one Powney his ambaſſador to Siam, with full power to annul the old treaty, and to make a new one detrimental to all Britiſh ſubjects, except thoſe employed by Collet himſelf. It was ſtipulated, that all Britiſh ſubjects that had not Collet's letter, ſhould be obliged to pay eight per cent, new cuſtoms, and meaſurage for their ſhip, which come to about 500l. for a ſhip of 300 tuns, to ſell their cargoes to whom they pleaſed, but the money to be paid into the King's caſh, that he might deliver goods for it at his own prices, whether proper for their homeward markets, or no. I coming to Siam, ſent my ſecond ſupercargo up to the city, with orders to try the market, and hire an houſe for the uſe of the cargo and ourſelves. He could not get a boat to bring him back, before the ſhip arrived at Bencock, a caſtle about half-way up, where it is cuſtomary for all ſhips to put their guns aſhore, ſo then being obliged to proceed with the ſhip to the city, I underſtood the conditions of the new treaty of commerce, which I would, by no means, adhere to, but deſired leave to be gone again. They uſed many perſuaſions to make me ſtay, but to no purpoſe, unleſs I might trade on the old and lawful treaty. They kept me from the beginning of Auguſt to the latter end of December, before they would let me go, and then I was obliged to pay meaſurage before they parted with me.

I wrote my grievance to Mr. Collet, complaining of Powney's villainous tranſactions, not ſeeming to know that they were done by Collet's order, and let ſome hints fall of *Lex talionis*, if I met with Powney conveniently, which ſo vexed Mr. Collet, that he formally went to the town-hall, and declared me a rank pirate, though I and my friends came off with above 3000l. loſs.

I ſhould not have been ſo particular, but that I ſaw ſome printed papers at London, in *anno* 1725, that extolled his piety, charity and juſtice in very high encomiums; but it muſt have been done by ſome mercenary ſcribbler that did not know him; but now he is dead, I will ſay no more of him.

The black town is inhabited by Gentows, Mahometans and Indian Chriſtians, viz. Armenians, and Portugueze, where there are temples and churches for each religion, every one being tolerated; and every one follows his proper employment. It was walled in towards the land, when governor Pit ruled it. He had ſome apprehenſion, that the Mogul's generals in Golcondah might, ſome time or other, plunder it, ſo laying the hazard and danger before the inhabitants, they were either perſuaded or obliged to raiſe ſubſidies to wall their town, except towards the ſea and the white town.

The two towns are abſolutely governed by the governor Sola, in whoſe hands the command of the military is lodged; but all other affairs belonging to the Company, are managed by him and his council, moſt part of whom are generally his creatures. And I have been and am acquainted with ſome gentlemen, who have been in that poſt, as well as ſome private gentlemen, who reſided at Fort St. George, men of great candor and honour, but they ſeldom continued long favourites at court.

One of the gates of the white town looks towards the ſea, and it is, for that reaſon, called the ſea-gate. The gate-way being pretty ſpacious, was formerly the common exchange, where merchants of all nations reſorted about Eleven o'clock, to treat of

buſineſs in merchandize; but that cuſtom is out of faſhion, and the conſultation chamber, or the governor's apartment, ſerves for that uſe now, which made one Captain Hart, a very merry man, ſay, that he could never have believed that the ſea-gate could have been carried into the conſultation room, if he had not ſeen it.

The Company has their mint here for coining bullion that comes from Europe and other countries, into rupees, which brings them in good revenues. The rupee is ſtamped with Perſian characters, declaring the Mogul's name, year of his reign, and ſome of his epithets. They alſo coin gold into pagodas of ſeveral denominations and value. There are alſo ſchools for the education of children, the Engliſh for reading and writing Engliſh, the Portugueze for their language and latin, and the Mahometans, Gentows, and Armenians, for their particular languages. And the Engliſh church is well endowed, and maintains poor gentlewomen in good houſewifery, good clothes and palankines.

The diamond mines being but a week's journey from Fort St. George, make them pretty plentiful there; but few great ſtones are now brought to market there, ſince that great diamond which governor Pit ſent to England. How he purchaſed it Mr. Glover, by whoſe means it was brought to the governor, could give the beſt account, for he declared to me, that he loſt 3000 pagodas by introducing the ſeller to Mr. Pit, having left ſo much money in Arcat as ſecurity, that if the ſtone was not fairly bought at Fort St. George, the owner ſhould have free liberty to carry it where he pleaſed for a market: but neither the owner nor Mr. Glover were pleaſed with the governor's tranſactions in that affair.

Some cuſtoms and laws at the mines are, when a perſon goes thither on that affair, he chooſes a piece of ground, and acquaints one of the King's officers, who ſtay there for that ſervice, that he wants ſo many covets of ground to dig in; but whether they agree for ſo much, or if the price be certain, I know not: however, when the money is paid, the ſpace of ground is incloſed, and ſome ſentinels placed round it. The King challenges all ſtones that are found above a certain weight, I think it is about 60 grains; and if any ſtones be carried clandeſtinely away above the ſtipulated weight, the perſon guilty of the theft, is puniſhed with death. Some are fortunate, and get eſtates by digging, while others loſe both their money and labour.

The current trade of Fort St. George runs gradually ſlower, the trader meeting with diſappointments, and ſometimes with oppreſſions, and ſometimes the liberty of buying and ſelling is denied them; and I have ſeen, when the governor's ſervants have bid for goods at a publick ſale, ſome who had a mind to bid more, durſt not; others who had more courage and durſt bid, were browbeaten and threatened. And I was witneſs to a bargain of Surat wheat taken out of a gentleman's hands, after he had fairly bought it by auction, ſo that many trading people are removed to other parts, where there is greater liberty and leſs oppreſſion.

The colony produces very little of its own growth or manufacture for foreign markets. They had formerly a trade to Pegu, where many private traders got pretty good bread by their traffic and induſtry; but the trade is now removed into the Armenians, Moors and Gentows hands, and the Engliſh are employed in building and repairing of ſhipping. The trade they have to China, is divided between them and Surat, for the gold, and ſome copper, are for their own markets, and the groſs of their cargo, which conſiſts in ſugar, ſugar-candy, allom, China ware and ſome drugs, as china root, Galling-gal, &c. are all for the Surat market.

Their

Their trade to Perſia muſt firſt come down the famous Ganges, before it can come into Fort St. George's channels to be conveyed to Perſia. They never had any trade to Mocha in the product and manufactories of Chormondel before the year 1713, and Fort St. David ſupplies the goods for that port, ſo that Fort St. George is an emblem of Holland in ſupplying foreign markets with foreign goods.

The colony is well peopled, for there is computed to be 80,000 inhabitants in the towns and villages; and there are generally about 4 or 500 Europeans reſiding there, reckoning the gentlemen, merchants, ſeamen and ſoldiery. Their rice is brought, by ſea, from Ganjam and Orixa, their wheat from Surat and Bengal, and their fire-wood from the iſlands of Diu, a low point of land that lies near Matchulipatam, ſo that any enemy that is ſuperior to them in ſea forces, may eaſily diſtreſs them.

CHAP. XXX.—*Gives an Account of the Coaſt of Chormondel from Fort St. George to Ganjam, the eaſtermoſt Town in the ancient Kingdom of Golcondah; with Obſervations on their Pagan Worſhip, and ſome Occurrences that happened to the Engliſh Factory at Vizagapatam while I was there.*

POLICAT is the next place of note to the city and colony of Fort St. George, and as I obſerved before, is a town belonging to the Dutch. It is ſtrengthened with two forts, one contains a few Dutch ſoldiers for a garriſon, the other is commanded by an officer belonging to the Mogul. The country affords the ſame commodities that Fort St. George doth; and the people are employed moſtly in knitting cotton ſtockings, which they export for the uſe of all the European factories in India.

There are ſeveral places along the coaſt to the northward, which, in former times, had commerce abroad, but now are neglected and unfrequented. Armagun is one, and Kiſnipatam is another, that brought good ſtore of cloth, of ſeveral ſorts, to the Engliſh factories. Kiſnipatam has the benefit of a good large river, that has a bar of 15 foot water on it. Carrera has the benefit of a large river, that reaches a great way into the country. Pettipoli had once Engliſh and Dutch factories ſettled in it, but they were withdrawn many years ago, becauſe the inland Rajahs diſturbed commerce by their impoſitions and exactions.

Matchulipatam, being the next place of figure, lies in the way along the ſea-coaſt. It ſtands on the north-eaſt ſide of Diu point, about five leagues diſtant from it. In the latter part of the laſt century this town was one of the moſt flouriſhing in all India, and the Engliſh company found it to be the moſt profitable factory that they had. They had a large factory built of teak timber; but now there are no Engliſh there, though the Dutch continue their factory ſtill, and keep about a dozen of Hollanders there to carry on the chintz trade, for that commodity is not, as yet, forbid to appear in Holland.

The town is but ſmall, built on a little iſland, and is much ſtronger by nature than art. Towards the continent ſide, there is a deep moraſs, over which is a wooden bridge about half a league long, and on breaking a part of that bridge, the town is ſecured from enemies on the land ſide.

The Mogul has his cuſtom-houſe here, and the commiſſioner of the cuſtom-houſe is governor of the town. The country and adjacent iſlands are fruitful in grain, timber for building, and tobacco the beſt in India. The iſlands of Diu produce the

famous dye called Shaii. It is a ſhrub growing in grounds that are overflown with the ſpring-tides. It ſtains their calicoes in the moſt beautiful and lively colours in the world; and I have ſeen butter from thence of as good a colour and taſte as ever I ſaw in Europe.

A few years ago, the Nabob or vice-roy of Chormondel, who reſides at Chichacul, and who ſuperintends that country for the Mogul, for ſome diſguſt he had received from the inhabitants of Diu iſlands, would have made a preſent of them to the colony of Fort St. George, and the inhabitants were very willing to change their maſters; but certain reaſons, that I am unacquainted with, made the governor and his council reject the preſent, and the viceroy and the iſlanders became friends again; but, after a year or two, the Engliſh having conſidered better of the matter, would accept of the viceroy's proffer, and ſent ſome ſhips, with men and ammunition, to fortify a factory, but the inhabitants took arms, and forbad them to land, ſo they returned as they went abroad.

Next to Matchulipatam is Narſipore, where the Engliſh had a factory for long cloth, for the uſe of their factory of Matchulipatam, when they manufactured chintz there. It alſo affords good teak timber for building, and has a fine deep river, but a dangerous bar, which makes it little frequented. And paſſing round Corrango Point, a little way up in Corrango Bay, is Angerang, that has the benefit of a large deep river, that penetrates far up into the continent. It has a bar ſoft at the bottom, and three and an half fathoms on it at high water. Here the beſt and fineſt long cloth is made that India affords, and is ſold cheap; but the inland countries lying near the river, are in the hands of different Rajahs, and each being ſovereign in his own ſmall dominions, makes ſuch impoſitions and exactions on the cloth that comes down the river, that they ruin that beneficial trade of Angerang, and make it little frequented.

In anno 1708, the Engliſh, from Vizagapatam ſettled there; but whether the factory was ſtarved for want of money, or whether the conſtituent and conſtituted chiefs of the factories diſagreed about dividing the bear's ſkin, I know not, but the factory was ſoon withdrawn, and the project loſt.

Coaſting along ſhore, there are ſeveral little ports between Matchulipatam and Vizagapatam, beſides Narſipore and Angerang, but Watraw is the moſt noted, for it produces rice for exportation, beſides ſome long cloth, but it is not frequented by Europeans, and therefore I proceed to

Vizagapatam, a fortified factory belonging to the Engliſh. It is regularly fortified with four little baſtions, and has about 18 guns mounted in it. It has the advantage of a river, but a dangerous bar to paſs over before we get into it. The country about affords cotton cloths, both coarſe and fine, and the beſt dureas, or ſtriped muſlins, in India; but the factory is generally heart-ſick for want of money to refreſh it.

In anno 1709, the factory drew a war on themſelves from the Nabob of Chickacul, for one Mr. Simeon Holcomb, who had been chief at Vizagapatam, had borrowed conſiderable ſums of the Nabob, and affixed the Company's ſeal to the bonds he gave for them. Mr. Holcomb dying, the Nabob demanded his money from the ſucceeding chief, who would not pay him, alleging, that Holcomb had borrowed it for his own private uſe, and not for the Company's, and that he muſt get payment out of Holcomb's private eſtate, if there was enough found to pay the debt, otherwiſe he might get his money from ſome inland Rajahs, who ſtood indebted to Holcomb, by his books of accounts, in a greater ſum than would pay his principal and intereſt; and

and that he being the Mogul's general, could compel thoſe Rajahs to pay their juſt debts, which they would make over to him: but the Nabob, not caring to enter into a war with his countrymen on ſuch a foundation, ſent agents to acquaint the governor and council of Fort St. George, with his affairs at Vizagapatam. They proved deaf to all the agent's propoſitions and arguments, and hardly treated him civilly, ſo he went back to his maſter, with the account of his ill ſucceſs. Upon which the Nabob came to a garden about half a league from Vizagapatam, accompanied with 500 horſe, and 3500 foot, to demand his money. I being accidentally there in a ſmall Dutch-built ſhip, that I had bought from the French, on my credit, at Fort St. George, and the factory being but ill manned, Mr. Haſtings, who was then chief, and my friend, deſired the aſſiſtance of my arms and counſel in that juncture of affairs, which I very freely gave him; and my opinion being aſked in council, what I thought about the affair, I adviſed him and his council to compound the matter as well as they could, and ſpin out time, that we might better fortify the avenues to the factory. My advice of compounding the matter was rejected, but the other part we followed, ſo, with ſeven Europeans that belonged to the factory, and twelve that were with me, and twenty Topaſes, and two hundred and eighty natives, moſt of them fiſhers, that lived under the Company's protection, we fortified ſome rocks that the enemy was obliged to paſs within piſtol-ſhot of, if they had a mind to attack us. We threw up breaſt-works between the rocks, and moored my ſhip within piſtol-ſhot of the ſhore, and had eight minion guns to ſcour the ſands, if they had attempted to come that way, and, for ſix weeks we continued on our guard, and were often alarmed in the night, but finding us always ready to receive them, thay did not think it proper to force an entry into the town.

I had the honour to command all the out-guards, and the chief, with eight Europeans and twenty blacks, kept the fort. Thus we continued in perpetual watchings and alarms, till reinforcements arrived from Fort St. George, and then I left them, and proceeded on a voyage to Pegu. Both parties being very buſy, one ſtriving to get his money by compulſion, and the other, to ſave the Company's money on any terms, right or wrong. The war being drawn to a greater length than was imagined at firſt, and charges riſing higher than was expected, inclined them to make all up amicably, which was at laſt effected by the Company's paying near the ſum that was at firſt demanded.

The Nabob, whoſe name was Fakirly Cawn, would hear of no peace, without the Company's merchant, who was a Gentow, called Agapa, and a ſubject of the Mogul's, who was very active in the war, in encouraging the town's people to defend themſelves and the Company's intereſt, and who alſo had wrote to ſome neighbouring Rajahs, to embroil the Nabob's affairs in his abſence, in order to divert him from purſuing his demands on Vizagapatam, ſhould be delivered up to him, which, at laſt, he was, and was put to a very cruel death. He was ſet in the hot ſcorching ſun three days, with his hands faſtned to a ſtake over his head, and one of his legs tied up till his heel touched his buttock, and, in the night, put into a dungeon, with ſome venomous ſnakes to bear him company, and this was repeated till the third night, when he ended his miſerable life; but the Company's merchants, for the future, will be cautious how they eſpouſe the Company's intereſt again.

There was one Baily, a recruit from Fort St. George, on ſome diſcontent, deſerted the Company's ſervice, and entered into the Nabob's; but falling into an ambuſh, was taken priſoner by our men, and was ſent to Fort St. George, where, for his deſertion, he was deſervedly whipped out of this world into the next, and there I leave him.

After the war was ended, and all quiet, the Nabob returned to Chickacul, but could neither forget nor forgive his treatment at Fort St. George and Vizagapatam, but finding by force he could not get the factory into his hands, without great loſs of men and money, he had recourſe to ſtratagem, by ſurpriſing it. He came into the town one day with one hundred horſe, and ſome foot, without advertiſing of his coming, as was uſual, at the town gate, and before the chief could have notice, he was got into the factory, with twenty or thirty of his attendants. The alarm being given, a reſolute bold young gentleman, a factor in the Company's ſervice, called Mr. Richard Horden, came running down ſtairs, with his fuzee in his hand, and bayonet ſcrewed on its muzzle, and preſenting it to the Nabob's breaſt, told him in the Gentow language, (which he was maſter of,) that the Nabob was welcome, but if any of his attendants offered the leaſt incivility, his life ſhould anſwer for it. The Nabob was ſurpriſingly aſtoniſhed at the reſolution and bravery of the young gentleman, and ſat down to conſider a little, Mr. Horden keeping the muzzle of his piece ſtill at his breaſt, and one of the Nabob's ſervants ſtanding all the while behind Mr. Horden, with a dagger's point cloſe to his back, ſo they had a conference of half an hour long, in thoſe above mentioned poſtures, and then the Nabob thought fit to be gone again, full of wonder and admiration of ſo daring a courage.

There are many ancient pagods or temples in this country, but there is one very particular that ſtands upon a little mountain near Vizagapatam, where they worſhip living monkeys; and, by report, many hundreds breed there, which are nouriſhed by the zealous prieſts, whoſe devotion conſiſts moſtly in boiling rice and other food for their comical little gods, which, at meal times, aſſemble at the pagod, and eat what is prepared for them, and retire again in good order; but it is leſs dangerous to kill a man near that temple than a monkey. I wont venture to be a judge, to determine whether the prieſt or the god is the moſt ridiculous brute, and yet I think the prieſt has ſome advantage of thoſe on Zeloan, who worſhip a monkey's tooth only.

Bimlipatam lies about four leagues to the north-eaſt of Vizagapatam. The Dutch keep a ſmall factory there, conſiſting of four Europeans. The country people manufacture cloth, both coarſe and fine, which the Dutch buy up for Batavia. About four miles off ſhore, at Bimlipatam, there are ſome rocks that appear above water, called Sancta Pilla. A ſhip may paſs between them and the ſhore without danger. And that is all worth obſervation there.

There are no European factories to the eaſtward on the coaſt of Chormondel, but Ganjam. It is kept for the chief of Vizagapatam's uſe, though a company might find their account there better than in many places that they keep factories in. It lies about fifty-five leagues to the north-eaſtward of Vizagapatam; but there are ſeveral other places between them on the coaſt, that drive a ſmall trade in corn. Pondee, Callingapatam, and Sunapore, are the moſt noted, but are not frequented by Europeans.

The country about Ganjam is fruitful in rice and ſugar-cane, and they make pretty good ſugars, both white and brown. It has the benefit of a river, but not navigable, nor the bar paſſable for ſhips, till the month of September, that the freſhes from the mountains open it, and then there are three fathoms on it, but it ſhuts again about the beginning of November, and in the other months, there are not above ſeven or eight feet at high water.

The town ſtands about a mile within the bar, on a riſing ground, and is governed by a chowdrie, an officer deputed by the Nabob. And there is a pagod in it, dedicated

cated to an obſcene god, called Gopalſami. He is carried ſometimes in proceſſion through the ſtreets, and ſometimes into the fields near the town. They allow him a coach, becauſe he cannot walk, and he has always above a dozen of clergymen to accompany him in his coach. Around his temple, and on the coach, are carved figures of gods and goddeſſes, in ſuch obſcene poſtures, that it would puzzle the Covent-garden nymphs to imitate. One of his company in the coach has a ſtick about two feet in length, and one end is carved in ſhape of a Priapus. The ſtick is placed between his legs, and the end ſticking out before him, and all virgins and married women that never had children, come and worſhip the ſtick, and the prieſts beſtow bleſſings on them to make them fruitful. The woods produce timber for building. It is very heavy, but the ſtrongeſt wood I ever ſaw, though not laſting. They alſo produce bees-wax and ſticklack, and pretty good iron. And the inland countries manufacture cotton into ſeveral ſorts of cloths, both fine and coarſe, all fit for exportation. The ſeas produce many ſorts of excellent fiſhes, and the rivers the beſt mullets ever I ſaw. In November and December they have great plenty of ſeer-fiſh, which is as ſavoury as any ſalmon or trout in Europe. I have ſeen them bought for three halfpence per piece, each above 20 lb. weight. Wild geeſe and ducks are plentiful and good here, and antelopes are ſold for fifteen pence per piece.

CHAP. XXXI.—*Treats of the Sea-coaſt and ſome inland Countries in the ancient Kingdom of Orixa, by the natives called Oria; with an Account of the famous Temple of Jagarynat.*

IN the year 1708, I had occaſion to travel from Ganjam to Ballaſore, by land, which gave me an opportunity to ſee more of the countries through which I travelled, than moſt others could have who travelled by ſea. About three miles to the eaſtward of Gangam is Illure, at the end of a ridge of mountains, that divide the ancient kingdom of Golcondah from Orixa. Its end runs within piſtol-ſhot of the ſea, and there were three or four ſentinels to demand a tax on every head that paſt out of or into Orixa. I had ſeventeen ſervants to carry my palanqueen and baggage, and all the tax amounted to about three ſhillings ſterling. Proceeding farther, I came to Manikapatam, where there is a great inlet from the ſea; but about a mile from its mouth, it divided itſelf into many channels, which made many ſmall iſlands. The Mogul had an officer there, who examined from whence we came, and whither we were bound. Our anſwers were ſatisfactory, and he preſented us with ſome poultry, rice, and butter, and gave us a place to lodge in. And, although we ſaw plenty of fiſh in the rivers, yet money could not purchaſe one of them, becauſe there is a pagod on a little hill built of iron-coloured ſtone, where all the animals of the watery element are worſhipped. And water-fowls are ſo ſacred, that they muſt not be killed.

Our next ſtage was to the famous temple of Jagarynat, which, in clear weather, may be ſeen from Manikapatam. In our way we ſaw great numbers of deer and antelopes, ſo tame that they would not move out of our way, till we approached within five or ſix yards of them. Water wild fowl were alſo numerous and fearleſs, for none dares kill them under pain of excommunication, which cannot be removed but by round ſums to the church. Poultry there is plentiful, but cannot be killed by the Pagans, becauſe they worſhip them; nor can ſtrangers purchaſe them, only the Mahometans, who make no account of their canon laws, make bold to ſacrifice them, and fiſh too, as we do in Great Britain.

In all this tract between Ganjam and Jagarynat, the viſible god in moſt eſteem is Gopalſami, whoſe temples, as I ſaid before, are decorated with obſcene repreſentations of men and women in indecent poſtures, alſo of demons and caco-demons, whoſe genitals are of a prodigious ſize in proportion to their bodies. The filthy image is worſhipped by all the Heathens of both ſexes; but barren women are his greateſt devotees, and bring him the beſt oblations.

Jagarynat has vaſt crowds of pilgrims to viſit him from all parts of India. His temple ſtands in a plain about a mile from the ſea, and no mountains nor outlets of rivers near it. It is built of a free hard ſtone, the pedeſtal of large ſquare ſtone, and cloſe by it is a ciſtern built about with large oblong ſquare ſtones of different colours, viz. brick-colour, light blue, gray and white. The ciſtern has ſteps that run the whole length of the ciſtern, which is about 40 or 50 yards, and, at the end oppoſite to the pagod, ſteps of the whole breadth of it, which is about 25 or 30 yards, each ſtep about a foot deep, deſcending by gradation, under the ſurface of the water, which did not ſeem to be clear, but, they ſay, is three fathoms deep in the middle. This ciſtern, or tank, is walled round with a ſtone wall about five feet high, with two iron gates to let in pilgrims, and keep out unſanctified peſons, as Chriſtians, Mahometans, &c.; for all pilgrims, are obliged to waſh in that tank before they go into the temple to worſhip. The temple is built in the ſhape of a Canary pipe ſet on end, about 40 or 50 yards high; about the middle is the image of an ox cut in one entire ſtone, bigger than a live one. He looks towards the ſouth-eaſt, and his hinder parts are fixed in the wall. The fabrick is crowned with a top about the ſame diameter that it is in the middle, and the temple being exactly round, makes no contemptible figure in architecture. On the weſt ſide of the pagod, there is a large chapel that joins it, wherein ſermons are daily preached; and there are ſome convents at a little diſtance for the prieſts to lodge in, who daily officiate. There are, in all, about 500 of them that belong to the pagod, who daily boil rice and pulſe for the uſe of the god. They report, that there are five candies daily dreſt, each candy containing 1600 lb. weight. When ſome part has been carried before the idol, and the ſmoke had ſaluted his mouth and noſe, then the remainder is ſold out, in ſmall parcels, to thoſe who will buy it, at very reaſonable rates, and the ſurplus is ſerved out to the poor, who are ever attending the pagod out of a pretended devotion: and this food, that is dreſt for the pagod, has a particular privilege above other eatables, that the purified heathen is not contaminated by eating out of the ſame diſh with polluted Chriſtians or Mahometans, though, in another place, it would be reckoned a mortal ſin.

I ſtaid there one day and two nights, and my lodgings were in an houſe very near the pagod. The nights were ſpent in beating on tabors and braſs cymbals, with ſongs of praiſes on Jagarynat, who is only a ſtone god, not carved into a figure, but an irregular pyramidal black ſtone of about 4 or 500lb. weight, with two rich diamonds placed near the top, to repreſent eyes, and a noſe and mouth painted with vermillion, to ſhew his devotees that he can both ſmell and taſte. There are no windows in the temple to give light, ſo that he has uſe for about 100 lamps continually burning before him. He is railed about, that none may approach near him but his prieſts; and only thoſe of the firſt quality dare enter into the Sanctum ſanctorum.

I would fain have gone into the temple, but could not be admitted, though I proffered the value of three guineas for admittance; but I ſent one of my ſervants, who was a Gentow, to obſerve what he could, and he brought me the foregoing account.

He

He is never removed out of the temple, but his effigy is often carried abroad in proceſſion, mounted on a coach four ſtories high. It runs on eight or ten wheels, and is capable to contain near two hundred perſons. It is drawn through a large ſtreet about fifty yards wide, and half a league long, by a cable of fourteen inches circumference, and at convenient diſtances, they faſten ſmall ropes to the cable, two or three fathoms long, ſo that upwards of two thouſand people have room enough to draw the coach, and ſome old zealots, as it paſſes through the ſtreet, fall flat on the ground, to have the honour to be cruſhed to pieces by the coach wheels, and if they meet with that good fortune, to be killed outright, the prieſts make the mob believe, that the defunct's ſoul is much in favour with the idol, but if only a leg, a thigh, or an arm are cruſhed, then the devotee is not ſanctified enough to be taken notice of; however, if they die of their bruiſes, their bodies are burned as well as the others, and their ſouls go into paradiſe, or a place very near it, without ſtopping at the half-way houſe to be purged from their ſins, as others leſs pure are obliged to do.

They have a tradition, that this famous idol was not originally of the country he now ſtays in, but 3 or 4000 years ago, he ſwimmed over the ſea, and ſome fiſhers ſeeing him lie at high-water mark, went near him, and to their great aſtoniſhment heard him ſay in their own vernacular language, "that he came out of pure charity to reſide among them, and deſired that he might have a good lodging built for him, on that ſame ſpot of ground that he now dwells on." The fiſhers told this ſtory to their ghoſtly fathers, who came in troops to ſee the ſtone that could talk ſo prettily, and would have excuſed themſelves of the trouble of building an houſe fit to entertain his godſhip, but he would not be denied; and though their are no ſtone-quarries nor mountains to be ſeen within reach of the eye, he promiſed to furniſh them with good ſtone and lime to build his houſe, if they would but take the trouble, and ſo, every night, materials were brought as there was need, and, in a ſhort time, his houſe was built, as it now is. And there are reckoned, in the ſame town, no leſs than 400 temples built in honour to Jagarynat and his relations.

Had Jagarynat ſtaid but twenty or thirty centuries, and ſwimmed to the ſhore of ſome Chriſtian Catholick country, he would have found an hearty welcome, and would not have been obliged to confine himſelf to one houſe without windows, but would have had an hundred palaces built for him, with ſwinging great windows for to give him day-light, and hundreds of good wax-candles burning before him night and day, inſtead of lamps, whoſe charge is much leſs than virgin wax, and their light much dimmer.

Whether this ſtory of Jagarynat, or thoſe of the miraculous adventures of Xavier, and the ſhip that run from Cape Bona Eſperanza to Goa in one night, are moſt to be credited, I leave to the determination of the unprejudiced judges of controverſy in points polemical.

The prince of this country is an Heathen, and pays a tribute to the Mogul of a lack of rupees yearly, or 12,500l. ſterling, which is paid into the exchequer at Cattack. And the Prince exacts a tax of half a crown per head on every pilgrim that comes to the pagod to worſhip, which generally amounts to 75,000l. per annum.

This country abounds in corn, cloth, cattle, deer and antelopes. Bears and monkies are very numerous and fearleſs. There is alſo plenty of water-fowl, partridge and pheaſant, all tame, becauſe none dares kill them but the prince, except thoſe whom he gives written licences to, and they are but ſeldom obtained. The country is watered with many ſmall rivers, whoſe outlets to the ſea are at Manikapatam and Arſipore, and

there are many bridges of ſtone over thoſe little rivers, and great numbers of beggars near thoſe bridges aſking alms in the name of Jagarynat.

The prince who reigned in anno 1708, had a peculiar eſteem for Europeans in general; for, one day as he was a hunting, his horſe fell, and the prince broke his thigh-bone, and accidentally an European ſurgeon being in the town, ſet the bone, and made a perfect cure, and was rewarded with 45l. ſterling for it.

When I was there, he was abroad a hunting, and he ſent me a compliment, that he deſired to ſee me; but I excuſed myſelf on account of my having a fit of the gout, and he was ſatisfied with the excuſe, and ſent me a good fat buck for my ſupper; and ſeveral of the beſt gentlemen in town came, with their compliments, next morning, to invite me to ſtay a few days till his highneſs returned from hunting; but my buſineſs being preſſing, I returned their civilities in the propereſt terms I could, and took leave to proceed on my journey.

When I had travelled three or four leagues from Jagarynat, I left the ſea-ſhore, and took my way towards Cattack, on a very fine road, where I ſaw many droves of cattle and wild game, and ſeveral monuments of zealous pilgrims, who had ſignalized themſelves by ſevere penances, and one particularly, that, about three months before I was there, had, out of zeal, built a tomb for himſelf, and, when it was finiſhed, took his leave of his friends in form, and entered into his new cell, and ſtaid till he died for want of ſuſtenance. I challenge any Chriſtian penitents to do more, in acts of ſupererogation, than this blind Heathen did.

CHAP. XXXII. — *Is an Account of the maritime Towns on the Coaſt of Orixa, which terminates at Ballaſore; alſo of ſome inland Places through which I travelled.*

FROM the dominions of Jagarynat, I came into thoſe of Arſipore. The town, where the Rajah reſided, is named after the province, and there is a fine river that invites ſtrangers to frequent it for cotton cloth and rice, that this country affords in great plenty. And, in ſixſcore miles that I travelled between Jagarynat and Cattack, I found little elſe worth noticing but numbers of villages interſperſed in the plain countries, and, at every ten or twelve miles end, a fellow to demand junkaun or poll-money for me and my ſervants, which generally came to a penny or three half-pence a-piece, ſo that, in the whole, it coſt me about one pound ſterling for paſſage-gilt.

The next place to Arſipore, on the ſea-coaſt, is Raypore, that ſtands on the banks of the river of Cattack, where it diſembogues into the ſea, about mid-way between Point Falſo and Point Palmeira. It has a fine bar, affording ſeveral fathoms water on it in ſpring-tides. It is not frequented by Europeans, though, no doubt, it was before Aurengzeb conquered the country, for it produceth corn, cloth very fine, butter and oil in great abundance. The city of Cattack ſtands on an iſland of this river, about 25 leagues from the ſea.

When I came to the river of Cattack, I eſpied a ſmall pagod, built in form of a cupola; the outſide had holes in it, like the holes of a pigeon-houſe, placed in order, and in each hole was a man's ſkull. Enquiring the reaſon why ſuch a number of ſkulls were put there, I was informed, that when Aurengzeb's army came to beſiege Cattack, there was a conſpiracy in the town to betray it, but being detected, above five hundred that were concerned in it, were, by order of the King of Orixa, who was then in

the city, condemned to be beheaded, and their heads to be placed in thoſe holes, and there they have continued ever ſince. Cloſe by that temple, we took boat to carry us to the city, the river, on that ſide, being about a mile broad, and ſounding it in the middle, I found ſix fathoms. The river water is very clear, and wholeſome to drink, and deſcends with a ſlow ſtream.

The ſprings of the river are from the mountains of Gatti, within 40 leagues of Goa, and, in its paſſage, waſhes part of the kingdoms of Talinga, Viſapore, Golcondah, and Orixa, bleſſing all the countries that it paſſes through with fertility of corn, even to the place where it loſes itſelf, and there it is alſo benificent, in affording a convenient harbour for ſhipping, though it is not much frequented by ſtrangers, and not at all by Europeans. I believe the reaſon is, that many Rajahs, of different intereſts, have their countries on the ſides of the river, and they load the trade with ſo many taxes and impoſitions, that the induſtrious merchant cannot get any profit by his labour; and the reins of the Mogul's government being ſo ſlack in thoſe parts, the Nabob of Orixa is not capable to keep the contentious Rajahs in better order.

Cattack is ſtill a large city, walled round, and a good many cannon planted on its walls, but neither the wall nor artillery are kept in good order. The town is not one quarter part inhabited; but the ruins of many large buildings ſhew ſufficiently its ancient grandeur, when Kings kept their courts there. Its figure is an oblong for a league long, and a mile broad. It is garriſoned with 5000 foot, and 500 horſe.

The Engliſh Company had once a fine factory in Cattack. Moſt of its walls were ſtanding in anno 1708, and a garden that belonged to the factory, was then in good repair, kept by a perſon of quality in the town. The country about abounds in corn and cattle, and tame and wild fowl are very plentiful and good. Their manufactory is in cotton cloths, coarſe and fine of all ſorts, and very cheap, and ſo are butter and oil. I bought a few ſeerbands and ſannoes there, to know the difference of the prices between Cattack and Ballaſore markets, and I found Cattack ſold them about 60 per cent. cheaper than Ballaſore; but, on the road, which is about 35 leagues long, we paid ſeven or eight times toll for our heads and goods, which made them come out about 28 per cent. better than Ballaſore market.

That part of the river, on the north ſide of Cattack, is very ſhallow. When I paſſed it, there were not above three feet water in it. They have a cuſtom in this town, that, when any ſtranger travels through it, he muſt find ſurety, that he will carry none of the inhabitants off with him, without the Nabob's permiſſion, and if the ſtranger can find no ſecurity, the Nabob's ſecretary becomes bound for paying him ten rupees for the danger he runs. Two Dutch renegadoes, who were in the Nabob's ſervice as gunners, came to wait on me, with a preſent of mutton, fowl and fiſh, and proffered to be my ſureties. I rewarded them with the uſual perquiſite due to the ſecretary, and gave them a bottle of French brandy, which they ſet a great value on.

When I left Cattack, I travelled about 50 miles in two days, and came to Badruck, which ſtands on the ſide of a river that runs into the ſea at Cunnaca, about 20 miles below Badruck. There are about 1000 houſes in it, and a ſmall mud-wall fort, but never a gun in it. The inhabitants are moſtly employed in huſbandry, ſpinning, weaving, and churning, and butter here is pretty cheap, being accounted dear at a penny per pound weight. In two days I travelled from Badruck to Ballaſore, and ſaw nothing in the way, but things common and indifferent, the product of the country being

being corn and cloth, iron, anniſe and cummin ſeeds, oil and bees-wax. Iron is ſo plentiful, that they caſt anchors for ſhips in moulds, but they are not ſo good as thoſe made in Europe.

I muſt now return back to Raypore, and travel along the ſea-coaſt. Four leagues from Raypore is the iſland of Palmeira, which lies about a mile from the ſhore, and has a channel of two fathoms deep between them. The country is here very low, but the iſland lower, and it ſends off a very dangerous ſand-bank ſo far into the ſea, that the iſland can ſcarcely be ſeen till a ſhip is aground. Within 50 paces of the bank are ſixteen fathoms water, which ſudden ſhallowings make it the more dangerous.

Three leagues to the northward of the Point Palmeira, is Cunnaca, which river is capable to receive a ſhip of 200 tons. It has a bar, but not dangerous, becauſe the ſea is ſmooth, and the bottom ſoft. The Nabob of Cattack commands the north ſide of the river, and a Rajah the other, which makes them both court the merchant that comes to trade there, for he pays cuſtom only to the ſovereign whoſe ſide of the river his ſhip lies on. The produce and manufactories of the country I mentioned already.

About 12 leagues to the northward of Cunnaca, is the river's mouth of Ballaſore, where there is a very dangerous bar, ſufficiently well known by the many wrecks and loſſes made by it. Between Cunnaca and Ballaſore rivers there is one continued ſandy bay, where prodigious numbers of ſea tortoiſes reſort to lay their eggs; and a very delicious fiſh called the pamblee, comes in ſhoals, and are ſold for two pence per hundred. Two of them are ſufficient to dine a moderate man.

The town is but four miles from the ſea by land, but, by the river, twenty. The country is fruitful to admiration, producing rice, wheat, gram, doll callavances, ſeveral ſorts of pulſe, anniſe, cummin, coriander and caraway ſeeds, tobacco, butter, oil and bees-wax. Their manufactories are of cotton in ſannis, caſſas, demeties, mulmuls, ſilk, and ſilk and cotton romals, gurrahs and lungies; and of herba (a ſort of tough graſs) they make ginghams, pinaſcos, and ſeveral other goods for exportation.

The Engliſh, French, and Dutch have their reſpective factories here, but at preſent, are of little conſideration, though in former times, before the navigation of Hughly river was cultivated, they were the head factories in the bay or gulf of Bengal.

The town of Ballaſore drives a pretty good trade to the iſlands of Maldiva. Thoſe iſlands, as I obſerved before, have no rice or other grain of their own product, ſo that Ballaſore ſupplies them with what neceſſaries they want, and, in return, bring cowries and cayer for the ſervice of ſhipping. The ſea-ſhore of Ballaſore being very low, and the depths of water very gradual from the ſtrand, make ſhips, in Ballaſore road, keep at a good diſtance from the ſhore, for, in four or five fathoms, they ride three leagues off.

From April to October is the ſeaſon for ſhipping to come into the bay of Bengal. Pilots lie ready at Ballaſore to carry them up the river Hughly, which is a ſmall branch of the famous Ganges. The European companies, before mentioned, keep theirs always in pay; but, when none of their own ſhipping is there, their pilots have the liberty to ſerve other ſhips, which is no ſmall advantage to them.

The people about Ballaſore have one particular cuſtom that I never heard of in any other country: viz. they take a piece of ſoft clay, and make it in the form of a large ſuppoſitory, and they harden it in the ſun, till it comes to the conſiſtence of ſoft wax, and,

and, when they think it fit for uſe, they put it into the right inteſtine, immediately after exoneration. This, they allege, keeps them cool, though, after it has been in uſe a day and a night, it becomes hard, but every morning they have a new one ready for uſe.

There is a report current among the Engliſh in India, that the old Eaſt-India Company deſired one Captain Goodlad, who was going in their ſervice commander of a ſhip to Bengal, that he would bring them home ſome Indian rarity that had never been ſeen in England before. And being lodged in the factory at Ballaſore, looking out of his window one morning, he ſaw ſome people making uſe of their ſuppoſitories, and leaving the old hard baked ones behind them. He immediately bethought himſelf of the commiſſion he had from his maſters, and judged that they might be rarities never ſeen in Europe before, and ordered a ſmall keg to be filled with them. When he brought them to England, they proved to be ſuch as they had never ſeen. Some gentlemen, more curious than the reſt, ſcraped ſome of them to try the taſte, but they ſtill continued in the dark, till the comical captain gave them an account of their uſe and virtue.

The ſides of the river are overgrown with buſhes, which give ſhelter to many fierce and troubleſome tigers, who do much miſchief. I knew an Engliſhman that was in a ſhip's boat laden with freſh water, lying in the river, waiting the tide to carry her over the bar, and this man had the curioſity to ſtep aſhore, and being a little way from the boat, had a call to exonerate, and had no ſooner put himſelf in a poſture near the buſhes, but out leaps a tiger, and caught both his buttocks in his mouth, and was for carrying him away, but one of the ſeamen in the boat ſeeing the tragedy took up a muſket, and placed a bullet in the tiger's head, while the man was in his mouth helpleſs. The tiger immediately let him fall, and ſculked in among the buſhes, and the wounded man was carried on board of his ſhip, and the ſurgeon made a perfect cure of the wounds. I ſaw the marks of the wounds three or four years after the accident happened to him.

And now having led you as far eaſtward as Alexander the Great led his army, even to the famous river Ganges, which put a ſtop to his travels, I will venture farther, and viſit both the banks of that river, upwards and downwards, and then march as far eaſt as our European navigation has as yet diſcovered.

CHAP. XXXIII. — *Treats of the Towns, Cities, Country and Cuſtoms of Bengal, particularly of thoſe near the famous Ganges; with ſome hiſtorical Accounts, ancient and modern, of Fort William.*

PIPLY lies on the banks of a river, ſuppoſed to be a branch of the Ganges, about five leagues from that of Ballaſore; formerly it was a place of trade, and was honoured with Engliſh and Dutch factories. The country produces the ſame commodities that Ballaſore does, at preſent it is reduced to beggary by the factory's removal to Hughly and Calcutta, the merchants being all gone. It is now inhabited by fiſhers, as are alſo Ingellie, and Kidgerie, two neighbouring iſlands on the weſt ſide of the mouth of Ganges. Theſe iſlands abound alſo in tame ſwine, where they are ſold very cheap, for I have bought one-and-twenty good hogs, between 50 and 80 pounds weight each, for 17 rupees, or 45 ſhillings ſterling. Thoſe iſlands ſend forth dangerous ſand-banks, that are both numerous and large, and make the navigation out and in to Hughly river, both troubleſome and dangerous, and after we paſs thoſe iſlands, in going up

the river, the channel for ſhipping is on the eaſt-ſide, and ſeveral creeks run from the channel among a great number of iſlands, formed by different channels of Ganges, two of which are more remarkable than the reſt, viz. Coxes and Sagor iſlands, where great ſhips were obliged to anchor to take in part of their cargoes, becauſe ſeveral places in the river are too ſhallow for great ſhips to paſs over, when their whole cargoes are a-board.

There are no inhabitants on thoſe iſlands, for they are ſo peſtered with tigers, that there could be no ſecurity for human creatures to dwell on them; nay, it is even dangerous to land on them, or for boats to anchor near them, for in the night they have ſwimmed to boats at anchor, and carried men out of them, yet among the Pagans, the iſland Sagor is accounted holy, and great numbers of Jougies go yearly thither in the months of November and December, to worſhip and waſh in ſalt-water, though many of them fall ſacrifices to the hungry tigers.

The firſt ſafe anchoring place in the river, is off the mouth of a river about twelve leagues above Sagor, commonly known by the name of Rogues river, which had that appellation from ſome banditti Portugueze, who were followers of ſultan Sujah, when Emirjemal, Aurengzeb's general, drove that unfortunate prince out of his province of Bengal; for thoſe Portugueze having no way to ſubſiſt, after their maſter's flight to the kingdom of Arackan, betook themſelves to piracy among the iſlands, at the mouth of Ganges, and that river having communication with all the channels from Xatigam to the weſtward, from this river they uſed to ſally out, and commit depredations on thoſe that traded in the river of Hughly.

About five leagues farther up, on the weſt ſide of the river of Hughly, is another branch of the Ganges, called Ganga; it is broader than that of Hughly, but much ſhallower, and more encumbered with ſand-banks; a little below the mouth of it the Danes have a thatched houſe, but for what reaſons they kept an houſe there, I never could learn.

Along the river of Hughly there are many ſmall villages and farms, interſperſed in thoſe large plains, but the firſt of any note on the river's ſide, is Culculla, a market town for corn, coarſe cloth, butter, and oil, with other productions of the country; above it is the Dutch Bankſhall, a place where their ſhips ride when they cannot get farther up for the too ſwift currents of the river. Culculla has a large deep river that runs to the eaſtward, and ſo has Juanpardoa, and on the weſt ſide there is a river that runs by the back of Hughly Iſland, which leads up to Radnagur, famous for manufacturing cotton cloth, and ſilk romaals, or handkerchiefs. Buſſundri and Treſindi, or Gorgat and Cottrong, are on that river, which produce the greateſt quantities of the beſt ſugars in Bengal.

A little higher up on the eaſt ſide of Hughly river, is Ponjelly, a village where a corn mart is kept once or twice in a week; it exports more rice than any place on this river; and five leagues farther up on the other ſide, is Tanna Fort, built to protect the trade of the river, at a place convenient enough, where it is not above half a mile from ſhore to ſhore; but it never was of much uſe, for in anno 1686, when the Engliſh Company quarrelled with the Mogul, the Company had ſeveral great ſhips at Hughly, and this fort was manned in order to hinder their paſſage down the river. One 60 gun ſhip approaching pretty near the fort, ſaluted it with a broad-ſide, which ſo frightened the governor and his myrmidons, that they all deſerted their poſt, and left their caſtle to be plundered by the Engliſh ſeamen. About a league farther up on the other ſide of the river, is Governapore, where there

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Ramnugur, near Bernares, on the River Ganges.

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there is a little pyramid built for a land-mark, to confine the Company's colony of Calcutta, or Fort William. On that ſide, and about a league farther up, ſtands Fort William.

The Engliſh ſettled there about the year 1690, after the Mogul had pardoned all the robberies and murders committed on his ſubjects. Mr. Job Channock being then the Company's agent in Bengal, he had liberty to ſettle an emporium in any part on the river's ſide below Hughly, and for the ſake of a large ſhady tree choſe that place, though he could not have choſen a more unhealthful place on all the river; for three miles to the north-eaſtward, is a ſalt-water lake that overflows in September and October, and then prodigious numbers of fiſh reſort thither; but in November and December, when the floods are diſſipated, thoſe fiſhes are left dry, and with their putrefaction affect the air with thick ſtinking vapours, which the north-eaſt winds bring with them to Fort William, that they cauſe a yearly mortality. One year I was there, and there were reckoned in Auguſt about 1200 Engliſh, ſome military, ſome ſervants to the Company, ſome private merchants reſiding in the town, and ſome ſeamen belonging to ſhipping lying at the town, and before the beginning of January there were four hundred and ſixty burials regiſtered in the clerk's book of mortality.

Mr. Channock chooſing the ground of the colony, where it now is, reigned more abſolute than a Rajah, only he wanted much of their humanity; for when any poor ignorant native tranſgreſſed his laws, they were ſure to undergo a ſevere whipping for a penalty, and the execution was generally done when he was at dinner, ſo near his dining-room that the groans and cries of the poor deliquent ſerved him for muſick.

The country about being overſpread with Paganiſm, the cuſtom of wives burning with their deceaſed huſbands, is alſo practiſed here. Before the Mogul's war, Mr. Channock went one time with his ordinary guard of ſoldiers, to ſee a young widow act that tragical cataſtrophe; but he was ſo ſmitten with the widow's beauty, that he ſent his guards to take her by force from her executioners, and conducted her to his own lodgings. They lived lovingly many years, and had ſeveral children; at length ſhe died, after he had ſettled in Calcutta; but inſtead of converting her to Chriſtianity, ſhe made him a proſelyte to Paganiſm, and the only part of Chriſtianity that was remarkable in him, was burying her decently, and he built a tomb over her, where all his life after her death, he kept the anniverſary day of her death by ſacrificing a cock on her tomb, after the Pagan manner; this was and is the common report, and I have been credibly informed, both by Chriſtians and Pagans, who lived at Calcutta under his agency, that the ſtory was really true matter of fact.

Fort William was built an irregular tetragon, of brick and mortar, called Puckah, which is a compoſition of brick-duſt, lime, malaſſes, and cut hemp, and when it comes to be dry, is as hard and tougher than firm ſtone or brick; and the town was built without order, as the builders thought moſt convenient for their own affairs, every one taking in what ground beſt pleaſed them for gardening, ſo that in moſt houſes you muſt paſs through a garden into the houſe, the Engliſh building near the river's ſide, and the natives within land.

The agency continued till the year 1705, that the old and new Companies united, and then it became a ſplit government, the old and new Companies ſervants governing week about, which made it more anarchical than regular. Sir Edward Littleton was agent and conſul for the new company at Hughly, when this union of the Companies was

made, and then he was ordered to remove his factory to Calcutta, and being of an indolent diſpoſition, had let his accounts with the company run behind. He was ſuſpended, but lived at Calcutta till 1707, that he died there; he was the only preſident or precedent in the Company's ſervice, that loſt an eſtate of 700 pounds per annum in ſo profitable a poſt in their ſervice.

This double-headed government continued in Calcutta, till January 1709, that Mr. Weldon arrived with the Company's commiſſion to ſettle it at Bombay and Fort St. George, which were under the management of a governor and council, which thoſe of the direction in England took to be a better way to promote their own creatures, as well as their own intereſt. His term of governing was very ſhort, and he took as ſhort a way to be enriched by it, by haraſſing the people to fill his coffers. There was one ſingular inſtance of it. A poor ſeaman had got a pretty Muſtice wife, a little inclined to lewdneſs in her huſband's abſence. She entertained two Armenians, who where like to quarrel about ſharing her favours, which coming to the governor's ears, he reprimanded them: however, by the ſtrong perſuaſion of 500 rupees paid in hand by one of them, he awarded him to have the ſole right to her, and he carried her to Hughly, and bragged openly what his purchaſe had coſt him, to the great credit and praiſe of the governor; and when the poor huſband returned, he was forced to ſubmit to loſe his mare, under the pain of flagellation: yet he was very ſhy in taking bribes, referring thoſe honeſt folks, who trafficked that way, to the diſcretion of his wife and daughter, to make the beſt bargain they could about the ſum to be paid, and to pay the money into their hands. I could give many inſtances of the force of bribery, both here and elſewhere in India, but am loth to ruffle the ſkin of old ſores.

About fifty yards from Fort William, ſtands the church built by the pious charity of merchants reſiding there, and the Chriſtian benevolence of ſea-faring men, whoſe affairs call them to trade there; but miniſters of the goſpel being ſubject to mortality, very often young merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a ſalary of 50l. per annum added to what the company allows them, for their pains in reading prayers and ſermons on Sundays.

The governor's houſe, in the Fort, is the beſt and moſt regular piece of architecture that I ever ſaw in India. And there are many convenient lodgings for factors and writers, within the Fort, and ſome ſtore-houſes for the Company's goods, and the magazines for their ammunition.

The Company has a pretty good hoſpital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the penance of phyſick, but few come out to give account of its operation. The company has alſo a pretty good garden, that furniſhes the governor's table with herbage and fruits; and ſome fiſh-ponds to ſerve his kitchen with good carp, calkops, and mullet.

Moſt of the inhabitants of Calcutta that make any tolerable figure, have the ſame advantages; and all ſorts of proviſions, both wild and tame, being plentiful, good and cheap, as well as clothing, make the country very agreeable, notwithſtanding the above mentioned inconveniencies that attend it.

On the other ſide of the river are docks made for repairing and fitting their ſhips bottoms, and a pretty good garden belonging to the Armenians, that had been a better place to have built their fort and town in, for many reasons. One is, that, where it now ſtands, the after-noon's ſun is full in the fronts of the houſes, and ſhines hot on the ſtreets, that are both above and below the fort; the ſun would have ſent its hot rays on the back of the houſes, and the fronts had been a good ſhade for the ſtreets.

Moſt

Moſt gentlemen and ladies in Bengal live both ſplendidly and pleaſantly, the forenoons being dedicated to buſineſs, and after dinner to reſt, and in the evening to recreate themſelves in chaiſes or palankins in the fields, or to gardens, or by water in their budgeroes, which is a convenient boat, that goes ſwiftly with the force of oars; and, on the river, ſometimes there is the diverſion of fiſhing or fowling, or both; and before night, they make friendly viſits to one another, when pride or contention do not ſpoil ſociety, which too often they do among the ladies, as discord and faction do among the men. And although the conſcript fathers of the colony diſagree in many points among themſelves, yet they all agree in oppreſſing ſtrangers, who are conſigned to them, not ſuffering them to buy or ſell their goods at the moſt advantageous markets, but of the governor and his council, who fix their own prices, high or low, as ſeemeth beſt to their wisdom and diſcretion: and it is a crime hardly pardonable for a private merchant to go to Hughly, to inform himſelf of the current prices of goods, although the liberty of buying and ſelling is intirely taken from him before.

The garriſon of Fort William generally conſiſts of two or three hundred ſoldiers, more for to convey their fleet from Patana, with the Company's ſaltpetre, and piece goods, raw ſilk, and ſome opium belonging to other merchants, than for the defence of the fort, for, as the Company holds their colony in fee tail of the Mogul, they need not be afraid of any enemies coming to diſpoſſeſs them. And if they ſhould, at any time, quarrel again with the Mogul, his prohibiting his ſubjects to trade with the Company, would ſoon end the quarrel.

There are ſome impertinent troubleſome Rajahs, whoſe territories lie on the banks of the Ganges, between Patana and Caſſembuzaar, who, pretend a tax on all goods and merchandize, that paſs by, or through their dominions on the river, and often raiſe forces to compel payment; but ſome forces from Fort William in boats, generally clear the paſſage, though I have known ſome of our men killed in the ſkirmiſhes.

In Calcutta all religions are freely tolerated, but the Presbyterian, and that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their idols in proceſſion through the town. The Roman Catholicks have their church to lodge their idols in, and the Mahometan is not diſcountenanced; but there are no polemicks, except what are between our high-church men and our low, or between the governor's party and other private merchants on points of trade.

The colony has very little manufactory of its own, for the government being pretty arbitrary, diſcourages ingenuity and induſtry in the populace; for, by the weight of the Company's authority, if a native chances to diſoblige one of the upper-houſe, he is liable to arbitrary puniſhment, either by fine, impriſonment, or corporal ſufferings. I will give one inſtance, out of many, that I knew of the injuſtice of a governor of the double-headed government in *anno* 1706.

There was one captain Perrin, maſter of a ſhip, who took up about 500l. on reſpondentia from Mr. Ralph Sheldon, one of the governors, on a voyage to Perſia, payable at his return to Bengal. Perrin having diſpatched his affairs in Perſia ſooner than he expected, called at Goa in his way home, and bought a Surat-built ſhip very cheap, and carried her to Calecut, and took in a quantity of pepper for the Bengal market; and having brought in his other ſhip good ſtore of Perſia wines, called at Fort St. George to diſpoſe of what he could there; but finding no encouragement from that market, carried it to Bengal. On his arrival he complimented Mr. Sheldon with the offer of his pepper and wine; but he declined meddling with that bargain, farther than

than with as much of the pepper, at the current price, as would balance his account of principal and reſpondentia. Accordingly Perrin delivered ſo much pepper, and, on the delivery, required his bond up; but the governor told him, that he being a fellow troubled with the ſpirit of interloping in buying goods, and taking freights where he could beſt get them, he would keep that bond as a curb on him, that he ſhould not ſpoil his markets for the future. Poor Perrin uſed all his rhetoric to get his bond up, but to no purpoſe; and the governor moreover gave his wine a bad name, ſo that he could not diſpoſe of that either, and all this oppreſſion was in order to ſtraiten him, that he might be obliged to ſell his new purchaſed ſhip, at a low price, to him and his aſſociates, which, at laſt, he was obliged to do, holding a quarter part in his own hands, to ſecure the command of her to himſelf, which, after all, he could hardly do. Perrin made his complaint to me, but I was in no condition to aſſiſt him, becauſe I, having three or four large ſhips at Bengal, was reckoned a criminal guilty of that unpardonable ſin of interloping; however, I adviſed Perrin to comply with his inexorable maſter, on any terms of agreement whatſoever, which he endeavoured to do, that he might, at leaſt, keep the command of his ſhip, where he was ſo much concerned, and had hardly done it, but by accident. One day meeting me on the green near the fort, he ſtopped me to relate his grievances, and begged, that, if he was turned out of his own ſhip, he might have an employ in one of mine, which I promiſed he ſhould.

Sheldon eſpied us, out of a window, holding a long confabulation, and being impatient to know about what, ſent a ſervant to call Perrin, and he, obeying the ſummons, was interrogated about what our diſcourſe was; and he told the promiſe I had made him. Sheldon told him, that he was as capable to employ him as I could be. Perrin anſwered, that he knew that, but wiſhed that he would be as willing too; ſo Sheldon promiſed that he ſhould command his own ſhip to Perſia.

But the wine ſtill lay unſold, though it was ſcarce then in Bengal; but the name that it got, firſt at Fort St. George, and afterward in Fort William, ſtuck ſo faſt to it, that none of it would go off at any price, ſo I adviſed him to carry it off in the night, in my boats, on board of one of my ſhips, and I would try if I could ſerve him in ſelling it, which accordingly he did; and two gentlemen of the council, being that ſeaſon bound for England, coming one day to dine with me, I treated them, and the reſt of my company, with that Perſia wine, which they all praiſed, and aſked me where I got it. I told them, that, knowing that good wines would be ſcarce at Bengal that year, I had provided a good quantity at Surat, from whence I had come that ſeaſon. Every one begged that I would ſpare them ſome cheſts, which I condeſcended to do as a favour, and next day ſent them what they wanted, at double the price the owner demanded for it, while he had it, and ſo got off above 120 cheſts, which enabled Mr. Perrin to ſatisfy moſt of his creditors.

Sheldon provided a ſtock and freight for Perrin to Perſia, and put on board ſome rotten long pepper, that he could diſpoſe of no other way, and ſome damaged gunnies, which are much in uſe in Perſia for embaling goods, when they are good in their kind; but, *nolens volens*, Perrin muſt take them, and ſign bills of loading for good well conditioned goods; and yet, after he was ready to ſail, he had been ſtopped, if he could not raiſe the ſum of 2500 rupees, to diſcharge a bill, that, at that time, became due, and was indorſed to Sheldon. I alſo helped him out of that difficulty, and took his bond for the ſum, bearing intereſt from the date, at the current intereſt of one per cent. per menſem; ſo Perrin proceeded on his voyage to Perſia,

but

W. Alexander del. from a Sketch by E. H. Locker Esq. F. S. A. taken August 18. 1808.

Engraved by George Cooke.

Entrance to Chunarghur.

[Hindostan.]

Engraved by Permission by John & Letitia Byrne, from Mr. Daniells' Work of Oriental Scenery.

Mausoleum of Kausim Solemanee at Chunar Gur.

London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row Dec.r 1, 1810.

but called at Calecut in his way home again, and laid up his ſhip there, and took protection of a Nayer, with the full hand of 11,000l. ſterling of Bengal money, and wrote to Mr. Sheldon, that he might keep his former bond, and he would take care of his part of the ſtock in his hands. He alſo wrote to me, that he would take particular care to reimburſe me; but, in a ſhort time after, he died, and his effects came into the Engliſh chief's hands, who detained them ſeveral years, denying that ever he had any, till governor Boone came to the government of Bombay in 1715, and then he made a lame account. I have been ſo prolix and particular in this ſtory, that it may form an idea of the deformity and diſmal image of tyranny and villainy ſupported by a power, that neither divine nor human laws have force enough to bridle or reſtrain.

The Company's colony is limited by a land-mark at Governapore, and another near Barnagul, about ſix miles diſtant; and the ſalt-water lake bounds it on the land ſide. It may contain, in all, about 10 or 12,000 ſouls; and the Company's revenues are pretty good, and well paid. They riſe from ground-rents and conſulage on all goods imported and exported by Britiſh ſubjects; but all nations beſides are free from taxes.

CHAP. XXXIV. — *Is a Continuation of the Deſcription of Bengal.*

BARNAGUL is the next village on the river's ſide, above Calcutta, where the Dutch have an houſe and garden; and the town is famouſly infamous for a ſeminary of female lewdneſs, where numbers of girls are trained up for the deſtruction of unwary youths, who ſtudy more how to gratify their brutal paſſions, than how to ſhun the evil conſequences that attend their folly, notwithſtanding the daily inſtances of rottenneſs and mortality that happen to thoſe who moſt frequent thoſe ſchools of debauchery. The Dutch ſhipping anchors there ſometimes, to take in their cargoes for Batavia. And thoſe are all that are remarkable at Barnagul or Barnagur.

There are ſeveral other villages on the river's ſides, in the way to Hughly, which lies 20 miles above Barnagul, but none remarkable, till we come to the Danes factory, which ſtands about four miles below Hughly; but the poverty of the Danes has made them deſert it, after having robbed the Mogul's ſubjects of ſome of their ſhipping, to keep themſelves from ſtarving.

Almoſt oppoſite to the Danes factory is Bankebankſal, a place where the Oſtend Company ſettled a factory; but, in *anno* 1723, they quarrelled with the Fouzdaar or governor of Hughly, and he forced the Oſtenders to quit their factory, and ſeek protection from the French at Charnagur, where their factory is, but, for want of money are not in a capacity to trade. They have a few private families dwelling near the factory, and a pretty little church to hear maſs in, which is the chief buſineſs of the French in Bengal.

About half a league farther up is the Chinchura, where the Dutch emporium ſtands. It is a large factory, walled high with brick. And the factors have a great many good houſes ſtanding pleaſantly on the river's ſide; and all of them have pretty gardens to their houſes. The Chinchura is wholly under the Dutch Company's government. It is about a mile long, and about the ſame breadth, well inhabited by Armenians and the natives. It is contiguous to Hughly, and affords ſanctuary for many

many poor natives, when they are in danger of being oppreſſed by the Mogul's governor, or his harpies.

Hughly is a town of a large extent, but ill built. It reaches about two miles along the river's ſide, from the Chinchura before mentioned tot he Bandel, a colony formerly ſettled by the Portugueze; but the Mogul's Fouzdaar governs both at preſent. This town of Hughly drives a great trade, becauſe all foreign goods are brought thither for import, and all goods of the product of Bengal are brought hither for exportation. And the Mogul's furza or cuſtom-houſe is at this place. It affords rich cargoes for fifty or ſixty ſhips yearly, beſides what is carried to neighbouring countries in ſmall veſſels; and there are veſſels that bring ſalt-petre from Patana, above fifty yards long, and five broad, and two and an half deep, and can carry above 200 tuns. They come down in the month of October, before the ſtream of the river, but are obliged to track them up again, with ſtrength of hand, about 1000 miles. To mention all the particular ſpecies of goods that this rich country produces, is far beyond my ſkill; but, in our Eaſt-India Company's ſales, all the ſorts that are ſent hence to Europe, may be found; but opium, long pepper, and ginger are commodities that the trading ſhipping in India deals in, beſides tobacco, and many ſorts of piece goods, that are not merchantable in Europe.

The Bandel, at preſent, deals in no ſort of commodities, but what are in requeſt at the court of Venus; and they have a church, where the owners of ſuch goods and merchandize are to be met with, and the buyer may be conducted to proper ſhops, where the commodities may be ſeen and felt, and a prieſt to be ſecurity for the ſoundneſs of the goods.

Now this being my fartheſt travels up the famous Ganges, I muſt advance farther on the report of others, and ſo I begin with Caſſembazaar, about 100 miles above Hughly, where the Engliſh and Dutch have their reſpective factories; and, by their companies orders, the ſeconds of council ought to be chiefs of thoſe factories. The town is large, and much frequented by merchants, which never fails of making a place rich. The country about it is very healthful and fruitful, and produces induſtrious people, who cultivate many valuable manufactories.

Muxadabaud is but 12 miles from it, a place of much greater antiquity, and the Mogul has a mint there; but the ancient name of Muxadabaud is changed for Rajahmal, for above a century. It was, in former times, the greateſt place of trade and commerce on the Ganges, but now its trade and grandeur adorns Caſſembazaar.

About forty or fifty miles to the eaſtward of Rajahmal, on another channel of the Ganges, is Maldo, a large town, well inhabited and frequented by merchants, and the Engliſh and Dutch had factories there, but whether they are continued ſtill, I know not.

Patana is the next town frequented by Europeans, where the Engliſh and Dutch have factories for ſalt-petre and raw ſilk. It produces alſo ſo much opium, that it ſerves all the countries in India with that commodity. It is the place of reſidence of the prince of Bengal, who is always of the blood royal. The town is large, but the houſes built at ſome diſtance from one another. The country is pleaſant and fruitful; and the town lies in 26 degrees of latitude to the northward of the equator.

Bannaras lies about 100 miles farther up the river, celebrated for its ſanctity by all perſons over India, where Paganiſm prevails. Here are ſeminaries and univerſities for the education of youth, and to initiate them into the myſteries of their religion. Aurengzeb reſtrained the prieſts from ſhewing the madneſs of their zeal, for they found

From Hodges.

Engraved by George Cooke.

The Cutterá at Muxadavad.

London; Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Browne, Paternoster Row, Oct. 1, 1812.

W. Alexander, del. from a Sketch by E. H. Locker, Esq. F.S.A.

Engraved by George Cooke.

Mootyjernah or the Shower of Pearls,

near Rajhmahal, Hindostan.

(taken July 23, 1808.)

found out ſome weak dotards, who, for oſtentation, would go to the top of an high tower, and leap down where divers pointed weapons were placed in the ſpot they were to fall on, and among them they ended their ſilly lives. It is ſtill in ſo much veneration, that I have known young and old Banyans go from Surat thither over land, out of devotion, which is computed to be 400 miles. The prieſts fill braſs and copper pots, made in the ſhape of ſhort-necked bottles, with Ganges water, which they conſecrate and ſeal up, and ſend thoſe bottles, which contain about four Engliſh gallons, all over India, to their benefactors, who make them good returns, for whoever is waſhed with that water juſt before they expire, are waſhed as clean from their ſins as a new-born babe.

I have ventured ſo far into this Terra Incognita on the Ganges, that I dare venture no farther, but muſt viſit Dacca, which lies under the tropic of Cancer, on the broadeſt and eaſternmoſt branch of Ganges. The city is the largeſt in Bengal, and it manufactures cotton and ſilk the beſt and cheapeſt. The plenty and cheapneſs of proviſions are incredible, and the country is full of inhabitants, but it breeds none of tolerable courage, for five or ſix armed men will chaſe a thouſand: yet, about two centuries ago, Dacca had its own kings, but when Jehan Guire, the King of Mogul, over-ran Bengal with a victorious army, a detachment of 20,000 men was ſent down to Dacca, on whoſe approach the poor King ſurrendered his kingdom, without once drawing his ſword in its defence, and ſo it eaſily became annexed to the Mogul's dominions.

That branch of the Ganges diſembogues into the ſea at Chittagoung, or, as the Portugueze call it, Xatigam, about 50 leagues below Dacca; and this place confines the Mogul's dominions to the eaſtward. The diſtance between Sagor, the weſternmoſt channel of the Ganges, and Xatigam the eaſternmoſt, is about 100 leagues, the maritime coaſt being divided into many ſmall iſlands made by the currents of the Ganges; but very few are inhabited, becauſe they are ſo peſtered with tigers, that there is little ſafety for other inhabitants; and there are alſo many rhinoceroſes on thoſe iſlands, but they are not ſo dangerous neighbours as the tigers, yet, when provoked, they will aſſault any living thing. Nature has endued him with two particular rarities out of her ſtores. One is a large horn placed on his noſe. The ſecond is a coat of mail to defend him from the teeth or claws of other fierce animals. His tongue is alſo ſomewhat of a rarity, for, if he can but get any of his antagoniſts down, he will lick them ſo clean, that he leaves neither ſkin nor fleſh to cover their bones; but he is ſeldom known to be an aggreſſor, except when he meets with an elephant; then he ſharpens his horn and aſſaults, though he is much inferior to the elephant in bulk and ſtrength, being no bigger than a very large ox, yet he often overcomes in ſpite of the elephant's teeth.

Sundiva is an iſland four leagues diſtant form the reſt, and ſo far it lies in the ſea, it is about 20 leagues in circumference, and has three fathoms water within a mile of the ſhore, and it may ſerve to ſhelter ſmall ſhips from the raging ſeas, and winds of the ſouth-weſt monſoons. I was credibly informed by one that wintered there, that he bought 580 pound weight of rice for a rupee, or half a crown, eight geeſe for the ſame money, and ſixty good tame poultry for the ſame, and cloth is alſo incredibly cheap; it is but thinly inhabited, but the people ſimple and honeſt.

The religion of Bengal by law eſtabliſhed, is Mahometan, yet for one Mahometan there are above an hundred Pagans, and the publick offices and poſts of truſt are filled promiſcuouſly with men of both perſuaſions.

The Gentiles are better contented to live under the Mogul's laws than under Pagan princes, for the Mogul taxes them gently, and every one knows what he muſt pay, but the Pagan kings or princes tax at diſcretion, making their own avarice the ſtandard of equity; beſides there were formerly many ſmall Rajahs, that uſed, upon frivolous occaſions, to pick quarrels with one another, and before they could be made friends again, their ſubjects were forced to open both their veins and purſes to gratify ambition or folly.

And now having curſorily travelled over the moſt noted countries and towns in Bengal, with the beſt remarks I could of their government, only making a voluntary omiſſion of many oppreſſions and other injuſtices that came within the reach of my own knowledge and experiments, I take leave of that earthly paradiſe, and proceed.

CHAP. XXXV. — *Gives an Account of Xatigam, and the Kingdom of Arackan, ſome hiſtorical Obſervations on Sultan Sujah's Misfortunes there, and the Miſeries that Country fell under by Civil Wars.*

XATIGAM is a town that borders on Bengal and Arackan, and its poverty makes it a matter of indifference whom it belongs to. It was here that the Portugueze firſt ſettled in Bengal, but the dangers their ſhips run in coming thither in the ſouth-weſt monſoons, made them remove to the Bandel at Hughly. The Mogul keeps a cadjee or judge in it, to adminiſter juſtice among the Pagan and Mahometan inhabitants, but the offſpring of thoſe Portugueze that followed the fortune of Sultan Sujah, when he was forced to quit Bengal, are the domineering lords of it.

It is not ſo fertile in corn as Bengal, and has but few cotton manufactories, but it affords the beſt timber for building of any place about it. The river has a deep enough entrance, but is peſtered with ſand banks, and ſome rocks within. I have known ſome Engliſh ſhips forced from Point Palmeira by ſtreſs of weather thither, and had ſafe riding till the north-eaſt monſoons came to relieve them. The government is ſo anarchical, that every one goes armed with ſword, piſtol, and blunderbuſs; nay, even the prieſts are obliged to go armed, and often uſe their arms to as bad ends as the licentious laity, and ſome of the prieſts have died martyrs to villainous actions.

Arackan is the next maritime country to the ſouthward of Bengal, and in former times made ſome figure in trade. It was into this country that the unfortunate Sultan Sujah came a ſupplicant for protection, when Emirjemal chaſed him out of Bengal. He carried his wives and children with him, and about two hundred of his retinue, who were reſolved to follow his fortune, and he carried ſix or eight camels load of gold and jewels, which proved his ruin, and in the end, the ruin of the kingdom of Arackan.

When Sultan Sujah firſt viſited the King of Arackan, he made him preſents ſuitable to the quality of the donor and receiver, the Arackaner promiſing him all the civilities due to ſo great a prince, with a ſafe aſylum for himſelf and family. When Emirjemal knew where Sultan Sujah had taken ſanctuary, he ſent a letter to the King of Arackan, wherein he demanded the poor diſtreſſed prince to be delivered up to him, otherwiſe he threatened to bring his army into his country to take him by force. The threatening letter wrought ſo far on the baſe Arackaner, that he contrived ways and means

means to pick a quarrel with his gueſt, to have a pretext to oblige Emirjemal, at laſt he found a very fair one.

Sultan Sujah having a very beautiful daughter, the King of Arackan deſired her in marriage, but knew well enough that Sultan Sujah would never conſent to the match, he being a Pagan and ſhe a Mahometan. Her father uſed all reaſonable arguments to diſſuade the Arackaner from proſecuting his ſuit, but in vain, for the Arackaner grew daily more preſſing, and Sultan Sujah at laſt gave him a flat denial, on which the baſe King ſent him orders to go out of his dominions in three days, and forbad the markets to furniſh him any more with proviſions for his money. Sultan Sujah knowing it would be death for him to go back to Bengal, reſolved to paſs over ſome mountains overgrown with woods, into the King of Pegu's dominions, which were not above 100 miles off, and ſo next day after ſummons, with his family, treaſure, and attendants, Sultan Sujah began his march, but the barbarous Arackaner ſent a ſtrong party after him, who overtook him before he had advanced far into the woods, and killed moſt of Sultan Sujah's company, and ſeized the treaſure, and brought it back in an inglorious triumph. What became of Sultan Sujah and his fair daughter, none could ever give a certain account; whether they were killed in the ſkirmiſh, or whether they were deſtroyed by wild elephants and tigers in the woods, none ever knew, but the Arackaners alledge they were deſtroyed by the wild beaſts of the woods, and not by the more ſavage beaſts in human ſhape.

So much treaſure never had been ſeen in Arackan before, but to whom it ſhould belong cauſed ſome diſturbance. The King thought that all belonged to him, thoſe that fought for it claimed a ſhare, and the princes of the blood wanted ſome fine large diamonds for their ladies, but the tribe of Levi found a way to make up the difference, and perſuaded the King and the other pretenders, to dedicate it to the god Dagun, who was the titular god of the kingdom, and to depoſitate it in his temple, which all agreed to; now whether this be the ſame Dagun of Aſhdod, mentioned in the firſt book and fifth chapter of Samuel, I do not certainly know, but Dagun has a large temple in Arackan, that I have heard of, and another in Pegu that I have ſeen.

In 1690, a King of Arackan dying without iſſue, two princes of the blood quarrelled about filling up the vacancy; they both took arms, and both had an eye upon the treaſure, which ſo frightened the prieſthood, that they removed Sultan Sujah's treaſure to another place only known to themſelves; and thoſe two hot blades purſued their quarrel ſo warmly, that in one year themſelves and families were entirely cut off, and the kingdom has continued in anarchy ever ſince.

Arackan has the conveniency of a noble ſpacious river, and its mouth is both large and deep enough to accommodate ſhips of the greateſt burden into a ſpacious harbour, large enough to hold all the ſhips in Europe.

When the Engliſh left Bengal in anno 1686, Mr. Channock came thither with half a dozen of great ſhips, to paſs the ſouth-weſt monſoons away; the country aſſiſted them plentifully with proviſions, but they had no other commerce; they had no leſs than ſix fathoms water going in to the river, and in ſome places within, above twenty. The country produces timber for building, ſome lead, tin, ſtick-lack, and elephants teeth.

The ſea coaſt of Arackan reaches from Xatigam to Cape Negrais, about 400 miles in length, but few places inhabited, becauſe there are ſuch vaſt numbers of wild elephants and buffaloes, that would deſtroy the productions of the ground, and tigers to deſtroy the tame animals, that they think it impracticable to inhabit it, only ſome iſlands in the ſea are peopled with ſome poor miſerable fiſhers, who get their bread out of the water, to keep them from ſtarving, and they live out of the way of oppreſſion.

There are ſome of the Mogul's ſubjects who trade to Arackan for the commodities above mentioned, and ſometimes they meet with good bargains of diamonds, rubies, &c. precious ſtones, and gold rupees, which are to be ſuppoſed are ſome of Sultan Sujah's treaſure, pilfered by the avaricious prieſts.

There are abundance of iſlands on the Arackan coaſt, but they lie cloſe to the ſhore, only the Buffalo Iſlands lie about four leagues off, and there is a rock that ſhews its head above water about the middle of the channel, between thoſe iſlands and the continent. The channels among the Buffalo Iſlands ſeem to be clear of danger, and above 20 fathoms water in them, but about eight leagues off the north end of the great iſland of Negrais, is a dangerous rock that only appears above water in the low ebbs of ſpring tides; it lies in 15 fathoms water, and 20 yards off are 13 fathoms. The other iſland of Negrais, which makes the point called the Cape, is a ſmall, low, barren rocky iſland, it is often called Diamond Iſland, becauſe its ſhape is a rhombus. About the year 1704, four French ſhips went to careen at the great Negrais, and turning in between the iſlands, one ſhip of 70 guns, called l'Indien, run aground on ſome rocks lying on the inſide of Diamond Iſland, and was loſt, but the reſt ſaved the men, and all her portable furniture.

Three leagues to the ſouthward of Diamond Iſland, lies a reef of rocks a league long, but they do not appear above water, though they are conſpicuous at all times by the ſea breaking on them. There is a good channel between the iſland and them, above a league broad, and 11 or 12 fathoms deep; the rocks are called the Legarti, or, in Engliſh, the Lizard.

CHAP. XXXVI. — *Gives an Account of the famous Kingdom of Pegu, its Situation and Product, with its Laws, Cuſtoms, and Religion, and ſome hiſtorical Accounts of their Temples and Gods, of Occurrences and Revolutions in the State, and how it became a Province of the Kingdom of Barma.*

THE ſea-coaſt from Negrais to Syrian Bar, is in the dominions of Pegu; there are ſome of the mouths of Pegu river open on that coaſt into the ſea. Dolla is the firſt, about fifty miles to the eaſtward of Negrais. China Backaar is another, about forty miles to the eaſtward of Dolla, and between theſe openings there is a dangerous bank of black ſand, that runs four or five leagues out into the ſea, and ſo far off there are but 14 feet water. About 60 miles to the eaſtward of China Backaar, is the bar of Syrian, the only port now open for trade in all the Pegu dominions.

If by accident a ſhip bound to Syrian, be driven a league or two to the eaſtward of that river's mouth, a ſtrong tide carries her on hard ſands till ſhe ſits faſt on them, for anchors are of no uſe to ſtop them, becauſe of the rapidity of the current; at low water the ſhips are dry when on thoſe ſands, and the ſea leaves them, and retires five or ſix leagues, at which time the ſhipwrecked men walk on the ſands towards the ſhore for their ſafety, for the ſea comes back with ſo much noiſe, that the roaring of the billows may be heard ten miles off; for a body of waters comes rolling in on the ſand, whoſe front is above two fathoms high, and whatever body lies in its way it overturns, and no ſhip can evade its force, but in a moment is overturned; this violent boer the natives call a mackrea.

About ſix leagues from the bar of Pegu River, is the city of Syrian; it is built near the river's ſide on a riſing ground, and walled round with a ſtone wall without mortar. The governor, who is generally of the blood-royal, has his lodgings in it, but the ſuburbs are four times bigger than the city. It was many years in poſſeſſion of the Portugueze, till by their inſolence and pride they were obliged to quit it.

The

The ancient city of Pegu ſtands about forty miles to the eaſtward of Syrian; the ditches that ſurrounded the city, which are now dry, and bear good corn, teſtify that few cities in the world exceeded it in magnitude, for they are reckoned ſix or ſeven leagues round their outward polygon.

Is was the ſeat of many great and puiſſant Kings, who made as great a figure as any in the eaſt, but now its glory is in the duſt, for not one twentieth part of it is inhabited, and thoſe are but the lower claſs of people who inhabit it. The cauſe of the ruin of the kingdoms of Pegu, Martavan, and ſome others under the dominions of Pegu, I had from ſome Peguers, in ſeveral diſcourſes with them about that revolution, which was thus:

There was great love and friendſhip between the Kings and ſubjects of Pegu and Siam, being next neighbours to one another, and they had a good intercourſe of trade, both by land and ſea, till in the fifteenth century, a Pegu veſſel being at Odia, the chief city of Siam, and when ready to depart for Pegu, anchored one evening near a little temple a few miles below the city, and the maſter of the veſſel, with ſome of his crew, going to worſhip in that temple, ſeeing a pretty well-carved image of the god Samſay, about a covet high, fell in love with it, and finding his prieſts negligent in watching, ſtole him away, and carried him on board priſoner for Pegu. When the negligent prieſts miſſed their little god they were in a deplorable condition, lamenting their loſs to all their neighbouring prieſts, who adviſed them to complain to the King of Siam of the theft, which accordingly they did, imploring his good offices with the King of Pegu, to have their god ſent back; and it happened that by the unſeaſonable floods in the river that year, there came to be a great ſcarcity of corn, which calamity was imputed by the prieſts to the loſs of Samſay, upon which the pious Prince ſent an embaſſy to his brother of Pegu, deſiring the reſtitution of the image, whoſe abſence had cauſed ſo great loſs and clamour in his country.

The King of Pegu being as great a bigot as his brother of Siam, would by no means deliver back a god who had fled from the impieties of his native land to him for protection, and with that anſwer ſent back the Siam ambaſſador, who was not a little mortified with the diſappointment.

Since fair means could not perſuade the Peguer to ſend back the little god, the Siamer was reſolved to try what force would do, and accordingly raiſed an army of two or three hundred thouſand men to invade the King of Pegu's dominions, and the firſt fury of the war fell on the province of Martavan, being contiguous to the territories of Siam, and with fire and ſword deſtroyed the open country almoſt to the gates of the city of Martavan, where often the King of Pegu kept his court, and was formerly the metropolis of an independent kingdom, before Pegu reduced that country by conqueſt to be a province of theirs.

After the Siamer had ſatiated his cruelty and rage, by the deſtruction of many poor innocents, he retired back to his own country very much elevated with pride and vainglory, for his great achievements; but next year he was pretty well humbled, for the Peguer raiſed a much greater army, and embarking them in ſmall boats on the river Memnon, on which the city of Odia ſtands in one of its iſlands, his army was brought with ſo much celerity and ſecrecy, that the Peguer brought the firſt news of his invaſion, and pitching his tents round the city, ſoon brought it into great ſtraits, by ſtopping the daily proviſions that ſupported it; but unexpectedly the river bringing down great floods of waters ſooner than their ordinary time, the country about the city overflowed, and ſpoiled all the Peguer's proviſions of corn, and drowned near the half of his army, which obliged him to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to his own diminions.

Next year, the Siamer, to be revenged, levied another great army, with which he over-ran all the inland countries of Pegu that lay near him, and annexed them to his own dominions. The Peguer finding that he could not recover his lands without foreign aid and aſſiſtance, invited the Portugueze, whoſe name began to be dreadful in India, and by the great encouragement he gave them, got about 1000 volunteers into his ſervice. Neither the Siamers nor the Peguers at that time underſtood the uſe of fire-arms, and their noiſe and execution at ſo great a diſtance terrified them. With the Portugueze aſſiſtance, the Peguer went with his army, which was very numerous, to find out the Siamer, and having found him, gave him battle, the Portugueze being in the front with their fire-arms, ſoon put the Siamer to flight before they could come to handy-blows, on which he left the Peguer's country in greater haſte than he came into it.

The King of Pegu was ſo ſenſible of the Portugueze ſervice in gaining the battle, and driving the Siamers out of his conquered country, that he made one Senhor Thoma Pereyra (who commanded the Portugueze in the war) generaliſſimo of all his forces, which preferment made the Portugueze ſo inſolent, that in a few years they became intolerable to all ranks and degrees of perſons in Pegu.

Both Kings grew tired of war, but both too proud to make advances towards peace, ſo that for many years they had ſkirmiſhing with ſmall parties, though no ſet battles, and wherever the Portugueze arms went, they had victory to accompany them.

The King of Pegu, to have his forces nearer the borders of Siam, ſettled his court at Martavan, and kept the Portugueze near him, to be ready on all occaſions, either to repel or aſſault the Siam forces, as opportunity ſerved, and Thoma Pereyra was the darling favourite at court, he had his elephants of ſtate, and a guard of his own countrymen to attend him. One day as he was coming from court in ſtate, on a large elephant, towards his own palace, he chanced to hear muſic in a burgher's houſe, whoſe daughter being a very beautiful virgin, had been married that morning to a young man of the neighbourhood. The general went to the houſe and wiſhed them joy, and deſired to ſee the bride. The parents took the general's viſit for a great honour done them, and brought their daughter to his elephant's ſide; he being ſmitten with her beauty, ordered his guard to ſeize her and carry her to his houſe.

His orders were but too readily obeyed, and the poor bridegroom not being able to bear his loſs, cut his own throat; and the diſconſolate parents of their injured children, rent their clothes, and went crying and complaining through the ſtreets towards the King's palace, imploring their gods and countrymen to avenge them on the inſolent Portugueze, the common oppreſſors of their country. Crowds of people came from all parts of the city to hear and ſee the tragedy; their numbers grew ſo great, that the ſtreets were hardly big enough for them, and their noiſe ſo loud that it reached the King's ears, who ſent to know the cauſe of their uproar. The meſſenger returning, acquainted the King what had been tranſacted, and he, to appeaſe the tumult, ſent them word that he would puniſh the criminal, and accordingly ſent for his general, but he being much taken up with the enjoyment of his new purchaſe, made an excuſe that he was ſo much out of order, that he could not then wait on His Majeſty till he was better, which anſwer ſo provoked the King, that he ordered the whole city to take arms, and to make a general maſſacre on all the Portugueze whereſoever they could be found in city or country. The King's orders were put in execution ſo ſpeedily, that in a few hours all the Portugueze were ſlaughtered, and the guilty criminal was taken alive, and made faſt by the heels to an elephant's foot, who dragged him through the ſtreets till there was no ſkin nor fleſh left to cover his bones, which ſpectacle appeaſed the enraged populace.

populace. There were only three Portugueze ſaved, who were accidentally in the ſuburbs next the river, who hid themſelves till night favoured their eſcape in a ſmall boat, in which they coaſted along the ſhore, feeding on what the woods and rocks afforded them, and at length arrived at Malacca, to give an account of the melancholy ſcene.

Both kingdoms being much weakened with bloody wars, took reſt for many years, but never entered on treaties of peace. So about the middle of the ſeventeenth century, the Siamer invaded the dominions of Pegu, and conquered all to the ſouthward of Martavan, taking in the provinces of Tanacerin and Ligoire, who were tributaries to Pegu, and retains them ſtill in his poſſeſſion.

The King of Pegu finding that the incroachments of Siam daily leſſened his dominions, and his own forces were not able to protect what he had left, ſent an embaſſy to the King of Barma, a potent prince, whoſe dominions lay about 500 miles up the river from Pegu, to beg his aſſiſtance to ſtop the Siamers in their courſe of conqueſts, and he promiſed to give good encouragement to the Barmaes. The embaſſy was graciouſly received, and an army of an hundred thouſand was levied for that ſervice, and ſent in tranſport veſſels to Pegu, and joined the Pegu army, who conjunctly marched againſt the Siamer, and drove him quite out of his new conqueſts; and when the Barmaes obſerved the feebleneſs and bad diſcipline of the Pegu army, they even killed the King of Pegu, and broke the Pegu army, and ſeized the kingdoms of Pegu and Martavan for their maſter, and in that family it continues to this time. The Barmaes ruined both the cities of Pegu and Martavan, and ſunk veſſels in the mouth of the river Martavan, to make it unnavigable, and ſo it continues. This account I had at Pegu in anno 1709, both from Peguers and Portugueze, who agreed in the hiſtory as I have related it.

The dominions of Barma are at preſent very large, reaching from Moravi near Tanacerin, to the province of Yunan in China, about 800 miles from north to ſouth, and 250 miles broad from weſt to eaſt. It has no ſea-port but Syrian, and that river is capable to receive a ſhip of 600 tuns. The town drives a good trade with Armenians, Portugueze, Moors and Gentows, and ſome Engliſh; their import is ſeveral ſorts of Indian goods, ſuch as beteellas, mulmuls, coſſas, ſannis, orangſhays, tangebs, European hats, coarſe and fine, and ſilver. The cuſtoms are eight and an half per cent. which with other charges, amount to about twelve in the hundred. The product of the country is timber for building, elephants, elephants teeth, bees-wax, ſtick-lack, iron, tin, oil of earth, wood-oil, rubies, the beſt in the world, diamonds, but they are ſmall, and are only found in the craws of poultry and pheaſants, and one family has only the indulgence to ſell them, and none dare open the ground to dig for them. Saltpetre they have in abundance, but it is death to export it, plenty of ganſe or lead, which paſſeth all over the Pegu dominions for money. About twenty ſail of ſhips find their account in trade for the limited commodities, but the Armenians have got the monopoly of the rubies, which turns to a good account in their trade; and I have ſeen ſome blue ſapphires there, that I was told were found on ſome mountains of this country.

The country is very fruitful in corn, fruits, and roots, and excellent legumen of ſeveral ſpecies, abundance of wild game either quadrupeds or winged. In the months of September and October, wild deer are ſo plentiful, that I have bought one for three or four pence; they are very fleſhy, but no fat about them. They have many ſorts of good fiſh, and ſwine's fleſh and poultry are both plentiful and good.

They wear none of our European commodities but hats and ribbons, and the gentry will give extravagant prices for fine beaver hats, and rich ribbons flowered with ſilver and gold, and if it be never ſo broad it is ſtretched up the crown of the hat as far as it

can

can go, and they uſe no ſort of cock to their hats. Cotton cloths from Bengal and Chormondel, with ſome ſtriped ſilks, are beſt for their market, and ſilver of any ſort is welcome to them. It pays the King 8½ per cent. cuſtom, but in lieu of that high duty, he indulges the merchants to melt it down, and put what alloy they pleaſe in it, and then to paſs it off in payments as high as they can.

Rupee ſilver, which has no alloy in it, will bear 28 per cent. of copper alloy, and keep the Pegu touch, which they call flowered ſilver, and if it flowers, it paſſes current.

Their way to make flowered ſilver is, when the ſilver and copper are mixed and melted together, and while the metal is liquid, they put it into a ſhallow mould, of what figure or magnitude they pleaſe, and before the liquidity is gone, they blow on it through a ſmall wooden pipe, which makes the face, or part blown upon, appear with the figures of flowers or ſtars; but I never ſaw any European or other foreigner at Pegu, have the art to make thoſe figures appear, and if there is too great a mixture of alloy, no figures will appear.

The King generally adds 10 per cent. on all ſilver that comes into his treaſury, beſides what was put on at firſt; and though it be not flowered, it muſt go off in all his payments, but from any body elſe it may be refuſed if it is not flowered.

His government is arbitrary. All his commands are laws, but the reins of government are kept ſteady and gently in the King's own hand. He ſeverely puniſhes his governors of provinces or towns, if oppreſſions or other illegal practices are proved upon them; and to know how affairs paſs in the ſtate, every province or city has a mandereen or deputy reſiding at court, which is generally in the city of Ava, the preſent metropolis.

Every morning theſe mandareens are obliged to attend at court, and after His Majeſty has dreſſed and breakfaſted, which is generally on a diſh of rice boiled in fair water, and his ſauce is ſome ſhrimps dried and powdered, and ſome ſalt and cod-pepper mixed with thoſe two ingredients, and that mixture makes a very pungent ſauce, which they call prock, and is in great eſteem and uſe among the Peguers.

When his breakfaſt is over, he retires into a room ſo contrived that he can ſee all the attendants, but none can ſee him, and a page ſtands without to call whom the King would have give account of the current news of his province or city, which is performed with profound reverence toward the room where the King ſtays, and with a diſtinct audible voice; and if any particular matter of conſequence is forgot or omitted, and the King comes to hear of it by another hand, ſevere puniſhments follow, and ſo he paſſes his mornings in hearing the neceſſary caſes of his own affairs, as well as thoſe of his ſubjects.

If he is informed of treaſon, murder, or ſuch like heinous crimes, he orders the matter to be judicially tried before judges of his own chooſing, for that time and affair, and on conviction he ſigns the dead warrant, wherein he orders, that the wretch convicted ſhall trade no more on his ground, and execution preſently follows, either by beheading, or ordering them to be ſport for his elephants, which is the cruelleſt death. Sometimes he baniſhes them for a certain time to the woods, and if they are not devoured by tigers, or killed by wild elephants, they may return when their term is expired, and paſs the remainder of their days in ſerving a tame elephant; and for ſmaller crimes they are only condemned to clean his elephants ſtables for life.

His ſubjects, if they may be ſo called, treat him with fulſome adulation. When they ſpeak or write to him they call him their god, (or in their language Kiack,) and in his letters to foreign Princes, he aſſumes the title of King of Kings, to whom all other Kings

ought to be ſubject, as being near kinſman and friend to all the gods in heaven and on earth, and by their friendſhip to him all animals are fed and preſerved, and the ſeaſons of the year are regularly kept: the ſun is his brother, and the moon and ſtars are his near relations, Lord over the floods and ebbing of the ſea; and after all his lofty epithets and hyperboles, he deſcends to be King of the white elephant, and of the twenty-four white ſomereroes or umbrellaes. Theſe two laſt he may indeed claim with ſome ſhew of juſtice, for I have ſeen elephants of a light yellow colour both in Pegu and Siam, but who ought to be called their Lord is a queſtion not yet decided; and as King of the twenty-four white ſomereroes, I believe few Kings will much care to diſpute that glorious title with him, for thoſe ſomereroes are only common China umbrellaes, covered over with thin Chormondel beteellas, and their canes lackered and gilded; and becauſe his own ſubjects dare not uſe any ſuch umbrellaes, he wiſely lays his imperial commands on all other Kings to forbear wearing of them when they go abroad.

After His Majeſty has dined, there is a trumpet blown, to ſignify to all his ſlaves, as he terms other Kings, that they may go to dinner, becauſe their Lord has already dined. And when any foreign ſhips arrive at Syrian, the number of people on board, with their age and ſex, are ſent to him, to let him know that ſo many of his ſlaves are arrived to partake of the glory and happineſs of his reign and favour; and the higheſt title his own ſubjects aſſume, is the King's Firſt Slave.

The King's palace at Ava is very large, built of ſtone, and has four gates for its conveniencies. Ambaſſadors enter at the eaſt gate, which is called the Golden Gate, becauſe all ambaſſadors make their way to him by preſents. The ſouth gate is called the Gate of Juſtice, where all people that bring petitions, accuſations, or complaints, enter. The weſt is the Gate of Grace, where all that have received favours, or have been acquitted of crimes, paſs out in ſtate, and all condemned perſons carried out in fetters: and the north gate fronting the river, is the Gate of State, where His Majeſty paſſes through, when he thinks fit to bleſs his people with his preſence, and all his proviſions and water are carried in at that gate.

When pots of water, or baſkets of fruits, are carried through the ſtreets for the King's uſe, an officer attends them, and all the people that fortune to be near, muſt fall on their knees, and let it paſs by, as a good Catholic does when he ſees the hoſt.

When an ambaſſador is admitted to audience in the palace, he is attended with a large troop of guards, with trumpets ſounding, and heralds proclaiming the honour the ambaſſador is about to receive, in going to ſee the glory of the earth, His Majeſty's own ſweet face; and between the gate and the head of the ſtairs that lead to the chamber of audience, the ambaſſador is attended with the maſter of the ceremonies, who inſtructs him to kneel three times in his way thither, and continue ſo with his hands over his head, till a proclamation is read before he dare riſe. Some of his elephants are inſtructed to fall on their belly when the King paſſes by them.

This relation I had from one Mr. Roger Aliſon, who had been twice ambaſſador from the governor of Fort St. George, or his agents at Syrian, to the court of Ava; and though the palace is very large, yet the buildings are but mean, and the city though great and populous, is only built of bamboo canes, thatched with ſtraw or reeds, and the floors of teak-plank, or ſplit bamboos, becauſe if treaſon or other capital crimes be detected, the criminals may have no place of ſhelter; for if they do not appear on the firſt ſummons, fire will fetch them out of their combuſtible habitations.

His ſword-officers have no ſalary, nor his ſoldiers for their ſupport, but there is a province or a city given to ſome minion, who is to give ſuſtenance to ſuch a number of ſoldiers,

ſoldiers, and find the palace at Ava with ſuch a quota of proviſions as the providore thinks fit to appoint.

When there is a war, and parties are ſent on expeditions, then the King allows them pay, clothes, arms, and provides magazines of proviſions for them; but as ſoon as the war is at an end, then the clothes and arms are returned, by which means diſcipline is little known among them, and a man of a tolerable ſtock of courage may paſs there for an hero.

The quality of an officer is known by his tobacco-pipe having an earthen or metallic head, with a ſocket to let in a jointed reed, that on its upper end has a mouth-piece of gold, jointed as the reed or cane is; and by the number of joints in the golden mouth-piece the quality of the officer is known, and reſpect paid him accordingly.

All cities and towns under this King's dominions are like ariſtocratical common-wealths. The prince or governor ſeldom ſits in council, but appoints his deputy, and twelve counſellors or judges, and they ſit once in ten days at leaſt, but oftener when buſineſs calls them. They convene in a large hall, mounted about three feet high, and double benches round the floor for people to ſit or kneel on, and to hear the free debates of council. The hall being built on pillars of wood, is open on all ſides, and the judges ſet in the middle on mats, and ſitting in a ring there is no place of precedence; there are no advocates to plead at the bar, but every one has the privilege to plead his own cauſe, or ſend it in writing to be read publicly, and it is determined judicially within the term of three ſittings of council; but if any one queſtions his own eloquence, or knowledge of the laws of equity, he may empower a friend to plead for him; but there are no fees but what the town contributes for the maintenance of that court, which, in their language, is called the Rounday, and thoſe contributions are very ſmall. There are clerks ſet at the backs of the judges, ready to write down whatever the complainant and defendant has to ſay, and the caſe is determined by the prince and that council, very equitably; for if the leaſt partiality is found awarded to either party, and the King is made acquainted with it by the deputies at court, the whole ſentence is revoked, and the whole board are corrected for it, ſo that very few have occaſion to appeal to court, which they may do if they are aggrieved; and if an appeal is made upon ill grounds, the appellant is chaſtiſed, which juſt rigour hinders many tedious ſuits that ariſe where there are no penalties annexed to ſuch faults.

The judges have a particular garb of their own. Their hair being permitted to grow long, is tied on the top of their heads with cotton ribbon wrapped about it, and it ſtands upright in the form of a ſharp pyramid. Their coat is of a thin betella, ſo that their ſkin is eaſily ſeen through it. About their loins they have a large lungee or ſcarf, as all other Peguers have, that reaches to their ancles, and againſt the navel a round bundle made of their lungee, as big as a child's head, but ſtockings and ſhoes are not uſed in Pegu.

The Bermaes wear the ſame habit, and imprint ſeveral devices in their ſkins, pricked with a bodkin, and powder of charcoal rubbed over the little wounds, while the blood continues wet in them, and the black marks remain ever after. The Peguers dare not paint their ſkins, ſo that the natives of each nation are eaſily known by the diſtinguiſhing mark of painting or plainneſs. There are few of their men fat, but plump, well ſhaped, of an olive colour, and well featured.

The women are much whiter than the men, and have generally pretty plump faces, but of ſmall ſtature, yet very well ſhaped, their hands and feet ſmall, and their arms and legs well proportioned. Their head-dreſs is their own black hair tied up behind, and when they go abroad, they wear a ſhawl folded up, or a piece of white cotton cloth lying

looſe on the top of their heads. Their bodily garb is a frock of cotton cloth or ſilk, made meet for their bodies, and the arms of their frock ſtretched cloſe on the arm, the lower part of the frock reaching half-thigh down. Under the frock they have a ſcarf or lungee doubled fourfold, made faſt about their middle, which reaches almoſt to the ancle, ſo contrived, that at every ſtep they make, as they walk, it opens before, and ſhews the right leg and part of the thigh.

This faſhion of petticoats, they ſay, is very ancient, and was firſt contrived by a certain Queen of that country, who was grieved to ſee the men ſo much addicted to ſodomy, that they neglected the pretty ladies. She thought that by the ſight of a pretty leg and plump thigh, the men might be allured from that abominable cuſtom, and place their affections on proper objects, and according to the ingenious Queen's conjecture, that dreſs of the lungee had its deſired end, and now the name of ſodomy is hardly known in that country.

The women are very courteous and kind to ſtrangers, and are very fond of marrying with Europeans, and moſt part of the ſtrangers who trade thither, marry a wife for the term they ſtay. The ceremony is, (after the parties are agreed) for the bride's parents or neareſt friends or relations, to make a feaſt, and invite her friends and the bridegroom's, and at the end of the feaſt, the parent, or bride-man, aſketh them both before the company, if they are content to cohabit together as man and wife, and both declaring their conſent, they are declared by the parent or friend to be lawfully married: and if the bridegroom has an houſe, he carries her thither, but if not, they have a bed provided in the houſe where they are married, and are left to their own diſcretion how to paſs away the night.

They prove obedient and obliging wives, and take the management of affairs within doors wholly in their own hands. She goes to market for food, and acts the cook in dreſſing his victuals, takes care of his clothes, in waſhing and mending them; if their huſbands have any goods to ſell, they ſet up a ſhop and ſell them by retail, to a much better account than they could be ſold for by wholeſale, and ſome of them carry a cargo of goods to the inland towns, and barter for goods proper for the foreign markets that their huſbands are bound to, and generally bring fair accounts of their negotiations. If ſhe proves falſe to her huſband's bed, and on fair proof convicted, her huſband may carry her to the Rounday, and have her hair cut, and ſold for a ſlave, and he may have the money; but if the huſband goes aſtray, ſhe will be apt to give him a gentle doſe, to ſend him into the other world a ſacrifice to her reſentment.

If ſhe proves prolific, the children cannot be carried out of the kingdom without the King's permiſſion, but that may be purchaſed for 40 or 50l. ſterling; and if an irreconcileable quarrel happen where there are children, the father is obliged to take care of the boys, and the mother of the girls. If a huſband is content to continue the marriage, whilſt he goes to foreign countries about his affairs, he muſt leave ſome fund to pay her about 6s. 8d. per month, otherwiſe at the year's end ſhe may marry again; but if that ſum is paid her on his account, ſhe is obliged to ſtay the term of three years, and ſhe is never the worſe, but rather the better looked on, that ſhe has been married to ſeveral European huſbands.

CHAP. XXXVII.—*Gives an Account of the Pegu Clergy; their Charity, &c.; their Temples, and the Reaſon why they are ſo numerous, and their Trials by Ordeal; the Fertility of the Country, and the Ceremony in burning the Corpſe of an High Prieſt.*

THE Pegu clergy are the beſt obſervers of the rules of morality and charity that I have met with in my travels, and the people are pious and hoſpitable. There are vaſt

numbers of temples built in this country, but moſt of wood, becauſe that material is plentifuleſt and cheapeſt, and takes varniſh and gilding beſt, being gawdily painted both within and without. Every one has free liberty to build a baw or temple, and when it is finiſhed, purchaſes or beſtows a few acres of ground to maintain a certain number of prieſts and novices, who manure and cultivate the ground for their own ſuſtenance, and in the garden the prieſts and novices have a convent built for their conveniency of lodgings and ſtudy, and thoſe are their ſettled benefices; for they are no charge to the laity, but by their induſtrious labour in managing their garden, they have enough for themſelves, and ſomething to ſpare to the poor indigent of the laity; but if their garden is too ſmall or ſterile for the ſubſiſtence of their family, then they ſend ſome novices abroad with a large orange-coloured mantle about their bodies, with a baſket hanging on their left arm, a little drum in the left hand, and a little ſtick in the right, and when they come to the people's doors they beat three ſtrokes with the ſtick on the drum, and if none come to anſwer, they beat again, and ſo on to the third time, and then if none anſwer, they proceed to the next houſe without ſpeaking a word; but they are ſeldom ſent away without an alms of rice, pulſe, fruits, or roots, which is their only food, and what they receive more than they have preſent occaſion for, they diſtribute to the poor, for they never take care for to-morrow, living all their days in celibacy, they have none of the anxiety of thinking about proviſion for a widow and children. Their innocent exemplary lives procure them many free-will offerings from the well diſpoſed laity, and what is ſaved after providing their convents, of eatables and clothing, returns to the maintenance of the diſtreſſed laity, who, through age, ſickneſs, or other accidents, cannot maintain themſelves by labour; but none who are able to work, partake of their charity.

They preach or lecture frequently, and have a numerous auditory. Their religion is Paganiſm, and their ſyſtem of divinity Polytheiſm. They have images in all their temples or baws, of inferior gods, ſuch as Somma Cuddom, Samſay, and Prawpout, but they cannot form an idea of the image of the great God, whoſe adoration is left to their tallapoies or prieſts.

Thoſe tallapoies or prieſts, teach, that charity is the moſt ſublime virtue, and therefore ought to be extenſive enough to reach not only to the human ſpecies, but even to animals, wherefore they neither kill nor eat any, and they are ſo benevolent to mankind, that they cheriſh all alike without diſtinction, for the ſake of religion. They hold all religions to be good that teach men to be good, and that the deities are pleaſed with variety of worſhip, but with none that is hurtful to men, becauſe cruelty muſt be diſagreeable to the nature of a deity: ſo being all agreed in that fundamental, they have but few polemicks, and no perſecutions, for they ſay that our minds are free agents, and ought neither to be forced nor fettered.

The images in their temples are placed in domes, in a ſitting poſture, with their legs acroſs, their toes all alike long, their arms and hands very ſmall in proportion to their bodies, their faces longer than human, and their ears large, and the lappets very thick. The congregation bows to them when they come in and go out, and that is all the oblation they receive.

They never repair an old baw, nor is there any occaſion for that piety or expence; for in every September there is an old cuſtom for gentlemen of fortune to make ſky-rockets, and ſet them a flying in the air, and if any fly any great height, that is a certain ſign that the owner is in favour with the gods; but if it comes to the ground, and ſpends its fire without riſing, the owner is much dejected, and believes that the gods are angry with him; but the happy man, whoſe rocket makes him in the gods favour, never fails

of

of building a new baw, and dedicates it to the god he adores; and ſome prieſts, whoſe temples are gone to decay, bring their images to adorn it, who have the benefice for their pains.

I have ſeen ſome of thoſe rockets ſo large, that one of them could contain about five hundred weight of powder-duſt and coal, which is their common compoſition. The carcaſe is the trunk of a great tree made hollow, leaving about two inches of ſolid wood without the cylinder, to ſtrengthen it; the hollow they fill with the compoſition well rammed in, and after that is done, they make thongs of green buffaloes' hides, and haul tight round the carcaſe to keep it from ſplitting, and thoſe thongs are put from one end to the other, in the place of hoops, and when they grow dry, they are as cloſe on the carcaſe as ſo many hoops; then they ſecure the ends, that the compoſition may come gradually out, when fired. The carcaſe they place on a branch of a large high tree, which grows plentifully in their fields, and fix it in the poſition they would have it mount in when fired, and then they take a large bamboo for a tail to balance it. Some I have ſeen above 120 feet long. When the tail is made faſt according to art, then the day of ſolemnity is proclaimed, and great numbers of people of all ranks, degrees and ages, aſſemble to ſee the rocket fly. When all are convened, the laſhings that faſtened it to the tree, are cut, except ſo many as can ſupport it from falling, and there are men with hatchets ready to cut them when the fire is put to it, which is done by the owner, and then the rocket takes flight, and ſome fly a prodigious height, others come to the ground, and fly five or ſix hundred paces in an irregular motion, wounding or ſcorching all that comes in its way. The conſequences of the high flier and the low, I have deſcribed at length above.

A little while after the rockets flying they have another feaſt, called the collock, and ſome women are choſen out of the people aſſembled, to dance a dance to the gods of the earth. Hermaphrodites, who are numerous in this country, are generally choſen, if there are enough preſent to make a ſet for the dance. I ſaw nine dance like mad folks, for above half an hour, and then ſome of them fell in fits, foaming at the mouth for the ſpace of half an hour; and, when their ſenſes are reſtored, they pretend to foretel plenty or ſcarcity of corn for that year, if the year will prove ſickly or ſalutary to the people, and ſeveral other things of moment, and all by that half hour's converſation that the furious dancer had with the gods while ſhe was in a trance.

They have various ſorts of muſic, but the pipe and tabor are eſteemed the beſt, though their ſtringed inſtruments pleaſed my ears beſt. They have one ſort in the ſhape of a galley, with about twenty bells of ſeveral ſizes and ſounds, placed faſt on the upper part, as it lies along. The inſtrument is about three feet long, and eight or ten inches broad, and ſix inches deep. They beat thoſe bells with a ſtick made of heavy wood, and they make no bad muſic.

There are two large temples near Syrian, ſo like one another in ſtructure, that they ſeem to be built by one model. One ſtands about ſix miles to the ſouthward, called Kiakiack, or, the God of Gods' Temple. In it is an image of twenty yards long, lying in a ſleeping poſture, and, by their tradition, has lain in that poſture 6000 years. His doors and windows are always open, and every one has the liberty to ſee him; and when he awakes, this world is to be annihilated. The temple ſtands on an high champaign ground, and may eaſily be ſeen, in a clear day, eight leagues off. The other ſtands in a low plain, north of Syrian, about the ſame diſtance, called Dagun. His doors and windows are always ſhut, and none enters his temple but his prieſts, and they will not tell what ſhape he is of, only he is not of human ſhape. As ſoon as Kiakiack diſſolves the being and frame of the world, Dagon or Dagun will gather up the

fragments, and make a new one. There are yearly fairs held near thoſe temples, and the free-will offerings ariſing at thoſe fairs, are for the uſe of the temples.

For finding out ſecret murder, theft, or perjury, the trial of ordeal is much in cuſtom in Pegu. One way is to make the accuſer and the accuſed take ſome raw rice in their mouths, and chew and ſwallow it; but he that is guilty of the crime alledged, or of falſe accuſation, cannot ſwallow his morſel, but the innocent chews and ſwallows his eaſily.

Another way they have by driving a ſtake of wood into a river, and making the accuſer and accuſed take hold of the ſtake, and keep their heads and bodies under water, and he who ſtays longeſt under water, is the perſon to be credited, and whoſoever is convicted by this trial, either for the crime alledged, or for malicious ſlander, by accuſation, muſt lay on his back three days and nights, with his neck in a pair of ſtocks, without meat or drink, and fined to boot. They have alſo the cuſtom of dipping the naked hand in boiling oil, or liquid lead, to clear them from atrocious crimes, if accuſed, and if the accuſer ſcalds himſelf in the trial, he muſt undergo the puniſhment due to the crime, which makes people very cautious how they calumniate one another; and if any one aſperſe a woman with the name of whore, and cannot prove the aſperſion to be true, they are fined ſeverely.

The country is fruitful and healthful, and the air ſo good, that when ſtrangers come hither in a bad ſtate of health, they ſeldom fail of a ſpeedy recovery; but the ſmall pox is dreaded as peſtiferous, and in the province of Kirian that diſtemper is moſt dangerous and moſt infectious; ſo that if any one is ſeized by that diſeaſe, all the neighbourhood removes to two or three miles diſtance, and builds new houſes, which are eaſily done with bamboos and reeds, which they have in great plenty. They leave with the diſeaſed perſon a jar of water, a baſket of raw rice, and ſome earthen pots to boil it in, then they bid him farewel for twenty-one days. If the patient has ſtrength enough to riſe and boil rice, he may then recover, if not, he muſt even die alone. And it is obſervable, that, while a perſon has that diſtemper, the tiger, for all his voraciouſneſs, will not touch him. If the patient dies within the term of twenty-one days, then the ſmell certifies them on their approaching the houſe, and if he live, they carry him to their new built city, and make him a free burgeſs.

I ſaw the ceremony of an high prieſt's funeral, and was not a little pleaſed with the ſolemnity. After the corpſe had been kept three or four months by ſpirits or gums from putrefaction, there was a great maſt fixed in the ground, ſo faſt, that it could be moved no way from its perpendicular poſition. Then, about fifty or ſixty yards on each ſide of that maſt, four ſmaller maſts were placed, and fixed perpendicularly in the ground. Around the great maſt, in the middle, were erected three ſcaffolds above one another, and the lowermoſt bigger than the ſecond, and the third ſmaller than that, ſo that it looked like a pyramid four ſtories high. The ſcaffolds were railed in on each ſide, except an open place of three or four feet wide on each ſide. All the ſcaffolds, and the ground below them, were filled with combuſtibles. From the maſt in the middle four ropes were carried to the other four maſts, and hauled tight, and a fire-rocket on each rope was placed at the reſpective ſmall maſts. Then the corpſe was carried to the upper ſtory of the pyramid, and laid flat on the ſcaffold, and, after a great ſhow of ſorrow among the people there preſent, a trumpet was ſounded, which was a ſignal to ſet fire to the rockets, which in an inſtant, flew with a quick motion along the ropes, and ſet fire to the combuſtibles, and in a moment they were all in a flame, ſo that in an hour or two all was conſumed.

This high prieſt was held in ſo great veneration, that he was reckoned a ſaint among the people. He was in great eſteem with the King, and when any nobleman fell into diſgrace,

diſgrace, he uſed his intereſt with the King to have him reſtored again to favour, unleſs they were guilty of atrocious crimes, and, in that caſe, he uſed his endeavours to have the rigour of the puniſhment extenuated.

All the Pegu clergy are mediators in making up caſes of debate and contention that happen among neighbours. They never leave mediating till there be a reconciliation, and, in token of friendſhip, according to an ancient cuſtom there, they eat champock from one another's hand, and that ſeals the friendſhip. This champock is tea of a very unſavoury taſte; it grows, as other tea does, on buſhes, and is in uſe on ſuch occaſions all over Pegu.

And now, ſince I muſt leave Pegu, I muſt not omit giving the clergy their due praiſes in another particular practice of their charity. If a ſtranger has the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked on their coaſt, by the laws of the country, the men are the King's ſlaves, but by the mediation of the church, the governors overlook that law; and when the unfortunate ſtrangers come to their bawns, they find a great deal of hoſpitality, both in food and raiment, and have letters of recommendation from the prieſts of one convent to thoſe of another on the road they deſign to travel, where they may expect veſſels to tranſport them to Syrian; and if any be ſick or maimed, the prieſts, who are the Peguer's chief phyſicians, keep them in their convent, till they are cured, and then furniſh them with letters, as is above obſerved, for they never enquire which way a ſtranger worſhips God, but if he is human, he is the object of their charity.

There are ſome Chriſtians in Syrian of the Portugueze offspring, and ſome Armenians. The Portugueze have a church, but the ſcandalous lives of the prieſts and people, make them contemptible to all people in general.

I have only to add to my obſervations of Pegu, that, in former times, Martavan was one of the moſt flouriſhing towns for trade in the eaſt, having the benefit of a noble river, which afforded a good harbour for ſhips of the greateſt burden; but, after the Barmaes conquered it, they ſunk a number of veſſels full of ſtones, in the mouth of the river, ſo that now it is unnavigable, except for ſmall veſſels. They make earthenware there ſtill, and glaze them with lead-ore. I have ſeen ſome jars made there, that could contain two hogſheads of liquor. They have alſo ſtill a ſmall trade in fiſh. Their mullet dried is the beſt dry fiſh I ever taſted, either in India or Europe.

The iſlands off the coaſt of Pegu, are the Cocoes, uninhabited, but full of cocoa-nut trees. They lie about 20 leagues weſt-ſouth-weſt from Cape Negrais: and the iſlands Perperies lie 36 leagues ſouth of the ſaid cape. They are high iſlands uninhabited, and ſo environed with rocks under water, that there is danger in landing on them. They ſeem to be overgrown with woods, and that is all that I could obſerve of them. There is another ſmall iſland called Commoda, that lies about 10 leagues off the coaſt of Pegu, but is not inhabited.

CHAP. XXXVIII. — *Treats of Merjee and Tanacerin, and of the Sea-coaſt in the King of Siam's Dominions; of the Maſſacre there of the Engliſh in Anno* 1687; *alſo of Quedah, and the other maritime Countries and Iſlands as far as Malacca.*

THE next place on the continent, to the ſouthward, is Merjee, a town belonging to the King of Siam, ſituated on the banks of the river of Tanacerin, lying within a great number of ſmall uninhabited iſlands. The harbour is ſafe, and the country produces rice, timber for building, tin, elephants, elephants' teeth, and Agala wood. In former times a good number of Engliſh free merchants were ſettled at Merjee, and drove a good

good trade, living under a mild indulgent government; but the old Eaſt India Company envying their happineſs, by an arbitrary command, ordered them to leave their induſtry, and repair to Fort St. George, to ſerve them, and threatened the King of Siam with a ſea war, if he did not deliver thoſe Engliſh up, or force them out of his country, and, in anno 1687, ſent one Captain Weldon in a ſmall ſhip, called the Curtany, to Merjee with that meſſage. He behaved himſelf very inſolently to the government, and killed ſome Siamers, without any juſt cauſe. One night when Weldon was aſhore, the Siamers thinking to do themſelves juſtice on him, got a company together, deſigning to ſeize or kill the aggreſſor, but Weldon having notice of their deſign, made his eſcape on board his ſhip, and the Siamers miſſing him, though very narrowly, vented their rage and revenge on all the Engliſh they could find. The poor victims being only guarded by their innocence, did not ſo much as arm themſelves, to withſtand the fury of the enraged mob, ſo that ſeventy-ſix were maſſacred, and hardly twenty eſcaped on board of the Curtany; ſo there was the tragical conſequence of one man's inſolence.

Before that fatal time, the Engliſh were ſo beloved and favoured at the court of Siam, that they had places of truſt conferred upon them, both in the civil and military branches of the government. Mr. Samuel White was made ſhawbandaar or cuſtom-maſter at Merjee and Tanacerin, and Captain Williams was admiral of the King's navy; but the troubleſome company, and a great revolution that happened in the ſtate of Siam, made ſome repair to Fort St. George, others to Bengal, and ſome to Atcheen.

The iſlands oppoſite to the coaſt of Tanacerin, are the Andemans. They lie about 80 leagues off, and are ſurrounded with many dangerous banks and rocks; they are all inhabited with cannibals, who are ſo fearleſs, that they will ſwim off to a boat if ſhe approach near the ſhore, and attack her with their wooden weapons, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of numbers in the boat, and the advantage of miſſive and defenſive arms of iron, ſteel, and fire.

I knew one Ferguſſon, who commanded a ſhip from Fort St. George, bound from Malacca to Bengal, in company with another ſhip, going too near one of the Andeman iſlands, was driven, by the force of a ſtrong current, on ſome rocks, and the ſhip was loſt. The other ſhip was driven through a channel between two of the ſame iſlands, and was not able to aſſiſt the ſhipwrecked men, but neither Ferguſſon nor any of his people were ever more heard of, which gave ground to conjecture that they were all devoured by thoſe ſavage cannibals.

I ſaw one of the natives of thoſe iſlands at Atcheen, in anno 1694. He was then about 40 years of age. The Andemaners had a yearly cuſtom to come to the Nicobar iſlands, with a great number of ſmall praws, and kill or take priſoners as many of the poor Nicobareans as they could overcome. The Nicobareans again joined their forces, and gave the cannibals battle, when they met with them, and one time defeated them, and gave no quarter to the Andemaners. This man above-mentioned, when a boy of 10 or 12 years of age, accompanied his father in the wars, and was taken priſoner, and his youth recommending him to mercy, they ſaved his life, and made him a ſlave. After he had continued ſo three or four years, he was carried to Atcheen to be ſold for cloth, knives, and tobacco, which are the commodities moſt wanting on the Nicobars. The Atcheeners being Mahometans, this boy's patron bred him up in that religion, and ſome years after, his maſter dying, gave him his freedom; he having a great deſire to ſee his native country, took a praw, and the months of December, January, and February, being fair weather, and the ſea ſmooth, he ventured to the ſea, in order to go to his own country, from the iſlands of Gomus and Pullo-wey, which lie near Atcheen. Here the ſouther-moſt of the Nicobars may be ſeen, and ſo one iſland may be ſeen from another, from the

ſouther-moſt

ſouther-moſt of thoſe to Chitty-andeman, which is the ſouther-moſt of the Andemans, which are diſtant from Atcheen about an hundred leagues. Arriving among his relations he was made welcome, with great demonſtrations of joy to ſee him alive, whom they expected to have been long dead.

Having retained his native language, he gave them an account of his adventures; and, as the Andemaners have no notions of a deity, he acquainted them with the knowledge he had of a God, and would have perſuaded his countrymen to learn of him the way to adore God, and to obey his laws, but he could make no converts. When he had ſtaid a month or two, he took leave to be gone again, which they permitted, on condition that he would return. He brought along with him four or five hundred weight of quickſilver, and he ſaid, that ſome of the Andeman iſlands abound in that commodity. He had made ſeveral trips thither before I ſaw him, and always brought ſome quickſilver along with him. Some Mahometan fakires would fain have accompanied him in his voyages, but he would never ſuffer them, becauſe he ſaid, he could not engage for their ſafety among his countrymen. When I ſaw him he was in company with a Seid, whom I carried a paſſenger to Surat, and from him I had this account of his adventures.

The next place of any commerce on this coaſt, is the iſland of Jonkceyloan; it lies in the dominions of the King of Siam. Between Merjee and Jonkceyloan there are ſeveral good harbours for ſhipping, but the ſea-coaſt is very thin of inhabitants, becauſe there are great numbers of freebooters, called ſalleiters, who inhabit iſlands along the ſea-coaſt, and they both rob, and take people for ſlaves, and tranſport them for Atcheen, and there make ſale of them, and Jonkceyloan often feels the weight of their depredations.

The north end of Jonkceyloan lies within a mile of the continent, but the ſouth end is above three leagues from it. Between the iſland and the continent is a good harbour for ſhipping in the ſouth-weſt monſoons, and on the weſt ſide of the iſland Puton bay is a ſafe harbour in the north-eaſt winds. The iſlands afford good maſts for ſhipping, and abundance of tin, but few people to dig for it, by reaſon of the afore-mentioned outlaws, and the governors being generally Chineſe, who buy their places at the court of Siam, and, to reimburſe themſelves, oppreſs the people, in ſo much that riches would be but a plague to them, and their poverty makes them live an eaſy indolent life.

Yet the villages on the continent drive a ſmall trade with ſhipping that come from the Choromondel coaſt and Bengal, but both the buyer and ſeller trade by retail, ſo that a ſhip's cargo is a long time in ſelling, and the product of the country is as long in purchaſing.

The iſlands off this part of the coaſt are the Nicobars, and are about 90 leagues diſtant from the continent. The northmoſt cluſter is low, and are called the Carnicubars, and by their vicinity to the Andemans, are but thinly inhabited. The middle cluſter is fine champaign ground, and all but one, well inhabited. They are called the Somerera iſlands, becauſe on the ſouth end of the largeſt iſland, is an hill that reſembles the top of an umbrella or ſomerera. About ſix leagues to the ſouthward of Somerera iſland, lies Tallang-jang, the uninhabited iſland, where one Captain Owen loſt his ſhip in anno 1708, but the men were all ſaved, and finding no inhabitants, they made fires in the night, and next day there came five or ſix canoes from Ning and Goury, two fine iſlands that lie about four leagues to the weſtward of the deſert iſland, and very courteouſly carried the ſhipwrecked men to their iſlands of Ning and Goury, with what little things they had ſaved of their apparel and other neceſſaries.

The captain had ſaved a broken knife about four inches long in the blade, and he having laid it careleſly by, one of the natives made bold to take it, but did not offer to hide

hide it. The captain ſeeing his knife in the poor native's hand, took it from him, and beſtowed ſome kicks and blows on him for his ill manners, which was very ill taken, for all in general ſhewed they were diſſatisfied with the action; and the ſhipwrecked men could obſerve contentions ariſing between thoſe who were their benefactors in bringing them to their iſland, and others who were not concerned in it: however, next day as the captain was ſitting under a tree at dinner, there came about a dozen of natives towards him, and ſaluted him on every ſide with a ſhower of darts made of heavy hard wood, with their points hardened in the fire, and ſo he expired in a moment. How far they had a mind to purſue their reſentment, I know not, but their benefactors kept guard about their houſe till next day, and then preſented them with two canoes, and fitted them with out-leagers to keep them from overturning, and put ſome water in pots, ſome cocoa-nuts and dry-fiſh, and pointed to them to be immediately gone, which they did. Being ſixteen in company, they divided equally, and ſteered their courſe for Jonkceyloan, but in the way one of the boats loſt her out-leager, and drowned all her crew, the reſt arrived ſafe, and I carried them afterwards to Matchulipatam.

Ning and Goury are two fine ſmooth iſlands, well inhabited, and plentifully furniſhed with ſeveral ſorts of good fiſh, hogs, and poultry, but they have no horſes, cows, ſheep, nor goats, nor wild beaſts of any ſort, but monkeys. They have no rice nor pulſe, ſo that the kernel of cocoa-nuts, yams, and potatoes, ſerves them for bread.

Along the north end of the eaſtmoſt of the two iſlands, are good ſoundings from ten to eight fathoms, ſand, about two miles off the ſhore. The people come thronging on board in their canoes, and bring hogs, fowl, cocks, fiſh, freſh, ſalted and dried yams, the beſt I ever taſted, potatoes, parrots, and monkeys, to barter for old hatchets, ſword-blades, and thick pieces of iron-hoops, to make defenſive weapons againſt their common diſturbers and implacable enemies the Andemaners; and tobacco they are very greedy of; for a leaf of tobacco, if pretty large, they will give a cock; for three feet of an iron hoop, a large hog, and for one foot in length, a pig. They all ſpeak a little broken Portugueze, but what religious worſhip they uſe, I could not learn.

The iſland Somerera lies about eight leagues to the northward of Ning and Goury, and is well inhabited by the number of villages that ſhew themſelves as we ſail along its ſhores. The people, like thoſe of Ning and Goury, are very courteous, and bring the product of their iſland aboard of ſhips to exchange for the aforementioned commodities. Silver nor gold they neither have nor care for, ſo the root of all evil can never ſend out branches of miſery, or bear fruit to poiſon their happineſs. The mens' clothing is a bit of ſtring round their middle, and about a foot and an half of cloth ſix inches broad, tucked before and behind within that line. The women have a petticoat from the navel to the knee, and their hair cloſe ſhaved; but the men have the hair left on the upper part of the head, and below the crown, but cut ſo ſhort that it hardly comes to their ears.

The ſouthward cluſter of the Nicobars is mountainous, and the people partake of its unpoliſhed nature, being more uncivil and ſurly than thoſe to the northward. Their iſlands produce the ſame neceſſaries as the others do.

Quedah is the next place of note on the continent to the ſouthward, and is honoured with the title of a kingdom, though both ſmall and poor. The town, which bears the ſame name, ſtands on the banks of a ſmall navigable river, deep, but narrow, about 50 miles from the ſea, and the King reſides in it, but ſhews no marks of grandeur, beſides arbitrary governing.

Their religion is Mahometan, much mixed with Paganiſm. The people are deceitful, covetous, and cruel. It was many years tributary to Siam, but in their long Pegu war,

Drawn by F.H.Lodge Esq.F.S.A.

Engraved by George Cooke.

Government Houses, at Malacca.

(taken Jan.y 2.1807.)

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it threw off the yoke. Its product is tin, pepper, elephants, and elephants teeth, canes, and damar, a gum that is used for making pitch and tar for the use of shipping. The King is poor, proud, and beggarly, he never fails of visiting stranger merchants at their coming to his port, and then, according to custom, he must have a present. When the stranger returns the visit, or has any business with him, he must make him a present, otherwise he thinks due respect is not paid to him, and in return of these presents, His Majesty will honour the stranger with a seat near his sacred person, and will chew a little betel, and put it out of his royal mouth on a little gold saucer, and sends it by his page to the stranger, who must take it with all the signs of humility and satisfaction, and chew it after him, and it is very dangerous to refuse the royal morsel.

Some ages ago, Ligore was a kingdom of itself, and the Kings of Quedah and Ligore fell at variance. He of Quedah invaded the territories of Ligore, and left his Queen and his son, an hopeful youth about twenty years of age, to govern in his absence. The mother and son grew enamoured of each other, and she found herself with child by the reciprocal esteem they bore one another. She being justly afraid of the King's resentment on his return, laid the danger before her son, that threatened them both, and advised the dutiful child to prevent their death by killing his father. Whereupon, he wrote to the King for leave to give him a visit in the camp, which favour he obtained, and proceeded accordingly to the place where his father was with his army. At his arrival he was received by all with great demonstrations of joy, particularly by his father, who made him lodge in his own tent. The villain let his father fall asleep, and then stabbed him to the heart, and immediately left the army, and hastened to his loving mother, to give her an account of his noble action. In the morning the King being found dead, and the son gone, the regicide was soon known; and because the Queen should not continue long a widow, the obedient child married her himself, because none in the country had royal blood in their veins but himself, and she could not stoop to match below the dignity of a sovereign prince. Such libidinous marriages are very frequent in this country to this present time.

Perah is the next country to Quedah. It is properly a part of the kingdom of Johore, but the people are untractable and rebellious, and the government anarchical. Their religion is heterodox Mahometism. The country produces more tin than any in India, but the inhabitants are so treacherous, faithless, and bloody, that no European nation can keep factories there with safety. The Dutch tried it once, and the first year had their factory cut off. They then settled on Pullodingding, an island at the mouth of the river Perah, but about the year 1690, that factory was also cut off, and I never heard that any body else ever attempted to settle there since.

There are several other places along that coast of Malaya, that produce great quantities of tin, but Salangore and Parsalore are the most noted, though little frequented by Europeans, because they have too many of the Perah qualities, to be trusted with honest men's lives and money. Their religion is also a sort of scoundrel Mahometism.

CHAP. XXXIX. — *Gives an Account of Malacca, how the Portugueze got footing there, and fortified it, and how the Dutch supplanted the Portugueze, and made it a Colony of theirs, with some Occurrences happening to the Scots Company's Affairs there, and other Places in India.*

MALACCA is the next place in course along this coast of Malaya. Before the Portugueze came to India, it had been the place of residence of the King of Johore,

but they denying the Portugueze commerce in their country, aſſociated themſelves with the King of Aarow, (a potent prince in thoſe times), on the iſland of Sumatra, who was engaged in a war with the King of Johore, and with their joint forces obliged him to quit that place, and retire to Johore-lami, which lies at the very point of that promontory, within one degree of the equator. There is a noble ſpacious river that accommodates Johore-lami.

As ſoon as the King of Johore was gone, the Portugueze began to fortify, and encompaſſed a little hill with a ſtone wall, about a mile round, in which they built a city, and called it Malacca, and by the conveniency of its ſituation, in a few years it became the greateſt mart in India; however, the King of Johore was fain to make a peace with the Portugueze, allowing them their fort, and as much ground round it as their cannon could fling a ſhot, and ſo they became friends; but the King of Johore invaded the King of Aarow's dominions, with a numerous fleet of gallies, and in a ſhort time forced him to crave aid from the Portugueze, who never uſed to deceive their allies but when they truſted to them, ſo the King of Aarow loſt his country.

Malacca, a place of ſmall account, in a ſhort time became famous all over India and Europe, lying almoſt in the centre of trade, brought thither by ſhipping from the rich kingdoms of Japon, China, Formoſa, Luconia, Tonquin, Couchin-china, Cambodia, and Siam, beſides what Johore produced, and Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Macaſſer, Banda, Amboina, and Ternate iſlands, that produce many valuable commodities.

As the Portugueze grew great and rich, they grew alſo inſolent, and ſo continued abuſing and affronting their neighbours till about the year 1660, the Dutch had a war with Portugal, on account of ſome loſſes the Dutch ſuſtained in Brazil.

The Dutch ſent many ſhips and good forces to India, to be equal with the Portugueze, for their driving the Dutch out of Brazil; and how their arms flouriſhed on the coaſts of Malabar and Zeloan, I have obſerved already in my firſt volume, and ſo I begin again at Malacca.

The Dutch coming into the ſtreights of Malacca from Batavia, with a ſtrong fleet and a land-army on board of it, ſtruck up an alliance with the King of Johore, offenſive and defenſive, as long as the ſun and moon gave light to this world; for I ſaw the treaty, and heard it read, with thoſe expreſſions in it: on which the King of Johore aſſiſted the Dutch with 20,000 men, and laid ſiege to the fort by land, while the Dutch diſtreſſed it by ſea; and yet for all that the fleet and army could do, they could not have taken it by force, but by reducing them by famine, which would have taken up a great deal of time, ſo what they could not effect by force, they did by fraud.

They heard that the Portugueze governor was a ſordid avaricious fellow, and ill beloved by the garriſon, ſo the Dutch, by ſecret conveyances, tampered with him by letters, promiſing him mountains of gold if he would contribute towards their gaining the fort. At length the price was ſet at 80,000 pieces of eight, to be the reward of his treachery, and to be ſafely tranſported to Batavia in their fleet, and be made a free denizon there. So he ſent ſecret orders to the Dutch to make an attack on the eaſt-ſide of the fort, and he would act his part, which was accordingly done.

He thereupon called a council, and told them he had a mind to circumvent the Dutch, by letting them come cloſe to the fort walls, and then to fire briſkly on them from all quarters, and deſtroy them at once, ſo the Dutch made their approaches without moleſtation, and placed their ladders. The garriſon ſent meſſage after meſſage to acquaint the governor of the danger they were in, for want of orders to fire and ſally out on the Dutch, as was agreed on in council, but he delayed ſo long till the Dutch got into the fort, and drove the guard from the eaſt gate, which they ſoon opened to receive the reſt

of the army, who, as ſoon as they were entered, gave quarters to none that were in arms, and marching towards the governor's houſe, where he thought himſelf ſecure by the treaty, they forthwith diſpatched him to ſave the fourſcore thouſand dollars.

The maſter-gunner being poſted on a large baſtion, whoſe walls are waſhed by the ſea at high-water, with about 100 Portugueze along with him, would by no means yield till he had capitulated with the Dutch for fair quarter for himſelf and his company, which the Dutch would not adhere to, ſo that for two days he gallantly maintained his poſt. At laſt, by continual fatigue, and loſs of his men, he was obliged to yield to fate, and great ſuperiority of numbers, and died like an hero, with his ſword in his hand; and there is a common report at Malacca ſtill, that the night after the anniverſary day of his death, his genius is ſeen on that baſtion: and I was informed by a Dutch governor at Malacca, that on that night no ſentinels are ſet there, for that ſeveral have found the effects of his fury, by being thrown over the wall, and have been either killed or maimed by the fall.

The Portugueze, to ſhew their zeal to religion, while they were maſters of Malacca, had no leſs than three churches and a chapel within the fort, and one without, but now there is but one church and a chapel within, and none without. That which the Dutch now uſe for their worſhip, ſtands conſpicuouſly on the top of the hill, and may be ſeen up or down the Streights at a good diſtance, and a flag-ſtaff is placed on the ſteeple, on which a flag is hoiſted on the ſight of any ſhip.

The fort is both large and ſtrong, the ſea waſhing the walls of one third part of it, and a deep, rapid, but narrow river, the weſt-ſide of it, and a broad deep ditch the reſt of it. The governor's houſe is both beautiful and convenient, and there are ſeveral other good houſes in the fort, and in the town without the fort, but the road for ſhipping is at too great a diſtance to be defended by the fort, the ſhallowneſs of the ſea obliging them to lie above a league off, which is a very great inconveniency. For in 1709, the French coming into the Streights with a ſquadron of three or four ſail, ſeeing a large ſhip in the road, newly arrived from Japon, ſtood into the road, and had certainly carried her out, if the wind had not failed them about muſket ſhot from her.

At Malacca, the Streights are not above four leagues broad; for though the oppoſite ſhore on Sumatra is very low, yet it may eaſily be ſeen in a clear day, which is the reaſon that the ſea is always as ſmooth as a mill-pond, except when it is ruffled with ſqualls of wind, which ſeldom come without lightnings, thunder, and rain: and though they come with great violence, yet they are ſoon over, not often exceeding an hour.

The country produces nothing for a foreign market, but a little tin and elephants teeth, but ſeveral excellent fruits and roots for the uſe of the inhabitants, and ſtrangers who call there for refreſhments. The Malacca pine-apple is accounted the beſt in the world, for in other parts, if they are eaten to a ſmall exceſs, they are apt to give ſurfeits, but thoſe of Malacca never offend the ſtomach. The mangoſtane is a delicious fruit, almoſt in the ſhape of an apple, the ſkin is thick and red; being dried it is a good aſtringent. The kernels (if I may ſo call them) are like cloves of garlic, of a very agreeable taſte, but very cold. The ramboſtan is a fruit about the bigneſs of a walnut, with a tough ſkin, beſet with capillaments; within the ſkin is a very ſavoury pulp. The durean is another excellent fruit, but offenſive to ſome people's noſes, for it ſmells very like human excrements, but when once taſted, the ſmell vaniſhes. The ſkin is thick and yellow, and within is a pulp like thick cream in colour and conſiſtence, but more delicious in taſte. The pulp or meat is very hot and nouriſhing, and inſtead of ſurfeiting they fortify the ſtomach, and are a great incentive to wantonneſs. They have cocoa-nuts in plenty, and ſome grow in marſhes that are overflown with the ſea in ſpring-tides.

Their liquor and kernel partake of the qualities of the ground they grow in, being exceeding ſalt. I never ſaw any cocoa-nuts grow in ſalt grounds but there, and ſome are ſo large that the ſhell will hold more than an Engliſh quart pot. They have alſo plenty of lemons, oranges, limes, ſugar-canes, and mangoes. They have a ſpecies of mango, called by the Dutch a ſtinker, which is very offenſive both to the ſmell and taſte, and conſequently of little uſe. There is little corn or pulſe grows in this country but what is nouriſhed in gardens.

Sheep and bullocks are ſcarce and dear, but ſwine's fleſh, poultry, and fiſh, pretty plentiful, and reaſonably cheap, conſidering it is a Dutch colony, whoſe exceſſive taxes make every thing dear, and diſcourage the poor from improving, ſince poverty ſecures them from farther oppreſſion. Their corn comes all from Java, Siam, or Cambodia, but the freight makes it come out dear to what it is in other places, whoſe native ground produces it.

I will paſs by their court of juſtice, becauſe it hardly deſerves the name, ſince ſtrangers are excluded from the common laws of humanity, wherein I am able to give many inſtances, but I voluntarily paſs by particularities till another time.

There is a very high mountain to the north-eaſtward of Malacca, that ſends forth ſeveral rivers, of which that of Malacca is one, and all of them have ſmall quantities of gold duſt found in their channels. The inland inhabitants called Monacaboes, are a barbarous ſavage people, whoſe greateſt pleaſure is in doing miſchief to their neighbours, which is the greateſt reaſon why the peaſants about Malacca ſow no grain but what is incloſed in gardens with thick ſet prickly hedges, or deep ditches; for when their grain is ripe in the open plains, the Monacaboes never fail of putting fire to it, in order to conſume it. They are much whiter than their neighbouring Malayas who inhabit the low grounds, and the Kings of Johore, whoſe ſubjects they are, or at leaſt ought to be, could never civilize them.

Their religion is a complex of Mahometiſm and Paganiſm, and they have the character of great ſorcerers, who by their ſpells can tame wild tigers, and make them carry them whither they order them, on their backs. Once they had a mind to try their art on the town of Malacca, but were unſucceſsful in their enterprize, according to common report there. For one of their chief wizards aſſured them that neither gun, ſword, nor lance, ſhould have power to hurt them, if they ſhould attempt the town, whoſe defence conſiſts only in a ſlight gate, with a little round baſtion, with five or ſix great guns mounted on it. So on the opinion of their doctors' art, a great number drew together, and being armed with lance and croſs, their common weapons, marched without order or fear towards the gate. When they came near enough, the gunner of the baſtion pointed ſome guns, and ſet fire to the priming, but that flaſhed, and the guns would not diſcharge, which diſcouraged the guard at the gate, but a Malaya ſoldier, who underſtood ſome of the Monacaboes art, called for a piece of pork, with which he beſmeared the mouths of the cannon, while the gunner renewed the priming, and fire being put to them, the cannon went off, and did good execution, which ſo frightened the Monacaboes, that they betook themſelves to flight, and never attempted to diſturb the town ſince.

I ſaw ſtrange cures performed by a Malaya doctor at Malacca. One of them was on a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ſecond ſupercargo of a Scots ſhip called the Speedwell, which was loſt near Malacca. After the ſhip was loſt, the firſt ſupercargo took an houſe near the town, by the ſea-ſide, to put their cargo and ſtores in that were ſaved, but eleven cheſts of treaſure and ſome fine goods were lodged in one of the Dutch Company's warehouſes in the fort, which had three locks on its door. The governor had

Drawn by E. H. Locker Esq.r F.S.A.

Engraved by George Cooke.

Draw-Bridge at Malacca.

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had one key, and each of the ſupercargoes one. A common ſtrumpet, called Mrs. Kennedy, who at that time was married to an Iriſh pirate of that name, and kept an ordinary in Malacca, gave the firſt ſupercargo a philtre that made him doat on her almoſt to diſtraction. He was never eaſy out of her company while awake, and in his ſleep he called her by name. When ſhe had got him ſo far in the nooſe, ſhe pretended ſhe had great need of money, and would fain have borrowed a cheſt of one thouſand pounds ſterling of the Scots Company's money. The bewitched ſupercargo could deny her nothing ſhe aſked for, and promiſed, that if he could bring his ſecond to conſent, ſhe ſhould have it, but that conſent could be got on no terms, though the firſt proffered to be accountable to their maſters for that ſum, and he acquainting her with the impoſſibility of getting that conſent, ſhe contrived a way to remove the ſecond by poiſon, and going to a female friend of hers, who was well acquainted with the myſtery of poiſoning, procured a doſe ſo ſmall, that ſhe could drop it in his broth or drink without his perceiving it; and accordingly, ſhe took an opportunity to dine with them one day when they had broth at table, and in ſerving the broth about, ſhe dropped it among his. The ſame night it began to operate by gripings and ſweating, and he being bred a ſurgeon, took ſome medicines to correct the gripings, which in ſome meaſure the medicine did, but he loſt his appetite, and his excrements came from him as black as ink. In the interim a ſhip arrived from Surat, bound to China, wherein the chief ſupercargo was obliged to embark with the Company's ſtock, and left the ſecond at Malacca, to take care of what was left there. A few days after the Surat ſhip ſailed, I arrived at Malacca, and found the ſecond ſupercargo in a deplorable condition.

He finding all medicines ineffectual, began to fear poiſon, and ſent for the Dutch doctor of phyſick to conſult him, who, on ſight of his excrements, told him plainly that he was poiſoned, and adviſed him to ſend for a noted Malaya doctor, who lived at a place called Batantiga, about four miles to the north-weſt of Malacca, which he forthwith did, and when the doctor came, he felt his pulſe, and immediately told that he was poiſoned, and that if he could not tell what poiſon he had taken, his cure was very deſperate and uncertain. I adviſed my friend to let old Beelzebub (for he was a man, or walking ſhadow, of a diſmal aſpect, near an hundred years old) take him into his care. My friend took my advice, and complimented the doctor with five Japon cupangs, or fifty Dutch dollars. Old Eſculapius laughed when he received the preſent, but could not ſhew one tooth, but promiſed his utmoſt endeavours to cure him. He aſked my friend if he ſuſpected any body particularly, who might owe him a grudge. He anſwered, none but Mrs. Kennedy, or ſome of her companions. The doctor called for a tea-cup, and ſome freſh limes, which were brought to him. He turned all out of the room but myſelf and his patient, and cut ſome limes, and ſqueezed their juice into the tea-cup till it was full. He then muttered ſome unintelligible words, keeping his right hand moving over the cup for the ſpace of three or four minutes, and finding his conjuration was not ſatisfactory, he ſhaked his old head, and looked dejected. He then muttered ſome other words with an higher voice, keeping his hand in motion as before, and in two minutes the juice in the cup ſeemed to boil as if fire had been under it. Then he began to ſmile. I had the curioſity to put my finger into the juice, but it retained its ordinary coldneſs. He then told his patient that his cure was certain, on which he had a promiſe of five cupangs more when the cure was effected. He ordered the patient to ſend a ſervant to Mrs. Kennedy's door, and watch between the hours of ten and twelve, and to obſerve well if there was any unuſual noiſe in her houſe between thoſe hours, and ſo took his leave with a contented countenance. At ten my friend ſent a ſervant according to direction, and he and I ſat diſcourſing about what we had

had obſerved in the doctor's actions towards effecting the cure. About eleven the ſpy came and told us that Mrs. Kennedy had run ſtark mad, making an hideous noiſe, and ſaid, ſhe had ſeen the devil in the little houſe in the garden, in a monſtrous ſhape and terrible aſpect. She ſoon after grew furiouſly mad, ſcratching and biting every body ſhe could come at, and ſo the family was forced to throw her on a bed, and tie her down to it.

In that fit ſhe continued till about eight in the morning, that the old conjuror came to town, who, upon the advice given him, went directly to viſit her. Upon ſight of him ſhe became calm and ſenſible. He ordered every body out of the room, and aſked her what poiſon ſhe had given to his patient. She was very loth to tell, and proffered him 500 dollars to forſake his patient, and let the poiſon operate; but he honeſtly refuſed, and aſſured her that the ſame devil that ſhe ſaw in the garden ſhould be her continual companion all her days, and would often make her feel the effects of his power if ſhe did not inſtantly declare what the poiſon was, and from whom ſhe had it. She ſeeing no other remedy, confeſſed where ſhe had the poiſon, but could not tell what it was. The doctor ſent for the old ſchoolmiſtreſs of wickedneſs, and when ſhe came he threatened to torment her alſo, by his humble ſervant the devil, if ſhe did not forthwith declare what poiſon had been given, which ſhe did, and he took away Mrs. Kennedy's companion the devil, and the patient was well enough in eight or ten days, to follow his affairs, but Mrs. Kennedy looked ever after diſturbed, as if continually frightened.

Another ſtrange cure I ſaw him perform on an officer belonging to my ſhip. He was going to ſleep about midnight, and lying down on his bed, was bit in the calf of the leg by a centipee, an inſect with many feet, and very venomous. The pain that the bite cauſed would allow him no reſt. Next day he expected that the venom might have been exhauſted, but in that he was miſtaken, for it grew firſt red by inflammation, and then blue and numbed. I ſent for the doctor aforeſaid, who came on the firſt ſummons. I told him of the accident that had happened, and he ſaid there was no danger. He ſaw the inflamed leg, and kept his hand moving over it, but did not touch it. He mutterred ſome unintelligible words, and ſpit on the place affected, and in five minutes he could walk without pain, though before the cure he could not ſtand without ſomething to ſupport him.

And ſince I have been mentioning the Scots Eaſt India ſhip and her ſupercargoes, I will give a ſmall account of the management of their affairs in India. They arrived at Batavia about the beginning of July 1701, but, being taken up with the pleaſures of the place, loitered away near a month of their time, which had been much better ſpent in proſecuting their voyage to China: however, by the beginning of September they reached the coaſt of China, where, meeting with a tuffoon, or north-eaſt ſtorm, that often blows violently about that ſeaſon, they were forced to bear away for Johore, where they ſtaid about two months, and then came to Malacca, where they had a mind to clean their ſhip's bottom, and to proceed next April or May for China.

The Dutch received them civilly, and gave them leave to lay their ſhip aſhore on an iſland to the weſtward of the town, about two or three miles from the fort, and allowed them to land their cargo and ſtores on the iſland, till their ſhip was made clean, which they had perfected in two ſprings, and bringing the ſhip towards the road again, the captain being on board, ordered to ſteer the ſhip on ſome rocks that lay on the ſhore, and were dry at low water. The third mate, who was the only commanding officer on board, except the captain, told him of the danger he was running into, and begged him to alter his courſe, but the captain curſed him for his impertinent advice, and run the

ſhip

ſhip on the rocks, but the people got a ſmall anchor and an halſer out, and brought her afloat again, but as ſoon as the anchor was weighed, they run her once more on the rocks, and ſhe having a little motion, a rock worked itſelf through her bottom, and there ſhe was loſt without hopes or deſign of being recovered, and with her ended the Scots Eaſt India Company's intereſt in India. Whether the ſhip was loſt by ignorance or deſign, I will not judge, but, in my opinion, it was by deſign, for, as I heard afterwards, the captain and ſupercargoes had taken up round ſums on the bottom of the ſhip, and took that method to pay their debts. I came to Malacca about the beginning of Auguſt, and found the ſecond ſupercargo in the ill ſtate I have already mentioned, with the purſer and the ſupercargo's writer, and eleven men more, who could not get paſſages to countries where they might get employment. I had then a great ſhip and a ſmall one under my command, ſo I entered them all on board my ſhips in the ſame poſts they had on board the Speedwell, and I entered on a ſcheme with the ſecond ſupercargo to carry the Scots Company's effects on board my great ſhip to Scotland, but the firſt ſupercargo, who was, before my arrival, gone to China, and had no mind ever to ſee his native country again, broke our meaſures by rambling through India with his maſter's ſtock. What the Scots Company's cargo was I did not ſee; but the ſupercargoes had a cheſt of glaſs-ware in their own private adventure, the moſt obſcenely ſhameful that ever I ſaw or heard of among merchants. They were Priapuſes of a large ſize, with a ſcrotum big enough to hold an Engliſh pint of liquor, either to addreſs the god Bacchus, or the goddeſs Venus, as ſeemed beſt to their votaries.

I proſecuted my voyage to Surat, and left the Scots ſupercargoes to purſue their maſter's intereſt in getting their affairs in readineſs to get a cargo for Europe, to be carried on board my ſhip according to an agreement made between the ſecond ſupercargo and me; but, inſtead of putting affairs in readineſs, he embarraſſed them, lent ſome of his maſter's ſtock to ſome inſolvent merchants in Amoy in China, and let out ſome on the bottom of the ſhip he took his paſſage on board of, and though that ſhip was ordered by the owners and freighters back to Surat directly, a young gentleman, a ſupercargo, went with her to Bengal, and from thence to Perſia, where the ſhip was ſeized by the owner's orders and ſent to Surat, where I met with the firſt ſupercargo half dead with vexation for his folly, in keeping ſuch a ſtock two years and an half without the leaſt improvement: and what was left in China, was in danger of ever being recovered, though it was afterwards.

At Surat the chief ſupercargo grew very weak, and finding he had not long to ſtay in this world, had a mind to ſettle his affairs here before he went to the other, ſo one day he ſent for me, to adviſe him what he ſhould do with his maſter's effects, if he ſhould die. I aſked him if his accounts were brought forward, and he told me they were, and deſired, that I would take all into my poſſeſſion, and be accountable to the Scots Company, and to remit it home to them, according to the orders they would ſend me about it, but I excuſed myſelf, and would not meddle in their affairs on ſuch weak terms; but I adviſed him to lodge his books and effects in the hands of one Mr. Bernard Weyche, whom I took to be an honeſt and induſtrious gentleman; and ſo he did, and then he died.

He was a gentleman of a very courteous behaviour, and underſtood a ſmall ſword excellently well, but not much verſed in merchandiſe or foreign commerce. The ſecond was a very good ſurgeon, and was maſter of the French language, but underſtood nothing in accounts. The captain, who ſtaid on board of my ſhip above twelve months, had been bred in his youth a driver of cattle from the Highlands of Scotland into

into England. He had a very mean education, and could not tell what he meant either in ſpeaking or writing. He had a brutal courage, and was the huſband of three wives all alive together. He knew nothing either of the theory or practical parts of navigation, and yet had been honoured with a commiſſion for lieutenant in the royal navy of England.

I muſt now leave my long digreſſion, and proceed from Malacca along the coaſt of Malaya, though there are no places of commerce between it and Johore Lami, which is ſometimes the place of that King's reſidence, and has the benefit of a fine deep large river, which admits of two entrances into it. The ſmalleſt is from the weſtward, called by Europeans the Streights of Sincapure, but by the natives Salleta de Brew. It runs along the ſide of Sincapure iſland for five or ſix leagues together, and ends at the great river of Johore.

CHAP. XL. — *Treats of the Dominions of Johore, its ancient and preſent State occaſioned by a Revolution.*

THE territories of Johore reached from Perah to Point Romano, which is the ſouthermoſt promontory on the continent of Aſia, it lying but one degree to the northward of the equator, about three leagues from Johore river, in length about 100 leagues, and in the broadeſt place about 80.

The inhabitants are lazy, indolent, perfidious and cruel. The country is very woody, being daily refreſhed with ſhowers and breezes of wind. It abounds in tin, pepper, elephants teeth, gold, Agala wood and canes, but the inhabitants are ſuch drones, that they ſow very little rice or other grain. And the inland people ſubſiſt moſtly on ſago, the pith of a ſmall twig ſplit and dried in the ſun, and on their fruits which grow all ſeaſons of the year, and roots, which they always have in great plenty, and poultry, which they rear up.

About the ſea-coaſt they feed moſtly on fiſh and rice brought to them from Java, Siam, and Cambodia. The people of induſtry are the Chineſe who inhabit among them in their towns; and there may be about 1000 families of them ſettled in the Johore dominions, beſides a much greater number who drive a foreign trade among them.

In religion they are heretical Mahometans, and are ſupplied with prieſts from Surat; but the Seids are in moſt eſteem among them. They are great lovers of praying and preaching, and frequent their moſques very often, and look very devout; but their practices are the moſt irreligious and immoral of any people I know.

In anno 1695, their King was a youth of twenty years of age, and being viciouſly inclined, was ſo corrupted by adulation and flagitious company, that he became intolerable. I went to Johore Lami at that time, to traffic with his ſubjects, and ſome China-men, with a cargo proper for their turn, and, according to cuſtom, went to compliment His Majeſty with a preſent, in which was a pair of ſcrew-barrelled piſtols. He deſired me to prove them with a ſhot, to try how far it would penetrate a poſt that was at the gate, which I did, and he much admired how ſo little powder ſhould have ſtrength to force a ball ſo far in the wood, and begged ſome powder and ball, which I gave him, and the next time he went abroad he tried on a poor fellow on the ſtreet, how far they could carry a ball into his fleſh, and ſhot him through the ſhoulder.

He was a great Sodomite, and had taken many of his Orankays, or nobles' ſons, by force, into his palace for that abominable ſervice. A Mooriſh merchant, who was a freighter on board my ſhip, had a handſome boy to his ſon, whom the King one day

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The Chalees Satoon at Allahabad

London Published by Messrs Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown Decr 1.1810

Engraved by George Cooke.

The Great Pagoda, at Tanjore.

London Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, Paternoster Row, Aug.1.1810.

ſaw, and would needs have him for a catamite. He threatened the father, that if he did not ſend him with good will, he would have him by force. The poor man had taken an houſe c oſe by our ſhip, and immediately came with his ſon on board, imploring my protection, which I promiſed him. He had not been half an hour on board, till a guard came in a boat to demand him. I would ſuffer none to enter but the officer, and an interpreter for the Portugueze language. The officer told me his errand, and, in an huffing manner, threatened me, if I protected him. I made him no anſwer, but taught him to leap into the river, and bid the interpreter tell the King, that, if he offered the leaſt violence to any that belonged to me, I would fire down his palace about his ears. He had never been contradicted before, much leſs threatened, and he ſent for his Orankays, to know if I was a King or no. They told him that I was on board of my ſhip, and that I would prove a dangerous enemy, if provoked, and begged that His Majeſty would remove to a village about twenty miles up the river, and ſtay till our ſhip was gone; which favour he willingly granted us, and ſo we traded with ſome more ſecurity, but were continually in arms for fear of a ſurprize.

He continued his inſupportable tyranny and brutality for a year or two after I was gone, and his mother, to try if he could be broke off that unnatural cuſtom of converſe with males, perſuaded a beautiful young woman to viſit him, when he was a-bed, which ſhe did, and allured him with her embraces; but he was ſo far from being pleaſed with her converſation, that he called his black guard, and made them break both her arms, for offering to embrace his royal perſon. She cried, and ſaid it was by his mother's order ſhe came, but that was no excuſe.

Next morning he ſent a guard to bring her father's head, but he being an Orankay did not care to part with it, ſo the tyrant took a lance in his hand, and ſware he would have it; but, as he was entering at the door, the Orankay paſſed a long lance through his heart, and ſo made an end of the beaſt.

The kingdom was three years without a king, but inteſtine diſcords daily ariſing, in anno 1700, they choſe another, a couſin-german to him that was killed. His name was Sultan Abdulla Gialil, a prince of great moderation and juſtice, and governed well for eight or nine years, that he held the reins of government in his own hands. Trade flouriſhed all over his dominions, and he was beloved by all his ſubjects; but being of a quiet diſpoſition, and a great bigot to the Mahometan religion, diſpoſed himſelf to prayer and hearing ſermons, and left the management of his government to a younger brother, called Rajah Moudah, a covetous tyrannical prince. The King never came out of his palace, but devoted himſelf wholly to the company of prieſts, who fed his mind with their nonſenſe and cant, and his brother keeping fair with the prieſts, came to oppreſs the people, and keep the King ignorant. I had the honour to be acquainted with him before he was King, and had free acceſs to him when he was King; but his brother never ſuffered me to be alone with him, leſt I ſhould have diſcovered ſome of his evil practices, which I certainly had done, if I could have found an opportunity, and to have forewarned him of the danger he was falling into. In anno 1703, I called at Johore in my way to China, and he treated me very kindly, and made me a preſent of the iſland of Sincapure; but I told him it could be of no uſe to a private perſon, though a proper place for a company to ſettle a colony on, lying in the center of trade, and being accommodated with good rivers and ſafe harbours, ſo conveniently ſituated, that all winds ſerved ſhipping both to go out and come into thoſe rivers. The ſoil is black and fat; and the woods abound in good maſts for ſhipping, and timber for building. I have ſeen large beans growing wild in the woods, not inferior to the beſt

in Europe for taſte and beauty; and ſugar-cane, five or ſix inches round, growing wild alſo.

In 1708, the King's brother perſuaded him to leave Johore Lami, and reſide at Rhio on the iſland of Bintang, about three leagues off the river of Johore, becauſe he thought he could act his tyranny with more ſecurity than on the main continent, and ſo at Rhio he engroſſed all trade in his own hands, buying and ſelling at his own prices, and puniſhing thoſe who dared to ſpeak againſt his arbitrary dealings. At laſt, in 1712, a rebellion broke out, that nothing could ſtop but a revolution, which diſſolved the ſtate into anarchy.

Upon the riſing of the people the tyrant got on board of a galley, with his wives and children, and carried with him above a ton weight of gold, and, without taking leave of his brother, fled to Johore Lami; but finding a ſmall army of Monacaboes (whom the people had invited to their aſſiſtance) had taken their quarters there, he betook himſelf to the woods with his family, and left his galley and gold a prey to them. He knew that there could be no long ſafety in the woods, and deſpairing of mercy from the injured people, made deſperation ſupply the place of courage. He firſt killed his wives and children, but began to heſitate about killing himſelf, but a page of twelve years of age aſked him if he was afraid to die a prince rather than be butchered like a ſlave by ſome villain or ſlave's hand; and that he, though innocent, and who might expect mercy, would ſhew him the way to die, and with that took a creſs, and run himſelf through the body. The tyrant preſently followed the youth's example, and immediately expired; but the Monacaboes coming ſoon after to the tragical place, ſaw what had been done, and found the boy alive, and in his ſenſes. They ſtopped his bleeding wound, and carried him to Johore Lami till his ſtrength returned.

When the King heard of the people's mutiny, and his brother's flight, he came out of his palace, and proffered to ſettle the ſtate in its former tranquillity; and if that could not appeaſe them, he thought nothing elſe could bring them to reaſon but his life, which he would willingly ſacrifice to atone for his mal-adminiſtration.

The people told him, that he was too religious to make a good King, and that he might retire to Pahaung or Trangano, and ſpend his time, but as for Johore and the iſlands between Sumatra and it, they would conſider what to do with them; and ſo gave him ſome veſſels to carry him and his family, with others who would follow his fortune, to Trangano.

On his way thither, he called at Puloaure, Tingi, Piſſang, and Timoon, and the inhatants of thoſe iſlands received him with demonſtrations of love, and promiſed to continue in their duty as his ſubjects. He put his eldeſt ſon, a youth about twenty years of age, aſhore at Pahaung, to keep that country from revolting, and went himſelf to Trangano, where I afterwards had the honour to ſee him; and there I leave him at preſent, and return to thoſe iſlands that lie round his dominions.

CHAP. XLI. — *Gives an Account of the Iſland of Sumatra; its Places of Note in Trade.*

SUMATRA fronts all the coaſt of Malaya, from Quedah to the promontory of Johore, and reaches above 150 leagues farther. It is one of the greateſt iſlands in the world. Atcheen being the moſt conſpicuous place for trade, I will begin with it, and coaſt along the weſt ſide of it, till I come round again to Andraguiry, to the north-weſtward of which river there is little or no commerce.

Atcheen,

Atcheen, for many ages, has been a noted port for trade from Surat, Malabar, Chormondel, Bengal, Pegu and China. It lies at the north-weſt end of the famous Sumatra, and, for many years, was bleſſed with a woman's government. Queen Elizabeth of England ſent the Queen of Atcheen a compliment of ſome Engliſh rarities, among which were ſome braſs guns, with the arms of England on them, and the friendſhip cultivated by the two Queens, procured great indulgences from the Queen of Atcheen, to the Engliſh who traded to her country. About the year 1675, the Dutch made war on her, becauſe ſhe would not permit them to ſettle a factory at Atcheen, or rather, to make her their vaſſal. They ſhut up the port of Atcheen by their ſhipping, and ſtraitened the town for want of proviſions and other neceſſaries, that came yearly from Bengal, but an Engliſh ſhip came from thence with rice and cloth proper for the market; but the Dutch, after their uſual manner, forbad the Engliſh traffic, while they had a war. The maſter of the Engliſh ſhip being afraid of ruin by the loſs of his voyage, ſent advices to the Atcheeners to be ready near the ſhore on a night that he appointed, and he would run his ſhip aſhore in the bay, loaded as ſhe was, and they might have both the corn and cloth, whether the Dutch would or no, which project was put in practice, and had the deſired effect, with the loſs of the ſhip only. This piece of ſervice ſo pleaſed the Queen, that ſhe called a council of her Orankays, and magnifying the Engliſh friendſhip, in a full council declared all Engliſh free of Atcheen, to pay for a ſhip with three maſts 100 tayels, or about 80l. ſterling, as a preſent to the Queen, in lieu of all cuſtoms, let the cargo be never ſo rich, and for a brigantine or ſloop 40 tayels; and that no Engliſh goods ſhould be carried to the cuſtom-houſe, or ſurveyed in their own houſes; and that all Engliſh merchants' houſes were to be reckoned as ſanctuaries to ſuch as could not pay their debts, or had committed any ſlight fault.

This harmony continued till the year 1700, that the Queen died, and a Seid or preacher getting a ſtrong party, was made King, promiſing to do wonders; but, in all my travels, I never found a civil government, with a prieſt at the head of it, proſper long, and ſo it fell out here. The firſt thing of moment he contrived, was to make the Engliſh pay 10 per cent. cuſtom on the goods they imported, which they would not come into, nor would they unlade their goods, but on the old footing.

In May 1702, I arrived there with a great ſhip, and good force, for it was dangerous to traffic by ſea, becauſe of the impediment that the French and the pirates gave to trade in India. I had on board a rich cargo from Surat, and, on my arrival I took the chap at the great river's mouth, according to cuſtom. This chap is a piece of ſilver about eight ounces weight, made in form of a croſs, but the croſs part is very ſhort, that we take with both hands, and put to our forehead, and declare to the officer that brings the chap, that we come on an honeſt deſign to trade, and after that ceremony is over, we go in our boats freely to the town, which ſtands about four miles up the river; but before we take the chap, no boat muſt go on penalty of a fine.

When I came to town, I went to pay my viſit to the Shawbundaar, who is cuſtom-maſter, and common arbitrator of differences ariſing among merchants. Some gentlemen that reſided there, and ſome maſters of ſhips belonging to the Engliſh, accompanied me. I carried my boat's crew, armed with fuzee and bayonet, for my guard. After ſome compliments had paſt between the Shawbundaar and me, he told me, that if I had a mind to trade there, I muſt carry my goods to the cuſtom-houſe, and there to be opened, and 10 per cent. laid by for the King, whether we ſold the reſt there or no. I told him that was a new method that I did not underſtand, and could not come into; but withal adviſed him to take care how their King quarrelled with the Engliſh, who

were as capable to reduce them to ſtraits as the Dutch were, when the Engliſh relieved them. He anſwered me, that they were not afraid of what the Engliſh could do, for their power being divided, they could do nothing but threaten.

I took my leave of him abruptly, and told him that we knew how to fight in defence of our rights and privileges better than how to threaten. There were three Engliſh veſſels lying in the river, which had paid their cuſtoms and ſold their cargoes at under rates, and two merchants that reſided at Atcheen. We all dined together, and, after dinner, held a conſultation how to behave in this affair, that affected our merchants in general, who traded thither. At laſt it was agreed, that I ſhould aſſiſt the merchants in getting their effects off on board of my ſhip, and to get their veſſels out of the river, by the aſſiſtance of my boats and men, and then to ſhut up the port, all which was done in one day and a night. I then ſent a linguiſt to tell the Shawbundaar, that ſince the Engliſh were denied trade at their port, we forbade trade to any other nation, and deſired that no boats might paſs out of their rivers, either to trade or fiſh, on their peril. They continued quiet two days, and on the third they ſent ſome boats off, from a ſandy bay about three miles from our ſhip. I ſent two boats well manned to ſeize their nets, but as ſoon as they perceived my boats, they ran theirs aſhore, and took out what was in them; and as my boats were rowing near the ſhore within a mile of my ſhip, about 40 or 50 muſkets were fired on them out of ſome buſhes that grow thick, a little way from the ſtrand. My boats fired in their turn at the place where they ſaw the ſmoke, and I made a ſignal to bring them aboard again, and found only two of my men ſlightly wounded.

The ſame evening we had advice, that they were about mounting three culverins that lay in a little fort on the river's ſide, as we go to town. I immediately ordered my armourer to get about 100 ſhort ſpikes of ſeveral ſizes, and harden them well, and carried them in my boat, which I double manned, and coming into the river, we eſpied a great number of men in the fort. I rowed directly towards it, and they within expecting to have a meſſage to carry to the King, ſtood gazing till we came cloſe to the wall, and then we ſaluted them with a ſhower of twenty or thirty granadoes, that ſo frightened them, that happy was he who got firſt away. We then entered the fort, and found ſome wounded men in it. We preſently ſpiked up the vents of the guns, and left them, and came at our leiſure aboard again.

A day or two after, as my boat was rowing along the ſhore, towards a praw that was coming in towards the ſmall river, they again fired out of their buſhes. I had forty-two guns mounted on my ſhip, and bringing my broadſide to bear, I got five-and-twenty on that ſide, and pointing them well among the trees and buſhes where we obſerved the ſmoke to ariſe, we gave them a volley of great ſhot in return of their volley of ſmall. By report our great ſhot did ſome execution, but particularly on the poor fiſhers, who had a village a little within the woods, that we did not ſee.

This ſtoppage of trade and fiſhing, and killing and wounding the people, made a great noiſe among the poorer ſort, having in nine days time found more of the effects of hoſtility, than ever they did in their lives before, and ſo gathering together in great numbers, went in a body to the palace, threatening vengeance on the cauſers of their calamity, and if the Engliſh were not reſtored to their ancient privileges, they would have a woman to reign again.

A nephew of the deceaſed Queen lived then privately at Pedier, a town about ſeven leagues off. Some Orankayas who were diſcontented with the new King's government, firſt becauſe he was a foreigner, and that the affairs of ſtate were ill managed, and that a war with the Engliſh was impending, wrote to that gentleman, that if he would come

to them with a ſmall force, they would raiſe a party to dethrone him that reigned, and he might have a fair chance to ſucceed him.

However, the reigning King, not expecting that his new cuſtoms would meet with ſuch oppoſition, ſent an Orankaya aboard of my ſhip, which the linguiſt, to know why we made war on him. We replied that he was the aggreſſor, by robbing us of our juſt rights and privileges, acquired by our ſervices, and in firing at our boats, ſo we wondered that the King could aſk a reaſon of us. The Orankaya told us, that he had brought a power to make up all differences on the King's part, but that we muſt conſent to ſome new things, as that we ſhould pay no cuſtoms, but a preſent as before, but that our goods muſt go to the cuſtom-houſe, and there to be opened, and was going on; but I interrupted him, and told him he had demanded more than could be granted already, ſo he might ſave himſelf the trouble of making farther demands. When he found that nothing new could be obtained, he ſaid he would carry our anſwer to the King, which he did; and the ſame evening, proclamation was cried through the ſtreets, that the Engliſh might again repair to their reſpective houſes, and trade on the old foundation.

Next day I went to wait on the Shawbundaar, but carried a guard of twenty Europeans. He aſked me why I carried ſo many armed men in my company. I told him that I underſtood there were like to be commotions in the country, and I was reſolved to be neuter, and would not be inſulted by either party. He begged that I would land ſome bales of goods, to ſhew that we were reconciled, which I did, to the no ſmall joy of the town's people, who were quite tired with their new King's experiments.

But the clamours of the people did not ceaſe. For when they had news of their deceaſed Queen's nephews raiſing forces to come to Atcheen, the diſorders of the ſtate increaſed, but I left them, and purſued my voyage to Malacca and Johore, where I met with the Scots ſecond ſupercargo, as is before mentioned.

Atcheen affords nothing of its own product fit for export, but gold duſt, which they have pretty plentiful, and of the fineſt touch of any in thoſe parts, it being two per cent. better than Andra-ghiry or Pahaung gold, and is equal in touch to our Guinea. They do not dig for it, but catch it in gullies, or little rivulets, as it waſhes off the mountains, and one particularly, a very high mountain in form of a pyramid, called Gold Mount, which by report furniſhes them yearly with above 1000 pounds weight.

Elephants are very plentiful at Atcheen, and conſequently their teeth, which the Surat merchants buy up for their markets. In 1702, I ſaw one who had been kept there above 100 years, but by report, was then 300 years old, he was about eleven feet high, and had a vaſt deal of ſagacity.

When any young male elephant grows unruly, which they uſually do in rutting time, and break their fetters and go aſtray, this old elephant is immediately ſent out, and following the track of his feet, will find him out, and bring him back to his ſtable, either by fair or foul means.

At Atcheen, they have a ſmall coin of leaden money called caſh, from twelve to ſixteen hundred of them goes to one mace, or maſſcie. The maſſcie is a ſmall gold coin of fourteen-pence current, but in value about twelve-pence Engliſh. I have taken a gold maſſcie, and put it with a maſſcie of caſh, and thrown them into a puddle of water, and the elephant would find out the gold among the lead, by the nice feeling of his proboſcis.

There is a very comical piece of revenge he took on a tailor in anno 1692. A ſhip called the Dorothy, commanded by Captain Thwaits, called at Atcheen for refreſhments in her way from England to Bengal, and two Engliſh gentlemen reſiding then at Atcheen,

Atcheen, went on board to furniſh themſelves with what European neceſſaries they had occaſion for; and, amongſt other things, they bought ſome Norwich ſtuffs for clothes, and there being no Engliſh tailor to be had, they employed a Surat tailor, who kept a ſhop on the Bazaar, or great market-place, and had generally half a dozen, or half a ſcore workmen to ſew in his ſhop. It was the old elephant's cuſtom to reach in his trunk at doors and windows as he paſſed along the ſide of a ſtreet, begging decayed fruits or roots, which the inhabitants generally gave him.

As he was one morning going to the river to be waſhed, with his carnack, or rider on his back, he chanced to put his trunk in at the tailor's window, and the tailor pricked him with his needle, inſtead of giving an alms. The elephant ſeemed to take no notice of the affront, but went calmly on to the river, and was waſhed, and being done with waſhing, troubled the water with one of his fore feet, and then ſucked up a good quantity of that dirty water into his trunk, and paſſing unconcernedly along the ſame ſide of the ſtreet where the tailor's ſhop was, he put in his trunk at the window, and blew his noſe on the tailor with ſuch a force and quantity of water, that the poor tailor and his life-guard, were blown off the table they wrought on, almoſt frightened out of their ſenſes, but the Engliſh gentlemen had their clothes ſpoiled by the elephant's comical, but innocent revenge.

No place in the world puniſhes theft with greater ſeverity than Atcheen, and yet robberies and murders are more frequent there than in any other place. For the firſt fault, if the theft does not amount to a tayel value, it is but the loſs of an hand, or a foot, and the criminal may chooſe which he will part with; and if caught a ſecond time, the ſame puniſhment and loſs is uſed, but the third time, or if they ſteal five tayel in value, that crime entitles them to fouling, or impaling alive. When their hand or foot is to be cut off, they have a block with a broad hatchet fixed in it, with the edge upwards, on which the limb is laid, and ſtruck on with a wooden mallet, till the amputation is made, and they have an hollow bamboo, or Indian cane, ready to put the ſtump in, and ſtopped about with rags or moſs, to keep the blood from coming out, and are ſet in a conſpicuous place, for travellers to gaze on, who generally beſtow a little ſpittle in a pot, being what is produced by the maſtication of beetel, and that ſerves them inſtead of ſalve to cure their wounds.

Thoſe who ſuffer the penalty of the law, who have no families in the town, are baniſhed to Pullo-wey, an iſland about four leagues to the north-eaſtward of Atcheen, and there they cultivate the ground, and breed poultry for the uſe of the town; and I have heard that there are about five hundred of thoſe banditti inhabitants on it. There is another iſland that lies about three leagues to the northward of Pullo-wey, called Pullo-rondo. It is uninhabited, and ſends forth a reef of rocks towards Pullo-wey, above one-third part of the channel. Between them and Pullo-gomus is a cluſter of high mountainous and rocky iſlands, to the north-weſtward of Atcheen, and their end runs to ſeven leagues diſtance from the road. There is no danger lying above a mile off them; and between Atcheen Head, an high ſteep promontory, and the ſouth end of Gomus iſlands, there are two channels to come from the weſtward into the road. The ſmalleſt, which is not a quarter of a mile broad, has no danger in it, but the broadeſt, which is above two miles broad, is peſtered with rocks half way over from Gomus iſlands.

The vallies about Atcheen produce excellent fruits, and the beſt mangoſtanes in the world grow there. The air is very ſalutary, and the river waters are excellent for bathing. Waſhing in it before ſun-riſing, and after ſetting, has cured inveterate fluxes; and I have been told, that frequent bathing has cured the pox.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII. — *Gives an Account of the Iſlands and trading Ports on the Weſt Coaſt of Sumatra.*

AND now I leave Atcheen, and purſue my travels along the weſt coaſt of Sumatra. Labon is the firſt place noted for gold duſt and camphire, but has no commerce with ſtrangers. Hog Iſland lies oppoſite to it, about ten leagues off. This iſland takes its name from the great numbers of wild hogs on it, who are the only inhabitants, as Cocoa Iſland, cloſe to it, takes its name from the great numbers of cocoa-nut trees growing on it.

Baros is the next place that abounds in gold, camphire, and benzoin, but admits of no foreign commerce. It lies within the ſouth end of Hog's Iſland, about the ſame diſtance from it that Labon is. This place ſets a boundary to the kingdom of Atcheen.

Ayerbangie is the next place of notice. It produces gold and pepper, it lies about one degree to the northward of the equator, and has the advantage of a good ſafe harbour, but it is little frequented, becauſe of the treachery of the natives, who make ſmall account of murdering ſtrangers, if they can but get the leaſt advantage by it. The harbour lies in a ſmall but deep bay, and three ſmall iſlands lying before it, make it a moſt excellent harbour; and the channels between the iſlands, and between the ſhore and the iſlands, are clear of danger. The north end of Pullo-nayas lies about twenty leagues without it. The inhabitants of that iſland prove the beſt ſlaves in India, and are ſold at an higher price in the Atcheen market than any others.

Padang is about twenty leagues to the ſouthward of the equator, where the Dutch have a colony and a ſtrong fort to defend it from the inſults of the natives. It coſt the Dutch many men, and much treaſure before they could force a ſettlement there, though at laſt they gained their point; but being a country that produces only gold and pepper, the profits can hardly bear the charge. The iſland of Good Fortune lies about 20 leagues without it.

Indrapura is the next, and lies about 50 leagues to the ſouthward of the equator. It was formerly an Engliſh factory, but the Dutch inſulted it in King William's war with France, and it has made but a ſorry figure in trade ſince. Its commodity is only pepper, but it affords great plenty of it, and very cheap. The iſland of Naſaw lies about 15 leagues without it.

Bencolon is an Engliſh colony, but the European inhabitants not very numerous. About the year 1690, the Eaſt India Company built a fort there, and called it York Fort, but brick or ſtone walls in that country cannot long continue firm, becauſe concuſſions of the earth are ſo frequent by earthquakes, that ſolid walls are rent by the ſhaking of their foundations. It has the conveniency of a river to bring their pepper out of the inland countries, but great inconveniencies in ſhipping it off on board the ſhips, for there is a dangerous bar at the river's mouth, which has proved fatal to many poor Engliſhmen. The road for ſhipping is alſo inconvenient; for in the ſouth-weſt monſoons, there being nothing to keep the great ſwell of rolling ſeas off them, but a ſmall iſland, called Rat Iſland, the ſhips are ever in a violent motion while that monſoon laſts.

The inland princes are often at variance among themſelves, and ſometimes are troubleſome to the trade of our colony, but as their wars are ſhort, the Engliſh are in little danger by them. In the year 1693, there was a great mortality in the colony, the governor and his council all died in a ſhort time, after one another, and one Mr. Sowdon being the eldeſt factor, had his reſidence at Prayman, or Priaman, a ſubordinate factory

factory to Bencolon, being called to the government of the colony, but not very fit for that charge, becauſe of his intemperate drinking, it fortuned in his ſhort reign, that four princes differed, and rather than run into acts of hoſtility, referred their differences to the arbitrament of the Engliſh governor, and came to the fort with their plea. Mr. Sowdon ſoon determined their differences in favour of the two that complained; and becauſe the others ſeemed diſſatisfied with his determination, ordered both their heads to be ſtruck off, which ended their diſputes effectually, and made them afterwards to make up differences among themſelves, without troubling the Engliſh with their contentions and impertinent quarrels, but Governor Sowdon was ſent for to Fort St. George, and another ſent in his place leſs ſanguine.

And ever ſince that time there has been a ſucceſſion of moderate governors, and ſome have been guilty of as much temerity the other way. For in anno 1719, the then governor, having ſome diſputes with ſome of the natives, was ſomewhat fearful of them. On a feſtival day, in firing guns, a wad from one of them ſet fire to an houſe thatched with reeds, and ſeveral others contiguous to it took fire from it, ſo that it ſpread through the market place. The governor believing it to be done maliciouſly by the natives, left the fort precipitantly, and got on board of a ſhip in the road, leaving ſome cheſts of money, and all the artillery, arms, ammunition, and other effects of his maſters, behind him; and his garriſon, following their leader, left their poſts, and got aboard alſo.

The natives being ſurpriſed with the ſudden departure of the Engliſh, went into the fort, and took what they had moſt occaſion for; but ſome Chineſe merchants, who had ſettled at Bencolon, being alſo frightened, embarked on their veſſels, and diſperſed themſelves in places where they thought they might be moſt ſecure.

The chief merchant of the Chineſe, who is generally called the China Captain, in the places where the Chineſe have trade, went to Batavia to ſome relations he had there, but the Dutch, according to their wonted hoſpitality in India, puniſhed him as a criminal, and taught him to make lime and carry ſtones the remnant of his days, for daring to ſettle among the Engliſh. Some of the Chineſe I ſaw the ſame year at Trangano in Johore, who gave me this account. Wherever theſe poor Chineſe came, in places where the Dutch had power, they were as heartily perſecuted as a poor Proteſtant is that takes ſanctuary in a country where the holy, charitable, zealous Romiſh clergy have power.

The natives were almoſt ruined by the Engliſh deſertion. For as their trade lay all on their pepper, none came to buy it, and their regret being known at Fort St. George, there was a new governor ſent back with a new garriſon, to take poſſeſſion again of their own fort. What the Company loſt by that unaccountable piece of temerity, I know not, but they gained very little credit by it.

The country above Bencolon is mountainous and woody, and I have heard that there are many volcanoes in this iſland; but whatever may be the cauſe, the air is full of malignant vapours, and the mountains are continually clothed with thick heavy clouds, that break out in lightning, thunder, rain, and ſhort-lived ſtorms. Their food is not fit for every ſtomach. Tame buffalo may be had, but no cow-beef. Poultry are ſcarce and dear, and ſo is fiſh, but ſome ſorts of fruits are pretty plentiful; however, the gentlemen there live as merrily, though not ſo long, as in other places, bleſſed with plenty and ſo ſociable, that they leave their eſtates to the longeſt liver.

Sillebar lies but four leagues to the ſouth-eaſtward of Bencolon, and has a fine convenient harbour to ſhelter ſhipping from all dangers cauſed by ſtorms, but the freſh water is bad, and if drunk any conſiderable time, cauſes gripings and fluxes, but it

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wants a river to bring pepper from the inland countries. There is no place of commerce or note between Sillebar and Lampoun Point, which is the ſouthwardmoſt point on Sumatra, nor any thing remarkable on the ſea-ſhore, but a ſmall village called Piſſangen, which has a ſmall low iſland lying a little way off it, and there is above 40 fathoms deep within an Engliſh mile of the ſhore. And the iſland of Engano lies in the offing, about 20 leagues from it. It is an iſland about three leagues long, uninhabited, very ſmooth, without mountains, and may be ſeen nine or ten leagues off.

Lampoun lies twenty leagues from the point within the Streights of Sunda, at the bottom of a deep bay. The Engliſh had a good pepper factory there, but it being a part of the King of Bantam's dominions, that factory was loſt when the Dutch compelled the Engliſh to leave Bantam, in anno 1683, and what Lampoun produces, is carried to them at Bantam.

CHAP. XLIII. — *Treats of the Eaſt Side of Sumatra, with the adjacent Iſlands, their Product, Commerce, and Cuſtoms.*

THERE are no other places of note on that part of the Sumatra coaſt, till we come to Pullambam, which lies oppoſite to the north-weſt point of the iſland of Banka, about four leagues diſtant from it. Pullambam is a Dutch factory that brings them great quantities of pepper, being under contract with the King of Pullambam, and other inland princes, to take off all their pepper at a certain price; I think it is for 10 pieces of eight, or 50 ſhillings ſterling a bahaar, of 400 pounds Engliſh ſuttle weight, one-half to be paid in money, and the other half in cloth. The cloth part the Company pays at 70 per cent. on the prime coſt; but all other nations are debarred commerce there, except the Chineſe, and by their means the Engliſh come in for a ſhare of their pepper, as our ſhips paſs through the Streights of Banka.

Pullambam lies about eight leagues from the ſea, on the banks of a large river, which divides itſelf into ſeveral branches, and they diſembogue at four mouths into the ſea. The Dutch keep two ſmall ſloops cruiſing about thoſe mouths of the river, to prevent ſmuggling, but I and many others have found ways and means to lade our ſhips full with pepper, notwithſtanding the ſtrict guard. An hundred pounds to the King, and as much to the Dutch chief, make a cargo of a thouſand bahaars eaſily procured.

The Pullambam pepper is very foul, inſomuch, that we ſeldom find leſs than 10 or 12 per cent. garblage, but then we buy it for nine pieces of eight a bahaar. The Dutch lade off about 3000 tons per annum, from this place, and the Chineſe and natives lade off as much more. The natives are obliged to carry theirs to Batavia, and ſell to the Dutch Company, but if they meet with a market by the way, they will embrace it; for the Company's payment being moſt in cloth at high rates, they are not fond of trading with them.

The Dutch Company formerly drove a good trade in ophium, at Pullambam, which (like French claret and brandy) drew much ready caſh out of his country, as thoſe do out of ours, but in anno 1708, the King ordered only the importation of three cheſts, each containing about 160 pounds weight, and if ſmugglers were detected, they paid their goods and lives for their diſobedience.

The iſland of Banka lying ſo near the coaſt of Pullambam, I will take a view of it as I paſs along. It is about 50 leagues long, and 16 broad, ſome places being broader, and ſome narrower. For about 30 leagues it faces the Sumatra coaſt, keeping between three and ſix leagues diſtant. The entrance from the ſouthward being fartheſt diſtant

in the Streights of Banka, at the mouth of which, is the iſland of Lucipara, a ſmall barren iſland, which ſends forth ſand banks almoſt three leagues towards the coaſt of Sumatra. And within a mile of that ſhore, where the channel is deepeſt, there are but four fathoms and an half water, but the bottom is ſoft.

About 12 leagues from the north end is the place of the King's reſidence. In 1710, a ſon of the King of Pullambam was King, and a fire accidentally happening in a village, when the fire was extinguiſhed, they chanced to find much melted metal under the rubbiſh, which proved to be tin. The King ordered his people to dig a little into the ground, and they found plenty of ore, which he now reaps a good advantage by. The Dutch ſent from Batavia for leave to ſettle a factory there, but could not obtain that favour, the King declaring that his country ſhould be free for all nations to trade in.

The natives of the iſland are, as moſt other Malayas, very treacherous, inhuman, and inhoſpitable to ſtrangers, who have the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked on that coaſt. I knew one Captain Pelling, who belonged to ſome gentlemen of Atcheen, and had the misfortune to be ſhipwrecked there, and they cut him off and all his crew, except two boys, who were made ſlaves: but I know a very honeſt ingenious gentleman now alive in England, who had better fortune; for after his ſhip was loſt in the Streights of Banka, he and his men directed their courſe to Pullambam, where a very hoſpitable Dutch gentleman, who fortuned to be chief of the Dutch affairs at that time, gave them a kind reception, and procured them paſſage for Batavia, where ſome years after, I was in company with the hoſt and gueſt together.

Banka has a very foul coaſt for ſix leagues within Monapin Point, which is the north-weſt cape-land on the iſland; and over that cape there is an high mountain called Monapin hill. On the north-eaſt coaſt of the iſland there are ſo many banks and rocks under water, that navigation is very precarious, and none but panjalangs and praws (ſmall veſſels) venture to go that tract; beſides, there are no places of commerce on the north-eaſt ſide of Banka, to invite a ſtranger by the proſpect of gain, and ſo I return back to the coaſt of Sumatra again, without taking notice of the little pepper and dammar that are the product of Banka.

From Pullambam there are no places of commerce on the coaſt, till we come to Jambee, which is about 100 Engliſh miles. Here formerly the Engliſh had a factory on an iſland near its river's mouth, called Barella; but the impediments their trade met with from the Dutch, who had a factory in the country up the river, made the Engliſh Company withdraw. The Dutch kept a little factory at Jambee till 1710, and then withdrew alſo. That country produces only pepper and canes; and, by the lazineſs of the inhabitants, there is hardly any of them procurable.

The iſland Lingen lies under the equator, about 20 leagues from Jambee, and as far from the river of Johore, and is a part of the Johore dominions. It is about twenty leagues long, and ten broad. It is very mountainous within, and very low towards the ſea. Its product is ſome pepper and canes, and it abounds in porcupines, which affords them the valuable porcupine beakoar. Some of them I have ſeen as big as a walnut, and of the ſame ſhape, and pretty near in colour, valued at 600 pieces of eight. Between Lingen and Sumatra are the Streights of Drions, where generally ſhips paſs that go from Malacca to Batavia.

On the Sumatra ſhore there are no places of commerce, till we come to the ſouth entrance of Andraghira river, and there lies Pattapan, a town belonging to the dominions of Johore, that affords pepper and gold. Off the mouth of that river about ten leagues lie the two iſlands of Carimon, and between them and the Sumatra ſhore, are the Streights of Labon. Upon the eaſt ſide of the Great Carimon, is the entrance of the

Streights

Streights of Drions; and between the Small Carimon and Tanjong-bellong on the continent, is the entrance of the Streights of Sincapure before mentioned, and alſo into the Streights of Governadore, the largeſt and eaſieſt paſſage into the China ſeas. There are many iſlands lying thick hereabout, all under the dominions of Johore.

The Dutch have alſo a factory on the river of Andraghira, called Siack, but of no great moment. It is ſo unhealthful, that incorrigible ſots, and other lumber of the active world, are ſent thither to expiate their offences againſt nature, and very ſeldom any return back to give an account of the ſalubrity of the country. The reaſon may be, that yearly there are vaſt numbers of fiſh, called ſhades, about the bigneſs of a large haddock, full of bones, and rows about one third of their own magnitude, which come into that river to ſpawn, and great numbers of people reſort thither in that ſeaſon to catch them, for the ſake of their rows, and throw away the reſt of the fiſh, which ſo corrupts the air, that few can hold out one year, but are relieved every ſix months, except thoſe who are ſent for ſacrifices to Pluto.

The Dutch have another factory right oppoſite to Malacca, on the ſide of a large river, called Bankalis. Whether that be a branch of Andraghira river I know not, but I believe it is. The Company vends a great deal of cloth and ophium there, and brings gold-duſt in return. That beneficial trade was not known to the Dutch before 1685, that one Mr. Lucas, a factor in the Company's ſervice at Malacca, was adviſed by a Malaya to ſend ſome Surat baftaes dyed blue, and ſome berams dyed red, which are both coarſe cotton cloth much worn in that country; and ophium is as much in requeſt there, as tea is with us. In 10 years that he kept that trade wholly to himſelf, though in other men's names, he got an eſtate of 10 or 12 tons of gold, or about 100,000l. Engliſh, and then revealed the ſecret to the Company, who took that trade altogether into their own hands.

There are prodigious numbers of wild ſwine about Bankalis, and, in the months of December and January, their fleſh is very ſweet and fat. In thoſe months great numbers of people reſort thither in ſmall praws. Some go into the woods, and drive them towards the river, while others are ready with dogs to drive them into it, and when one goes, all the herd follow. Others are ready with lances in their praws, to purſue them in the water, and lance them, and ſo many as are lanced, drop down on the other ſhore, and they are immediately carried to places appointed, where there are many fires made of bruſh-wood and leaves of trees, which the woods afford in great plenty, and, in thoſe light flames, they ſinge the hair off, and take out the entrails, and cut them up in proper pieces, and ſalt them in the praws; and every praw has a ſhare proportionable to the number of men it brings. After it has lain three or four days in ſalt, they waſh the pork, and hang it in ſmoke, and then put it into caſks which they have ready for their purpoſe, with ſome dry ſalt, and ſell it by the caſk to the beſt bidder. And I think it is the moſt ſavoury ſalt pork that ever I taſted.

Thoſe fiſh rows caught at Siak they pickle up in ſalt and tamarinds, and then dry them in ſmoke, and when dry enough, put them up in large leaves of trees, and tranſport them to all the countries about, from Atcheen to Siam. It is called, when dried, turbow, and of pork and turbow they drive a good trade, which, I think, far exceeds caviar.

There is no other place on the Sumatra coaſt, between Bankalis and Atcheen, that admits of commerce with ſtrangers, though there are ſeveral large rivers; at leaſt, by their outlets to the ſea, they appear to be ſo. There is one called Delley, that lies five leagues within Pullo Verera, a ſmall uninhabited iſland, that affords nothing but freſh water and wood. The inhabitants on that part of Sumatra, are ſaid to be cannibals.

Diamond Point lies about 20 leagues to the north-weſt of Pullo Verera, that ſends dangerous rocks above a league off ſhore. The inhabitants are uncivilized, murdering all whom they can ſurpriſe or maſter. And at Piſſang, about 10 leagues to the weſtward of Diamond Point, there is a fine deep river, but not frequented, becauſe of the treachery and bloody diſpoſition of the natives. Twelve leagues farther weſt lies Pedier. It has the benefit of a good river, but being but eight leagues from Atcheen, it has no trade.

CHAP. XLIV. — *Treats of Java, and the Iſlands near it; with an Account of the Garriſons and Factories ſettled on that Iſland by the Dutch. — The Product and Commerce of Java, Bally, Lombock, Flores, Solore, Leolana, Panterra, Miſcomby, Timore, Banda and Molucca Iſlands, and the Iſlands of Celebes; their Product, Extent and Commerce.*

AND now having ended my tour round Sumatra, I muſt return to the ſouthward, and travel to the eaſtward of Sumatra, and to the ſouthward of the equator, among thoſe famous iſlands; and Java being the weſtmoſt, I begin there, and march eaſtward among iſlands far from any continent.

Princes Iſland is cloſe to the weſt point of Java. It has a channel between it and Java, but there is ſome danger in it. There are no inhabitants on it; but there are three places that afford good water, and wood enough for ſhips bound out of the Streights of Sunda to Europe. There are ſeveral other iſlands in the ſtreights, as Caccotoa, Duars, in the way, the Button and Cape, and ſeveral others without name.

The firſt place of commerce on the weſt end of Java is the famous Bantam, where the Engliſh and Danes had their factories flouriſhing till anno 1682, at which time the neighbourly Dutch fomented a war between the old King of Bantam and his ſon; and becauſe the father would not come into their meaſures, and be their humble ſlave, they ſtruck in with the ſon, who was more covetous of a crown than of wiſdom. They, with the aſſiſtance of other rebels, put the ſon on the throne, and took the old King priſoner, and ſent him to Batavia; and, in 1683, they pretended a power from the new King to ſend the Engliſh and Danes a-packing, which they did with a great deal of inſolence, according to cuſtom. They next fortified, by building a ſtrong fort within a piſtol-ſhot of one that the old King had built before to bridle their inſolence.

The only product of Bantam is pepper, wherein it abounds ſo much, that they can export 10,000 tons per annum. The road is good, and ſecure for the ſafety of ſhipping. It is in a pleaſant bay, wherein are ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which retain their Engliſh names ſtill; and the natives ſtill lament the loſs of the Engliſh trade among them, but the King has much more reaſon than his ſubjects to regret the loſs of their commerce. The good-will the natives bear to the Dutch may be conjectured from their treatment, when they find an opportunity; for if an Hollander goes but a muſket-ſhot from their fort, it is five to one if ever he returns, for they are dextrous in throwing a lance, or ſhooting of poiſoned darts through a wooden pipe or trunk; and the King never redreſſes them, pretending the criminal cannot be found.

Batavia is about 20 leagues to the eaſtward of Bantam, and a great number of ſmall iſlands lie ſcattered in the way, too tedious to mention. Pullo-panjang off Bantam, and Edam off Batavia are the moſt conſpicuous, and the road of Batavia is almoſt ſurrounded with iſlands, ſome of them inhabited, and ſome not. Its topography I will refer to another time, with ſome hiſtorical accounts of it, both ancient and modern.

Cheraboan is the next colony on the coaſt, to the eaſtward of Batavia, belonging to the Dutch, where they have a fort and a ſmall garriſon.

Tagal is alſo a Dutch ſettlement, with a ſmall fort for its defence; and there is no other remarkable place till we come to Samarang, a good colony, with a fort of mud and wood to defend it. Damack and Coutus, two places that lie between Samarang and Japara, are noted, one for the abundance of rice that it exports, and the other for great quantities of good ſugars that it produces. They are peopled moſtly with Chineſe, and ſo is

Japara, which formerly had an Engliſh factory, but now is altogether in the Dutch hands. It is defended by two forts, one on an hill, and the other in a plain, where the town ſtands, and has a ſmall river to waſh its walls. The road is ſecured by two iſlands that lie about a league off the town. I bought good white ſugar in cakes here for two Dutch dollars per pecul, being 140lbs. Engliſh ſuttle weight.

Tampeira is the next place to the eaſtward, and to the eaſtward of it is Rambang, about two leagues from it, where the Dutch have a ſmall wooden fort, and a little garriſon of ſixteen men. Thoſe two afford nothing but excellent teak timber for building. And to the eaſtward of Rambang is Sorobay, which lies within the iſland Madura, and, I believe, is the eaſtmoſt ſettlement the Dutch have on the iſland of Java. It produces much pepper, ſome bees-wax, and iron. Sorobay is about 125 leagues to the eaſtward of Batavia, and the country, along ſhore, as pleaſant and fruitful in grain and fruits as any in the world. Tame cattle and wild game are very plentiful, good and cheap. At Rambang I bought a cow, fleſhy and fat, for two pieces of eight, that weighed above 300 weight; and wild hog and deer we killed daily with our fowling-pieces, as we did alſo peacocks and wild poultry. The cocks are all like one another, with red necks and bodies, and black wings and tail; and the hens are exactly like large partridges. The cocks are pretty large, and when they take wing, they make a noiſe that may be heard half a mile. Their fleſh is both ſavoury and juicy; and the wild hog is excellent. In the woods are many flying ſquirrels. Some of them I have ſeen tame in cages. They alſo have little horſes wild in the woods, and ſome tigers, but being not much pinched with hunger, they ſeldom attack men. They have one dangerous little animal, called a jackoa, in ſhape almoſt like a lizard. It is very malicious, and piſſes at every thing that offends it, and wherever the liquor lights on an animal body, it preſently cankers the fleſh, unleſs immediate cauterizings are uſed, and if that cannot be had, the piece moſt be cut out, for, if once it bliſters the ſkin, there is no cure for it afterwards; but he ſeldom fails of giving notice where he is, by a loud noiſe calling, jackoa.

I was once at ſupper with ſome Dutch gentlemen at Rambang, in an houſe thatched with cocoa-nut leaves, and we were no ſooner ſet, but one of thoſe jackoas opened its throat almoſt over our heads. The Dutch gentlemen took the alarm, and aroſe from the table in great haſte, and ran out of the room, calling to me, who ſat ſtill (not a little ſurpriſed to ſee their ſudden flight,) to follow them, for my life was in danger, and, on hearing that admonition, I was not long after them; but its noiſe ſpoiled our ſupper.

As there are many ſpecies of wild animals in thoſe woods, there is one particular, called the Oran-outang. It is neareſt to human, both in ſhape and ſagacity, among all the herd of animals. I ſaw one about four feet high, groſs bodied, long arms from the ſhoulders to the elbows. His finger ends reached juſt to his knees, as he ſtood upright. His thighs and legs plump, but too ſmall in proportion to his body. His feet long, and broad at the toes, but a little too narrow at the heel. His belly prominent, covered with a light-coloured fur, the reſt of his body being brown, and the fur thicker and longer than the belly fur. His head ſomewhat large. His face broad, and full. His eyes grey and ſmall. His noſe little and flat. His upper-lip and under-jaw very large. He blows his noſe, and throws aways the ſnot with his fingers, can kindle a fire,

a fire, and blow it with his mouth. And I ſaw one broil a fiſh to eat with his boiled rice. The females have their regular *menſtrua*. They have no tail, and walk upright. They are of a melancholy diſpoſition, and have a grave dejected countenance, and even when they are young, they are never inclined to play, as moſt other animals are. There is a ſmaller ſort, but of a different ſpecies, called Oumpaes; but their legs and arms are very ſmall.

They have many large crocodiles or alligators in their rivers and marſhes, and ſometimes they go a mile or two off to ſea, and get foul of the fiſher's nets. I was cleaning a veſſel (that I bought at Samarang) on a bed of ooze, and had ſtages fitted for my people to ſtand on, when the water came round the veſſel, and we were plagued with five or ſix alligators, which wanted to be on the ſtage, and every moment diſturbed our men; ſo I, and two of my men, ſat on the veſſels deck, and fired muſkets at them, but our ball did them no harm, becauſe their hard ſcaly coat was ſhot-proof. At laſt we contrived to ſhoot at their eyes, and we ſhot at one ſo. As ſoon as he found himſelf wounded, he turned tail on us, and, with great flouncings, made towards the ſhore about half a mile from us, and the reſt following him, we were pretty quiet after that. A day or two after, ſome fiſhers told us, that they had ſeen a dead alligator lying on the ſhore, and pointed whereabout they ſaw him. I went in a boat aſhore, and found him lying at full length. I meaſured his length, and found, from his noſe to his tail, twenty-ſeven feet and an half, and he was about one third part of his length in circumference about the belly.

I was in Samarang in 1704, in the months of July and Auguſt, when navigation on that coaſt is accounted dangerous. A war happened then to break out between the natives of that part of Java and the Dutch, about the ſucceſſion of a new Sun Suonan, or Emperor, the old one demiſing about that time. The Dutch would impoſe the old Emperor's brother on them againſt the general bent of the nation, and the nobility were for his eldeſt ſon, being the eſtabliſhed law and cuſtom of the country.

I being then bound for Batavia, the commodore deſired me to carry a packet of letters for the general and his council, which I did, and delivered them, before they were ſix days old, to the general (Jan Van Hoorn), which piece of ſervice recommended me to his favour; which he demonſtrated afterwards in ſome indulgences I had, and ſome confidence he repoſed in me.

The war begun then, laſted twenty years longer than at firſt the Dutch imagined. It taught the Javans the art of war, having a great number of Maccaſſers and Ballies, who had been trained up in the Dutch Company's wars againſt ſeveral nations. Many of them came into the eldeſt ſon's intereſt, who having as good courage and ſubtle ſtratagems, with much greater agility of body than the Dutch, made the war more terrible and dangerous than any the Company had ever entered into, notwithſtanding the pretender had a large party of Javans, and was aſſiſted by Maccaſſers, Amboineſe, Ballies and Bougies; but they wanted the European diſcipline that the others had who ſerved the young Emperor, for they could encamp and mine as well as the Dutch.

A Dutch captain, in his march towards the Dutch camp, fell, with his company, into an ambuſh of Javans. Some of his men were killed, but he and moſt of his men were taken priſoners. The Dutch camp was pitched on the ſide of a river, and the Javans a few miles above them on the ſame river's ſide. Next day, to the Dutch great amazement, they ſaw the captain and his men ſwimming down with the ſtream, on bundles of reeds, with all their legs, thigh-bones and arms broken, and moſt of them alive. Their countrymen took them out of the river, and uſed means to ſave

their lives, but very few lived, which put their whole army in ſome dread, by obſerving what quarter they might expect if any of them were taken priſoners.

The religion of Java is partly Mahometan and partly Pagan. The Pagans chooſe women to be prieſteſſes, and they are generally old, and well ſkilled in witchcraft. And it is reported, that they have frequent converſation with the devil, who appears to them in an horrid monſtrous ſhape, and the prieſteſſes ſacrifice an hog to him. The Emperor reſides at an inland town called Cartaſouri, about three days' journey from Samarang, where I will leave him, and proceed to

The iſland of Madura, that produces nothing for a foreign maket, but deer-ſkins. They may be had in great abundance, and very cheap. This iſland confronts Java to its very eaſternmoſt point. I have no knowledge of the iſlands to the eaſtward of Java, but what I have had by information from the Dutch, who are the only poſſeſſors of that commerce, except two Engliſh ſhips that fell in among ſome of thoſe iſlands, and ſo I will go on in thoſe lame obſervations and remarks.

I obſerved before, that Sorobay was the eaſternmoſt ſettlement the Dutch have on Java, neither have they any footing, that I have heard of, on the ſouth ſide of that iſland, though the natives are pretty well civilized; and as ſhips from Europe fall in with that coaſt, they will bring off proviſions to ſell them, particularly if they ſee Engliſh colours, for very often the Dutch buy their commodities, but pay nothing for them.

The iſland of Bally lies next Java to the eaſtward. It abounds in proviſions for the inhabitants, but affords nothing fit for exportation. The natives are daring and bold, even to deſperation. Many of them enter in the Dutch ſervice, and make good ſoldiers. Between Java and Bally are the Streights of Bally.

Lambock is next Bally to the eaſtward, and about the ſame magnitude. It produces the ſame neceſſaries as Bally, but nothing to export.

Combava is next to Lambock to the eaſtward, an iſland as big as both the laſt two mentioned. It produces nothing for export. Between it and Lambock are the Streights of Allaſs, named from a town ſtanding on the ſhore, about the middle of the ſtreights.

The next iſlands to the eaſtward of Combava, are the two iſlands of Sappi, of ſmall account in commerce, and ſo is

The iſland of Flores to the eaſtward of them, though it is an iſland above 50 leagues long and 18 broad. In anno 1703, Captain Wright, in the Leghorn galley, loſt his paſſage from Banjar on Borneo, to Batavia, and by contrary winds, and ſtrong currents, was driven to this iſland, and anchored at a town on the weſt end of it, called Larrentoucka. Finding the place convenient and ſafe to paſs three or four months of the weſterly monſoons, he took an houſe aſhore, and kept ſome time one part of his ſhip's crew aſhore, and ſometimes another, to refreſh them. He gave warning to the people of the town not to truſt his men, but they, minding their own profit, had truſted the ſeamen about 100l. ſterling. A little before he was ready to ſail, the creditors came and demanded their money. He refuſed payment, alledging, that a public crier had gone through the town forbidding any body to truſt his men, and that crier was ordered by a magiſtrate to proclaim the prohibition. The creditors ſaid it was true they could not recover any thing by law, but if he valued his own health he would ſatisfy them, if not in all, yet in part, and ſo he paid one half; which moſt of them were content with, but one old witch was not, but threatened his deſtruction, if ſhe had not all her demand paid.

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The captain, knowing that the natives were very ſkilful in the art of poiſoning, reſolved to prevent their taking any opportunity that way, and ſo went on board to eat and ſleep, and was ſo cautious, that he would not ſo much as taſte their green fruits, nor ſmell their flowers, after the time that the old hag threatened him, and yet before he left the place, he found himſelf much troubled with gripings and fluxes. I was at Batavia when he came there. He could not reach the road with his ſhip before he anchored, but was forced to anchor without, and ſent his boat on board of my ſhip, to deſire help to weigh their anchor. I ſent a boat with 20 men and an officer to bring their ſhip into the road, which next morning they did; the poor man was brought to that paſs by the effects of poiſon, that he could not walk without being ſupported, nor could he lift his hand to his head.

I waited on him aſhore, and he deſired to be carried to his uſual quarters, at the ſign of the red lion, kept by a woman called Black Moll, a native of the iſland of Flores, and he giving her an account of his condition, and how ignorant he was of the cauſe of it, ſhe bid him be cheerful, for ſhe knew how he had been poiſoned, not by any thing taken inwardly, but by a ſpell, and bid him recollect himſelf, and try if he could remember if he had not ſtept over a bit of paper, or the leaf of a flag, in going in or out of any houſe, which, after a little pauſe, he could very well remember he had. She aſſured him that he ſhould be perfectly well in a month's time, and ſhe performed her promiſe to admiration. I left Batavia before the cure was perfected, but afterwards when I came to Batavia, ſhe gave me an account that ſhe had reſtored him to perfect health, and ſeveral years after I ſaw him at Fort St. George.

Solor, Loolana, Panterra, and Miſcomby, all lie to the eaſtward of Flores. They produce a little ſandal-wood, and Caſſia-ligna. The Dutch have a factory on Solor.

The iſland Timor lies within 20 leagues to the ſouth of thoſe four iſlands abovementioned. It is a large iſland about 90 leagues long, and 18 broad. The natives acknowledge the King of Portugal their ſovereign, and have embraced the Romiſh religion. They permitted the Portugueze colony of Maccao in China, to build a fort on it, which they called Leifaw, and the Dutch a factory called Coupang, but would never ſuffer either to interfere with the government of their country. The Portugueze of Maccao drove a very advantageous trade to Timor for many years, and, finding the natives inclined to be paſſive Catholicks, tried by fair means to get the whole government of the country into the church's hands, but could not beguile them that way, therefore they tried force, and commenced a war, but to their coſt they found, that the Timoreans would not loſe their liberty for fear of the loſs of blood. They choſe one Gonſales Gomez their general. He was a native of Timor, and had travelled to Maccao and Goa. He allowed the King of Portugal to be the ſovereign and protector of their country, and they would be his loyal ſubjects, providing their laws and liberties might be ſecured to them.

That war with the city of Maccao laſted abont fifteen years. It began about the year 1688, and was not quite finiſhed in the 1703, and Maccao in the end was ruined by it; for it exhauſted both their ſtock of men and money to ſuch a degree, that of 1000 citizens the town had before the war, there was hardly fifty left at the end of it, and of forty ſail of trading ſhips, not above five left.

The viceroy of Goa ſent an embaſſy to Gonſales Gomez, in the year 1698, to perſuade him to peace, and to accept of a governor general and an archbiſhop from Goa, but to no purpoſe, for they declared, that they would admit of no foreign governors in their country, either in church or ſtate.

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The product of the iſland is ſandal-wood, the beſt and largeſt in the world, which is a great commodity in China, alſo gold and bees-wax. The gold is plentiful, but of a low touch, not amounting to 20 carats fine. And all manner of proviſions are plentiful and cheap, but no anchoring about the iſland, except at Leifaw and Coupang. And the coaſt is ſubject to frequent tornadoes, or ſqualls of wind and rain, introduced with much thunder and lightning.

The natives report, that at a certain ſeaſon of the year, after the ſouth-weſt monſoons are ſet in, they can diſcern an high mountainous land to the ſouthward of them, and continues in ſight from December to the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, and then diſappears. If the report be true, it muſt be ſome floating iſland, that comes from and goes to New Holland, which is the next tract of land to the ſouth of Timor. Theſe accounts I had from a Portugueze gentleman called Alexander Pinto, who was a Captain at Leifaw four years, and was bound from Batavia to Goa, in anno 1704. He went paſſenger with me, and ſeemed to be a man of probity.

I never met with any body that could give me any tolerable account of the iſlands to the eaſtward of Timor, or of New Guinea, or New Holland, and ſo I will paſs by them, and direct my courſe to the Iſlands of Banda, where cloves, nutmegs, and mace grow, but are now all engroſſed by the Dutch, who allow one of them called Pullo-wey, to belong to the Engliſh, after they had been at 40 years pains to cut down all the clove and nutmeg trees that grew on it, and have made it death for the natives ever to plant any on it.

The Engliſh had alſo a factory on Pullo-ron, but were glad to leave it about the year 1618. The Dutch have that iſland ſtill, with Loutore and Noro, where they reap plentiful crops of ſpice.

I muſt now ſteer weſt-north-weſt about 30 leagues, to the famous iſland of Amboina, where as real a tragedy was acted on the Engliſh, as ever happened among friends and allies. The ſtory is too well known to need a place here. However, at preſent it has altered its ſcene, and turned prodigiouſly religious, having no leſs than 50 Dutch Proteſtant churches on that holy iſland, and the natives are very fond and forward to turn converts, eſpecially ſince ſome Amboineſe youths have been ſent to Holland, and trained up in their univerſities, and honoured with church orders. They coming back to their own native land, loaded with ſuch fine qualifications, and receiving great reſpect from their maſters the Dutch, make the converſion of the populace very eaſy.

The Dutch have ſo fortified Amboina, by their own report, that they think it impregnable. It is true Victoria Bay is fathomleſs till ſhipping come within a mile of their forts, and there is no other place for anchoring on that ſide of the iſland; but I have heard ſome Dutch officers, in diſputing their knowledge of Amboina, ſay, that on that ſide that fronts the coaſt of Ceram, there are ſeveral places of anchoring at a mile or two diſtant from the ſhore, and never a fort built to impede an enemy's landing, and that if an army ſuperior in force to what the Dutch have at Victoria, would march but ſix or ſeven leagues by land, they might come on the back of the town, and lodge on hills ſo near it, that none could paſs the ſtreets in the town, nor appear on their bulwarks or batteries; but this was a ſecret that the Engliſh or French ought not to know.

The iſland Ceram, near Amboina, has alſo cloves and nutmegs, and the Dutch appropriate that iſland to themſelves, and have a factory on it called Ambay. It is a large iſland of 70 leagues long, and 15 broad.

Buro is alſo a Dutch iſland, producing cloves and nutmegs. It lies weſt-north-weſt of Amboina, about 35 leagues diſtant. It is about 20 leagues long, and in the middle 10 broad.

Pullo-ouby lies in the way between Buro and Gilolo, the largeſt of all the Molucca iſlands. The ſouth part of Gilolo is called Batta-china and the equator cuts the iſland in the middle. On the weſt ſide of Gilolo, and at a little diſtance from it, lie Batchian, Matchian, Montil, Tidor, and Ternatey. They are but ſmall iſlands, but produce the greateſt quantities of cloves and nutmegs of all the Molucca iſlands.

One Captain Ethrington, in a ſhip called the Reſolution, made a trip to Gilolo about the year 1692 and got 40 tuns of ſpice. He called at Batavia in his way to England, and the Dutch being very ſolicitous to know where he had been, he freely told them, to let them ſee the Engliſh were not quite ignorant of that navigation, if they had a mind to follow it.

I now continue my courſe weſtward along the equator, to the iſland Celebes, the eaſt-ſide of which iſland, and a great number of ſmaller ones, are little frequented by ſtrangers, but on the ſouth-weſt corner of it is Maccaſſer, where the Dutch have a factory, but its chief product is corn, which indeed all thoſe eaſtern iſlands abound in, and conſequently in poultry. "The natives are of a light olive colour, and the women well ſhaped, and pretty beautiful, for which reaſon they are in great eſteem among the Dutch and Chineſe, who buy them for bed-fellows, and often marry them. The men and women are both ſhort in ſtature, but well featured, and well limbed. They are very loving and faithful if well uſed, but exceeding revengeful if ill uſed. The country is populous and very large, being almoſt 200 leagues long, but the breadth unequal. At the broadeſt it is about 70 leagues. About 30 leagues weſtward lies

CHAP. XLV. — *Gives an Account of* Borneo.

THE great iſland of Bornew, or Borneo, the largeſt except California, in the known world. The weſt ſide of it is for the moſt part deſert. On the ſouth-end lies Pullo-laut, a moſt excellent harbour for ſhipping. The iſland is but thinly peopled, its product being nothing but rice, but the north-end of it lies near many rivers that come out of the pepper countries. The iſland is about 20 leagues long, but of an unequal breadth, though in ſome parts it is 12 leagues broad.

There is a channel runs between Pullo-lout and the iſland of Borneo, about two miles broad, ſome places narrower, and ſome broader, and from ſeven to five fathoms deep, all the way through, and there are ſeveral riſing grounds along that ſhore, fit to build houſes on, which is a rarity on the ſea coaſts of Borneo, ſeldom to be met with. I heard Mr. Sylvanus Landen, who had been chief of Borneo, ſay, that he much wondered why the Company of England ſhould have ſettled a factory at Banjar-maſſeen, where they were forced for ſeveral years to keep their factory on floats of great trees tied together, and made faſt to trees growing in the water, on the ſide of a river, with cables made of rottans; and when they built a factory, they were forced firſt to drive poles in the ground, to make a foundation, as the Dutch do at Amſterdam, and raiſe earth on them to build upon.

Captain Barry, a very ingenious gentleman, drew the plan, but died before the work was brought to any great forwardneſs; and Mr. Cunningham, who came thither from Pullo-condore, when that factory was cut off by their Maccaſſer ſoldiers, came to the head of the Company's affairs. He was bred a ſurgeon, and had turned virtuoſo; would

would ſpend whole days in contemplating on the nature, ſhape, and qualities of a butterfly or a ſhellfiſh, and left the management of the Company's buſineſs to others as little capable as himſelf, ſo every one but he was maſter.

Their factory was not half finiſhed before they began to domineer over the natives, who paſſed in their boats up and down the river, and very imprudently would needs ſearch one of the King's boats, who was carrying a lady of quality down the river, which ſo provoked the King, that he ſware revenge, and accordingly gathered an army, and ſhipped it on large praws, to execute his rage on the factory and ſhipping that lay on the river. The Company had two ſhips, and there were two others that belonged to private merchants, and I was pretty deeply concerned in one of them. The factory receiving advice of the King's deſign, and the preparations he had made, left their factory, and went on board the ſhipping, thinking themſelves more ſecure on board than aſhore. When all things were in a readineſs, the army came in the night, with above 100 praws, and no leſs than 3000 deſperate fellows. Some landed and burnt the factory and fortifications, while others attacked the ſhips, which were prepared to receive them. The Engliſh had made faſt nettings from the mizen to the fore ſhrouds, about two fathoms high above the gunnel, that they might not be too ſuddenly boarded by the enemy, and to have the opportunity of uſing their blunderbuſſes and lances, before the enemy could get on their decks. As ſoon as they in the ſhips ſaw the fleet approaching near them, they plied their guns with double round and partridge, and made a great carnage, but all did not deter the aſſailants from boarding, who when they got as high as the gun-wall or gunnel, were at a loſs how to get over the netting, and ſo were killed with great eaſe. Some got in at the head door of one of the ſhips, and killed ſome Engliſh in the fore-caſtle, but they were ſoon deſtroyed. The two great ſhips, though in danger, beat off the enemy with ſmall loſs, but the little ſhips were both burnt, with moſt of their men, and one Dutch gentleman who was obliged to flee from Batavia in one of the ſmall veſſels, was alſo burnt in her. His name was Hoogh Camber, and had been ambaſſador to the King of Perſia.

I heard ſome China men ſay, who were there at the time of the engagement, that the Engliſh killed (in two hours that the action was hot) above 1500 men, beſides many wounded and maimed, but the Engliſh were forced to be gone from their ſettlement. The King thought his revenge had gone far enough in driving them from their ſettlement, and finding the loſs of the Engliſh trade affected his revenue, he let all Engliſh who traded to Johore and other circumjacent countries, know, that he would ſtill continue a free trade with the Engliſh on the old footing, but would never ſuffer them, or any other nation, to build forts in his country. Several Engliſh have been there ſince, and loaded pepper, and have been civilly treated; and the Dutch ſent a ſhip from Batavia in anno 1712, to trade with them, but the natives refuſed commerce with them.

The inland country is very mountainous, but towards the ſea very low and marſhy, occaſioned by the great rains that continue about eight months in the year. It produces rice, and many ſorts of fruits in great abundance. Pepper is peculiar to the countries about Banjaar; and to the weſtward about Succadaana, they have ſmall diamonds, but their waters being inclined to be yellow, are not ſo much in eſteem as thoſe of Golcondah.

The Engliſh had formerly a factory at Succadaana, but why they left it I know not, unleſs it was for the unwholeſomeneſs of the country; yet in anno 1694, I met with a ſhip from Fort St. George, bound to Succadaana, commanded by one Captain Gullock,

who had been there the year before, and praiſed it for a wholeſome country, and the inhabitants very civil and obliging. He bought ſome Surat baſtaes of me, at 45 per cent. on invoice, and expected to make as much himſelf.

It is reported, that on the coaſt of Borneo, between Lao and Sobar, there are many canibals, but I never heard it confirmed by any but Chineſe. And from Sobar to Succadaana the people are civil enough to ſtrangers.

Sambas is the next country of commerce to the northward of Succadaana. It produces but very little pepper, but ſome gold, pearls, and bees-wax, which makes it well frequented by the Chineſe, who carry Surat piece-goods from Malacca and Johore, and barter to very good purpoſe for the aforeſaid commodities. Bees-wax is the current caſh in that country. It is melted but not refined, and caſt in moulds of an oblong ſquare, the breadth about two thirds of the length, and the thickneſs half of the breadth, and a rattan withy to lift them by, caſt in the wax. A piece weighs a quarter of a pecul, which comes to, in Engliſh weight, 34 pounds, and a pecul is valued in payments at 10 maſſcies, or 40 ſhillings ſterling. They have alſo for ſmaller payments pieces of eight to a pecul and ſixteenths, and for ſmaller money they have couries. The prince and people are very hoſpitable and civil, ſo that ſtrangers trade there with ſecurity. I knew a French Armenian, who coming from Manilla, had the misfortune to loſe his ſhip on that part of the coaſt that belongs to the King of Sambas. They had but little goods, for generally Spaniſh dollars are the common return for goods ſold at Manilla. When the people that were ſhipwrecked came aſhore, they were carried to the King, who examined what they were, from whence they came, and whither bound, with what they were loaded, and ſeveral other interrogatories, and then ordered them proviſions, and men and boats to aſſiſt them in ſaving their treaſure, for there was but very little loſt beſides the ſhip and ſtores that were not worth the trouble of ſaving. The King gave him pearls and bees-wax for his ſilver, at ſuch reaſonable rates, that the Armenian gained 40 per cent. at Batavia (whither he went in a China veſſel) for the goods he diſpoſed of there. At Batavia he took paſſage on board a French ſhip for China, and in their way called at Trangano, where I met with him in the year 1719. I had the whole account from himſelf, and ſaw ſome beautiful pearls that he was carrying to the China market, and among them a pair of pears worth 50l. ſterling.

The Chineſe drive a ſmall trade from Siam and Cambodia, to the town called Borneo, that lies about 80 leagues to the northward of Sambas, and theſe are all the trading places that lie about the north end of this iſland, that I could hear of. The religion in Borneo is Pagan, except in ſome places on the ſea coaſt there are ſome Mahometans; and ſo I muſt leave Borneo, and ſteer my courſe towards the coaſt of Johore on the continent, but in my way there are two cluſters of iſlands that lie halfway. One is called Anamba, and the other Natuna, but by the natives Sciantan is the common appellation for both cluſters. Their inhabitants are called Bougies, a fierce deſperate people, and the only product of thoſe iſlands is bettle-nut, and the religion Mahometan. The iſlands are very high, and may be eaſily ſeen in a clear day above fifteen leagues.

CHAP. XLVI. — *A Continuation of the Dominions of* Johore *on the Continent, and the Iſlands adjacent.*

THE Johore iſlands to the north-eaſtward of the promontory of Romano, (from whence I took my departure, when I ſteered among the iſlands) are firſt, Pullo-tingi,

then Pullo-aure, then Pullo-piſang, and then Pullo-timoun, the higheſt and largeſt among them. They are all inhabited and produce poultry, and ſmall goats, and ſome fruits, but no commodities for export. Their religion is Mahometan.

Pahaung lies north-weſt of Pullo-timoun, about 20 leagues diſtant. Pullo-varella lies in the way, but it is rather a rock than an iſland, therefore hardly worth noticing. Pahaung river has a pretty large iſland lying in its mouth, which makes two channels into it. The north entry has no leſs than four fathoms and an half at high-water, and the channel is about an hundred and fifty yards broad. Juſt within the bar is good ſecure anchoring in ſix fathoms, and there are good freſh water ſprings within two hundred paces of the ſea-ſhore. The river is a mile broad, but ſo full of banks, that it is with trouble a ſmall veſſel of thirty tuns can go to the town, which lies about twelve miles up the river, where I left Rajah Bowncea, before I took my ramble among the iſlands. He was there in anno 1719, with five or ſix hundred men to keep that country firm to his father.

Pahaung river runs far into the country, and waſhes the foot of Malacca hill. There is abundance of gold duſt found in it, and I have ſeen ſome lumps, of five or ſix ounces each. They do not dive for the duſt above three fathoms, though there are ſome places in the river above ten deep, and generally where the deepeſt water is, moſt gold-duſt is found. It has exported ſome years above eight hundred weight. Along the ſides of the river pepper is planted for export, but not above 300 tuns in a year, becauſe they want vend for more, though, if they had a market to carry it off, in five years time they could make a product of 3000 tuns. Beſides pepper and gold, there are tin and elephants teeth, but in no great plenty, and the beſt canes in the world grow hereabout. The country is woody, and is ſtored with wild game and fruits, their rivers and ſea with great plenty and variety of excellent fiſh, but the country is not reckoned very healthful, becauſe of the abundance of rains. Trangano is the next place of note for commerce, and in anno 1720, the place of reſidence of a poor diſtreſſed King, who by a ſenſeleſs devotion to ſuperſtition, ruined his country and his own family.

I gave an account before of his brother's tragical end, and the daring boldneſs of a youth that ſhewed him the way to die by his own hand. In 1719, I ſaw the youth waiting on the King, and fanning him with a peacock's tail. In my way to Siam, I called at Trangano, and went to wait on him, and he remembered that he had been acquainted with me five and twenty years before. I ſtaid about a week, and every day he wanted to ſee me. He often repented his taking the weight of ſovereignty on his ſhoulders, and feared that his end would prove as tragical as his brother's.

Trangano ſtands pleaſantly near the ſea, on the ſide of a river, that has a ſhallow bar, and many rocks ſcattered to and again within the river, but room enough in many places to moor ſmall ſhips very ſecurely, to keep them ſafe from the dangers of the winds or floods. There may be about one thouſand houſes in it, not built in regular ſtreets, but ſcattered in ten or twenty in a place diſtant a little way from another's villa of the ſame magnitude. The town is above half-peopled with Chineſe, who have a good trade for three or four jonks yearly, beſides ſome that trade to Siam, Cambodia, Tunqueen, and Sambas. When I came back from Siam with my cargo unſold, as I mentioned before, I came to Trangano to diſpoſe of what I could of my goods, and to procure a new cargo for Surat, the kind King aſſiſted me in doing both, with all the readineſs and cheerfulneſs imaginable.

While my ſhip lay in the road, the Bougies came with a fleet of two hundred ſail of praws, deſigning to plunder the town of Trangano; but they were afraid to paſs ſo near

near our guns as they muſt have been neceſſitated to do before they could get into the river. When they came to a place about five leagues off, they ſent a praw to my ſhip, and the officer told me that he had a commiſſion to proffer and pay me 3000 Spaniſh dollars, if I would let them paſs quietly into the river. I ordered him away, and threatened, that, if they came, they ſhould feel the force of my powder and ſhot. When I came aſhore, the King aſked me if I would protect him. I told him I would with all the force I had. He wept, as if he had been diffident, and deſired that I would take him on board of my ſhip, and carry him whitherſoever I went, for his life was burdenſome to him, and he could truſt none of his own people. I perſuaded him that I was ſincere in my reſolution to protect him, and that it would look too mean to run away from his kingdom, while there was a poſſibility to regain it.

He told me, that he had ſent ambaſſadors to the Dutch at Malacca for aſſiſtance, according to the ancient league between his anceſtors and them, when they joined their forces to expel the Portugueze from Malacca; but inſtead of finding relief there, his enemies were aſſiſted with powder and ſhot, and his rebellious ſubjects had a ſafe retreat at Malacca.

I adviſed him to take protection from the Dutch, and allow them the monopolization of the trade of his country, and to part the revenues between him and them. He ſeemed to be offended with the propoſal, but ſaid he would be glad if the Engliſh would ſettle in his dominions, and fortify what places they pleaſed, and that he would willingly come under their protection, and that there were none that ever entertained the Dutch in their countries as gueſts, but would willingly be quit of them again, if they could.

There happened to come a French ſhip thither at that time, being bound to China. The King gave the captain and me an invitation to dinner, and, after we had regaled ourſelves, we entered on a diſcourſe of the miſerable ſtate of a country under the malignancy of a civil war. He aſked us, if ſuch calamities had happened to England or France. We aſſured him there had been often ſuch diſtempers among us, but that when the diſeaſe was cured, our ſtate became as ſtrong and vigorous as ever.

He had ſeveral times aſked me, if I thought the Engliſh might be perſuaded to ſettle a colony in his country, that Pahaung might be made a place of great trade, if there were ſhipping and ſtock to carry off the pepper and tin which that country alone could produce. I told him, I could give him no encouragement to believe they would.

He then, deſpairing of getting an Engliſh colony ſettled, propoſed to Mr. Pedro-villamont Garden, who commanded the French ſhip, if he thought the French nation might be induced to ſettle in his dominions, and the French gentleman gave him hopes that the King of France might be induced to accept of his friendſhip, and ſettle a colony, providing he would certify his requeſt by a letter, which the King of Johore readily agreed to. It was written in the Malayan language, and tranſlated by a Chineſe into Portugueze, and I tranſlated it from that language into Engliſh. The original and the Engliſh tranſlation were delivered to the French captain, but I never heard of it ſince.

He told me, that when I came to Bombay, I ſhould acquaint the governor of the deſire he had to live under the protection of the Engliſh, and that with 150 men they might bridle the inſolence of his own rebellious ſubjects, and their allies, the Bougies, too.

Trangano is a very pleaſant and healthful country, and affords a fine land-ſcape from the ſea. The hills are low, and covered with ever-green trees, that accommodate the inhabitants with variety of delicious fruits, ſuch as lemons, oranges, limes, mangoes, mangoſtans, ramboſtans, letchees and dureans: and in the vallies, corn, pulſe and

ſugar-canes. The ground is cultivated by the Chineſe, for the lazy Malayas cannot take that trouble.

The product of the country is pepper and gold, which are moſtly exported by the Chineſe. About 300 tuns are the common export of pepper, and we have it almoſt for one half of the price that we pay for Malabar pepper. From the month of October till March, their river is ſhut up by the bar, which fills up by the impetuoſity of the great ſeas ſent on that ſhore by the north-eaſt monſoons; but in the months of July and Auguſt their ſeas produce the fineſt fiſh that ever I ſaw or taſted. There is one ſort exactly like a ſalmon, both in ſhape and taſte, but the fiſh is white, as the ſalmon is red. Their poultry are large, plump, and ſweet, but beef is ſcarce, except buffalo beef, and that is plentiful enough.

In anno 1720, the Bougies came to Pullo-capaſs, which is but five leagues from Trangano; but there are other iſlands that lie 12 leagues more ſoutherly, called, in the maps, by the name of Pullo-capaſs, but their right name, which the natives call them by, is Pullo-tetang.

However, from Pullo-capaſs the Bougies ſent an embaſſy to Trangano, pretending an accommodation with the King, to ſee if he would allow them to enjoy the continent and iſlands beyond the promontory of Romano, and they would leave him the quiet poſſeſſion of the reſt; and, while they were in a large hall conferring, ſome unuſual ſudden noiſe happened to be heard from without, which the guilty Bougies taking to be ſome deſign in execution againſt them, one of them runs to the King, and ſtabbed him to the heart, which made a very great diſorder, and many were killed on both ſides; and what Bougies remained, got on board of their gallies, and poſted to their fleet at Pullo-capaſs, with the news of what had happened at Trangano, and next day the Bougies went into the river, and plundered the town, except certain houſes which belonged to the Dattabandaar, or firſt miniſter, whom the King, in his lifetime, ever miſtruſted, but, by the ill ſituation of his affairs, was obliged to hide his thoughts, and defer his reſentments till a proper time.

The next place to the northward, in the Johore territories, is Patany. It was formerly the greateſt port for trade in all thoſe ſeas, but the inhabitants being too potent to be afraid of the King's laws, they became ſo inſolent, that merchants were obliged to remove their commerce to countries of more ſecurity. It was the ſtaple port for Surat ſhipping, and from Goa, Malabar, and Chormondel, they had a good trade, and ſo they had from China, Tunquin, Cambodia, and Siam; but the merchants finding no reſtraint on robbers and murderers, were obliged to give their trade a turn into another channel, which was a great advantage to Batavia, Siam, and Malacca, where they were kindly uſed, and in thoſe ports it has contined ever ſince.

The Johore dominions reach but four or five leagues farther north, which, like moſt borderers, are inclined to rapine, and lying ſo near another's dominions, where they may be ſcreened from the power of their own laws when they commit depredations, it makes them exerciſe their villainies with impunity. Between Trangano and Patany lie the iſlands of Redang. They are uninhabited, but ſometimes the Saleeters or Malaya freebooters frequent them, and when they meet with trading veſſels that they are able to maſter, they make prize of them, and carry the men into other countries than where they belong to, and ſell them for ſlaves; and when they meet with no purchaſe at ſea, they go aſhore in the nights, and ſteal all they can get. Men, women, and children go all into the booty; but the China veſſels afford them moſt prizes.

The Kings of Johore ever paid homage to the Kings of Siam, by ſending them a roſe made of gold in a golden box once in three years. The year 1719 happened to be the year

year that the roſe came, for I ſaw the meſſenger that brought it at Siam, where he had orders from his maſter to know how my affairs went, with a proffer of the King's ſervice, if I came back into his country.

CHAP. XLVII.—*Gives an Account of the Dominions and City of Siam; with Remarks on the Revolution that happened there.*

SANGORE is the firſt town on the King of Siam's dominions. On that ſide it is under the government of Ligore, which was once the metropolis of a kingdom of the ſame name, but, by civil diſſentions, it became a prey to the King of Siam.

Sangore ſtands on the ſide of a large river. It yields ſome tin, elephants' teeth, agala-wood, and coarſe gold; but the inhabitants meet with ſo great diſcouragements in digging for tin, that there is very little to be procured; and what is manufactured is bought up by the Dutch factory at Ligore.

Ligore lies about 12 leagues to the northward of Sangore, and between them lies a low uninhabited iſland, called Papier. It reaches from Sangore within three leagues of Ligore river. It is well ſtored with wild buffaloes, hog, and deer, which are free for all perſons to kill at pleaſure. The road of Ligore lies two leagues from the river, and about a league within the river's mouth ſtands the Dutch factory, a pretty commodious houſe, built of brick, after the Dutch faſhion. The town ſtands about two miles above the factory. It is built of bamboos, and thatched with reed. There are many Pagan temples in it, which have ſteeples built very high, in form of very ſharp pyramids. They are ſo ſmall, that, in the road, they look like ſhips maſts. It produces abundance of tin, but the Dutch engroſs it all.

Pullo Cara, an high iſland, lies about twelve leagues off Ligore. The next place of note is Cui, a place that produces great quantities of tin and elephants teeth, but all are ſent to the city of Siam or Odia, for the King's uſe. The reſt of the coaſt being little frequented, I will paſs by it, and ſteer for the bar of

Siam. The city ſtands on an iſland in the river Memnon, which, by turnings and windings, makes the diſtance from the bar about 50 leagues. The country is low, and as fruitful as any ſpot of ground in the world in rice, legumen, fruits and roots, cattle, wild and tame. And the river abounds in many ſpecies of excellent fiſh, which plentifully indulge the inhabitants, and make them indolent and lazy, and conſequently proud, ſuperſtitious, and wanton.

The city is reckoned ten miles round the walls, and many canals, from the river, pierce through the city from all quarters. The walls of the city are high and thick, built of ſtone and brick; but the houſes of the natives, though large, are low, built on ſtakes driven into the ground, about 10 or 12 feet high; but the Mahometans, Chineſe, and Chriſtians, raiſe the grounds they build on high enough to be ſecure from the yearly inundations. The natives houſes are raiſed on thoſe ſtakes on the ſame account; and as their walls are built of bamboo and reeds, their roofs are built of the ſame materials, and are all thatched, except what are built on *terra firma*, and they are generally tiled. There are many arched bridges in the city, built of brick or ſtone, and ſome of wood. The floors of the natives houſes are made of ſplit bamboo or reeds made faſt together, ſo that one cannot move on them without both noiſe, and ſhaking them.

The three palaces of their kings, and ſome temples, are the only magnificent edifices in the city; and ſome ſteeples belonging to the temples are gilded with gold on the outſide,

outſide, and in a ſun-ſhine they reflect the rays ſo ſtrongly, that at two or three miles diſtance, they diſturb the eye, when looked upon.

They have many large temples well decorated after their way, and well ſtocked with gilded images of gods and goddeſſes, of the prieſts contrivance and canonizing, and they never want devotees to adore them, who pay their deceitful impoſers very well for deceiving them; but they are not the only people that are ſo cunningly deluded, for the fatal cuſtom has ſpread univerſally in all the corners of the world.

The great God, who created the univerſe, they have no image of, nor can they make any of him, becauſe he never ſhewed himſelf in any bodily ſhape, and therefore they can form no idea of his ſhape, dimenſions, or beauty; but Tipedah, the great God's partner, has often ſhewed himſelf, and him they worſhip in his image with the higheſt adoration. Praw Prumb and Sommo Cuddem, his friends, they adore with the ſecond degree in worſhip; and Prapout and Samſay have the third ſort of veneration paid to their images.

They have many little deities inferior to thoſe above-mentioned, whom they adore as patrons or protectors of ſeveral tribes of men, and other animals of different countries and cities, of health, proſperity, and other chances and caſualties; ſo every one is at liberty to chooſe his own patron or protector, and worſhip him according to his own mind, but none are perſecuted for the opinion of the way he is to worſhip, either the great or the little gods. That heavenly frenzy is only a raging mad diſtemper that affects the melancholic brains of the weſtern world.

I was in one temple pretty large, built exactly four-ſquare, and each ſquare contained juſt an hundred images. They were placed in niches or domes about four feet from the ground. There were more goddeſſes than gods, and all were in a ſitting poſture, croſs-legged, as tailors ſit on their ſhopboards. Their noſes were low and ſmall, their viſage long, their ears large, and the lappets of them thick and plump. They ſat promiſcuouſly in thoſe niches, and all clothed in one livery of gold leaf. They were almoſt as big as full-grown men and women, but very different in their ſubſtances. The prieſts told us, that ſome were of pure gold, others of Tecul ſilver, which has no alloy in it, ſome of copper, and ſome of braſs, and ſome of baked clay; but, for want of ſumpture laws among them, it was hard to know the gentleman from the beggar by their garb, or a lady from a laundreſs.

In one temple, as I was informed, ſtands the famous Samſay, twenty yards in height. He is in a right lineal deſcent from little Samſay, who cauſed ſo much war between Siam and Pegu, which never ended but with the diſſolution of the Pegu empire. In moſt of their temples there are frightful dragons, ſtanding ſentinels at their gates, but whether they are placed there to keep in the gods, or to keep out devils, I know not.

There are reckoned no leſs than 50,000 clergymen, or tallapoys, belonging to the temples, in and about the city of Siam; but they are eaſy to the ſtate, having no ſtated benefices or other revenues, and yet they are plentifully ſupplied with all the neceſſaries of life by the charity and benevolence of the laity.

There is one temple about three miles below the city, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, called the Fiſhes' Temple; becauſe annually in the month of September, when the floods overflow the low ground (as in Egypt), there are good numbers of fiſhes, almoſt like ſmall ſalmon, that frequent a pond cloſe to that temple, and are to be found in no other place in the Siam dominions, and they are ſo tame, that they will come cloſe to our boats, and friſk and play on the ſurface of the water, and if any body has a mind to feed them with bread, cocoa-nut, meat, or other food that does not eaſily

ſeparate, it is only to hold ſome near the ſurface of the water, and they will take it familiarly from the hand. I have often taken pleaſure to feed them, and ſee them play, but as ſoon as we leave off feeding them they will withdraw, ſo that hardly one is to be ſeen till a new ſupply of victuals is offered to them.

But none dares offer to take one of them, for fear of raiſing a zealous ſanctified mob, who puniſh ſmall faults with the greateſt ſeverities, and thoſe fiſhes being conſecrated to the god of that temple, are ſecurely protected by the conſecration. They continue about the temple till the middle of December, that the floods begin to draw off the ground, and then they depart, and are ſeen no where in any river or pond belonging to Siam, till September brings them back to their temple.

Whatever animal comes within the verge of a temple, it is ſecured from purſuit or violence. I knew a Portugueze inhabitant of Siam, who ſhot a crow as it ſat on the branch of a tree that grew near a temple, on which the prieſts raiſed a mob, who broke both the poor man's legs and arms, and left him in the field for dead; but ſome Chriſtians coming accidentally by, carried him in a boat, in that deplorable ſtate, to a French ſurgeon, who ſet his bones, and cured him. I ſaw him alive and well in anno 1720.

The French have a biſhop at Siam, with a church and a ſeminary for the education of converts. They ſtand a little above the city, on the oppoſite ſide of the river. They make but few converts, except when corn is dear, and then ſome of the poorer ſort receive baptiſm, which entitles them to a maintenance from the church; but, when plenty returns, they throw away their beads and brazen ſaint, and bid farewel to Chriſtianity. In anno 1720, there were not above 70 Chriſtians in and about Siam, and they the moſt diſſolute, lazy, thieviſh raſcals that were to be found in the country.

The biſhop was one Mr. Ciſſee, a man of about 80 years of age, who, in a famine that happened there in anno 1708, took up about 3000l. ſterling from the King, to buy corn for the ſupport of his church, and ſuch poor Siamers as were converted by the neceſſity of the times, who relapſed again as ſoon as the famine ceaſed, and the poor old biſhop cannot leave the country till that debt be diſcharged. He is ſuperſtitiouſly zealous for his religion, and would fain go to Couchin-China, or Tunquin, to die a martyr, becauſe it is death by their law to preach any foreign doctrine without leave firſt obtained from their Kings.

Whatever principles he may have had in religion I know not, but I am ſure that he was a diminutive moraliſt, which I knew by experience, in ſeducing ſome of my ſeamen, who were black Chriſtians, to leave my ſhip at Siam, contrary to his promiſe, which obliged me to buy ſlaves to ſupply their places; but I left him ſome cauſe to repent of his folly and breach of promiſe.

There were four or five prieſts there beſides the biſhop, one whereof always attends the college, and the others officiate daily in the church. They live abſtemiouſly, but, I believe, rather through force than choice, for their incomes are very ſmall, as charity and piety are very cold among their flock. The Portugueze have alſo a church there, built on the ſide of the river, oppoſite to the lower end of the town; but their prieſts are generally ſo ſcandalous in their lives, that few frequent their church, or care for their converſation. The Chineſe being very numerous in Siam, have ſeveral ſmall temples, but none remarkable for their ſtructure or beauty.

The Dutch have a factory there, about a mile below the town, on the ſame ſide of the river. Their greateſt inveſtments are in tin, ſapan-wood, and deers ſkins, which they

they buy up for the Japon market. The Siam market takes off but little European goods; however the Dutch chief makes a pretty good figure there.

The Engliſh, for many years, had alſo a factory there, till about the year 1686, the Eaſt India Company ſeeking occaſions to pick a quarrel with the Siamers, in order to withdraw, they took hold of ſuch as they could firſt find, though never ſo frivolous. The firſt was about anno 1684. The Carolina, bound from England to China, had the misfortune to loſe her paſſage, and coming to Siam to paſs away the north-eaſt monſoons, and the King of Siam having occaſion for ſome ſtores for ſhipping out of the Carolina's cargo, to equip ſome ſhips that he had built in order to humble the Cambodians and the Couchin-Chineſe, who diſturbed the navigation of his country, he civilly requeſted the Engliſh chief to ſupply him at the prices the ſame commodities uſed to be ſold at to merchants, but he could not find that favour, which he reſented, and threatened to diſturb their commerce. At length, they ſupplied him with ſome part of what he demanded, to avert the ill conſequences that might happen by a total refuſal. This was repreſented to the Company in the darkeſt colours, and they thought that ſufficient to ground a war on; but they had at that time a fleet of large ſhips, which they had equipped to regain their trade of Bantam, and other places, which the Dutch had inſolently robbed them of; but they were diſappointed by the deep politics of King Charles II. as is before obſerved.

However, the King of Siam continued his indulgence to the Company and their ſervants, in much affluence and luxury, continually carouſing in debaucheries with wine and women, till their common ſalaries and gains by trade were in no proportion to their extravagant expences; however, that being a free country, they had liberty to ſpend their own and their maſters eſtates as they pleaſed.

The King of Siam having formed the deſign of a war, as above mentioned, with Cambodia and Couchin-China, employed a good number of Engliſh who had reſorted to Siam, to partake of the King's indulgence and bounty, and to help the Company's ſervants to ſpend their money. All the Engliſh who had a mind to enliſt themſelves on board of his fleet, had great encouragement of honourable poſts and good ſalaries well paid, and they did perform actions in the war worthy of the bravery and courage of the Engliſh nation, by which the King's favour to the Engliſh increaſed more than before the war.

One Mr. Pots happened to be chief of the Engliſh factory at that time, who by his extravagant luxury had rioted away a great part of his maſters goods and money, and had run his own credit out of doors. He then began to form projects how to clear accounts with his maſters and creditors, without putting any thing in their pockets. The firſt was on 500 cheſts of Japon copper, which his maſters had in ſpecie at Siam, and they were brought into account of profit and loſs, for ſo much eaten up by the white ants, which are really inſects, that by a cold corroding liquid quality, can do much miſchief to cloth, timber, or on any other ſoft body that their fluids can penetrate, but copper is thought too hard a morſel for them; however I ſaw that article in the Company's accounts, as they were remitted from Siam to Bombay, and were in Mr. Vaux's cuſtody at Surat afterwards.

But that ſmall article of 2500 pounds, went but a ſmall way towards clearing of his accounts. So after ſupper one night as they were merrily carouſing, the factory was ſet on fire, and that balanced all other accounts. Mr. Pots alledged to the King, that his ſubjects the Siamers, had done that miſchief, and expected the King to be accountable for loſſes and damages ſuſtained by the Company and their ſervants.

The King, on the other hand, proffered to prove, that Mr. Pots and his drunken companions had done it, and that he expected the Company ſhould be accountable to his ſubjects for the loſs they had ſuſtained by the fire, which had burnt ſeveral houſes that lay near the factory. However, the Company adhered to the juſt complaints of their honeſt ſervants, and thought that the King's refuſal to make good their demands, was a ſufficient piece of ground to build their war on. However, the Company conſidering that a war could bring them no advantage, thought it enough to bully the Siamers, but never declared a war.

In the year 1685, the Company ſent two ſhips to the bar of Siam. One was the Herbert of 800 tuns, the other the Prudent Mary of 400, to frighten the Siamers; but they did no damage to them, and the Siamers treated them civilly.

About the year 1680, there was one Conſtantine Falcon, a Greek by birth, that ſome years before had ſhipt himſelf ſteward of an Engliſh ſhip at London, bound to India, and being ordered for Siam, and finding ſome ill treatment on board, he deſerted from the ſhip, and fled to a ſmall village ſome diſtance from the city, where he amuſed himſelf in learning the Siam language. He being a ſober, ingenious, and induſtrious perſon, ſoon made himſelf maſter of the language, and ſerved as an interpreter for the Engliſh at court, where he was remarkably taken notice of, and got a poſt there. His behaviour recommended him to greater preferments, ſo that in a very few years he became prime miniſter of ſtate, and behaved himſelf ſo well in that high ſtation, that every thing belonging to the ſtate of the country proſpered, ſo that Siam became the richeſt and powerfulleſt kingdom in that part of the world.

The Jeſuits hearing that one of the Romiſh communion ſat at the helm of the Siam affairs, and it being a rich country, brought whole troops of them into Siam, who got the whole management of affairs into their hands, through the intereſt of the barkalong, that being the appellation of firſt miniſter. They tickled themſelves with the fancy of bringing the whole kingdom of Siam under the pope's juriſdiction, and in anno 1683, the firſt year of his miniſtry, they got the King to ſend an embaſſy to the King of France, which ambaſſador came alſo to London, and ſettled a treaty of commerce for the Engliſh that ſhould trade in Siam.

The Jeſuits impoſed on the King of France, and made him believe, that if he would ſend an embaſſy to Siam, that King would leave his own ſuperſtition, and embrace theirs. Accordingly an ambaſſador was ſent, with many valuable French curioſities, and among them a very fine maſs-book, with beautiful cuts of all the firſt rate ſaints in the Romiſh kalendar.

On the ambaſſador's arrival, he was received with the reſpect due to his character, and when the preſents were laid before the King, according to cuſtom, he ſeemed much pleaſed with their curioſity; but when he viewed the pictures in the maſs-book, he aſked a Jeſuit who was interpreter, what they were, who anſwered, that they were the pictures of holy men now in heaven, and ſuch as his brother the King of France adored; and as he deſigned an eternal friendſhip with his majeſty, he hoped that he would alſo adore thoſe pictures, and worſhip the images of thoſe ſaints, rather than thoſe idols that were worſhipped all over his dominions. The King returned anſwer, that the gods of his country had been auſpicuous to them who lived in it for time out of mind; and as it would be unjuſt and ungrateful to baniſh thoſe gods that had been ſo long very kind to his predeceſſors and himſelf, ſo he could not turn his old gods off and take new ones in their places that he did not ſo well know, and that he would oblige his brother of France in any thing but that.

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The King of France complimented Mr. Falcon with the order of Knighthood, and in his letter to him, wherein he recommended the French affairs to his care, particularly that of religion, he ſtyled him loving couſin and counſeller.

After the embaſſy was gone from Siam to France, the Jeſuits thought of nothing but bringing the trade of Siam under the power of the French, and in order to that, got the King to order the building of a fort on the river's ſide, oppoſite to the fort of Bencock, a town about 20 leagues below the city of Siam, and to have it manned with a garriſon of French, to be paid by the exchequer of Siam, and all this was granted according to their mind.

The fort is a regular tetragon, and can mount about 80 great guns. When the French got poſſeſſion they grew intolerably arrogant, which made the Siamers uneaſy, and murmured at the King's weakneſs, but that was in private; for certain deſtruction is the ſure reward of talking publicly of any miſmanagement of the ſtate, for a King of Siam can no more err in politics, than a pope can in matters of faith.

Yet about the year 1688, by ſome malevolent planet that over-ruled his actions, he made a war with his neighbours the Kings of Cambodia, and Couchin-China. He ſent an army by land, and a fleet by ſea, to carry on the war, but was not ſucceſsful by land. However in the land-army there was a mean perſon, a citizen of Siam, who kept a fruit-ſhop; he had a bold daring ſpirit, and behaved himſelf ſo well on all occaſions, in the land war, that he came to preferment, and at laſt was made generaliſſimo, and then ended the war to the ſatisfaction of the whole army abroad, and his prince at home; but when he brought back the army to Siam, ſeeing the King wrapt up in the opinion he had of the Jeſuits counſels, and the management they had in the affairs of ſtate, by the countenance of the King and his firſt miniſter my Lord Falcon, he picked a quarrel with the King, and having moſt of the army at his devotion, ſeized his maſter and put him to death, after the manner of royal criminals, or as princes of of the blood are treated when convicted of capital crimes, which is, by putting them into a large iron caldron, and pounding them to pieces with wooden peſtles, becauſe none of their royal blood muſt be ſpilt on the ground, it being, by their religion, thought great impiety to contaminate the divine blood, by mixing it with earth. And after he had murdered his maſter, he ſummoned all the Mandarines in the city, to hold a council in the palace.

My Lord Falcon, for that was generally his deſignation, had, by his civil deportment towards people of all ranks and degrees, ſo ingratiated himſelf, that he had a ſtronger party by far, both in the city and country, than the general; and beſides, had all the fleet at his devotion. Many of my Lord's friends diſſuaded him from obeying the ſummons, but to raiſe the forces of the city, and revenge the death of the King, and many officers of the army that deteſted the regicide would have come over to his party, which at leaſt was above 50,000 ſtrong, but being infatuate, he was deaf to all good advice, and went to the palace, where as ſoon as he had ſet his foot, he was ſeized by the general's guards, and beheaded; ſo the uſurper took the ſovereignty into his own hands, and at that inſtant was by *jure divino* made an infallible favourite of heaven, and the ſun, moon, and ſtars, had the honour to be his near relations.

Had my Lord Falcon followed his friends advice, or had courage anſwerable to his other good qualities, he had certainly been honoured with the diadem in Siam, and if he had introduced popery in the place of paganiſm, he had been honoured with a place in the pope's almanack, but his puſillanimity made him unworthy of both.

I had

I had this account from my lord's ſecretary, Mr. Baſhpool, who, on his maſter's death, was clapped up in priſon, and lay three years with his neck in the congoes, which are a pair of ſtocks made of bamboos, and was never taken out, but in order to be ſeverely whipped, to make him accuſe rich men whom the uſurper had a mind to deſtroy, that he might ſeize their eſtates under the umbrage of juſtice and law.

I ſaw my Lady Falcon in anno 1719, and ſhe was then honoured with the ſuperintendency of His Majeſty's confectionary. She was born in Siam, of honourable parents, and at that time much reſpected both in the court and city, for her prudence and humanity to natives and ſtrangers, when they came into difficulties, or under the weight of oppreſſions from the officers of the court or city.

When the Siam ambaſſador returned from France and England, in the murdered King's time, his maſter, among many other queſtions, aſked him if the King of France had any palaces like his at Siam, for beauty and magnitude, and the poor man unadviſedly told him truth that in France were many finer, nay, that the King of France's horſe ſtables in Paris exceeded any buildings in India, which His Majeſty took ſo ill, that he diſgraced him, and was very near loſing his head for his telling truth.

The King of Siam is as fond of lofty titles as the King of Pegu. Beſides his proximity with the heavenly luminaries, he is a god on earth, in whoſe court are to be found juſtice, mercy, and benevolence to mankind, with ſuch a train of ſenſeleſs hyperboles, and at laſt, to illuſtrate all the reſt, he is King of the white elephant, a title that none diſputes with him but the King of Pegu.

The King beſtows his anniverſary bleſſing on his people in the month of September, when he paſſes through the city attended with a numerous train of elephants, among whom is the white elephant, but he is only of a cream colour, and I have ſeen ſeveral at Bangarie, a village near Jonkceyloan, as white as him. All the elephants that day are dreſt in their fineſt trappings, with drums, trumpets, hautboys, and other muſical inſtruments, making a noiſe as they go along; but whether it is to divert His Majeſty or his elephant, I know not, but I am ſure the noiſe was harſh in my ears.

While he is making his elephantine cavalcade through the city, the populace dares not look him in the face, but proſtrate on their knees and their elbows on the ground, with their hands open and joined above their heads, and their eyes fixt on the ground, or ſhut till he has paſt by them, then they are permitted to riſe and look on his back parts or ſide.

In the month of November he alſo ſhews himſelf on the river, in a ballong or barge of 30 or 40 yards long, about two yards broad, and two feet deep, with a throne placed, near the middle of her length, about ſeven feet high, and a rich canopy over his head, and being ſeated on the throne, his greateſt lords or minions ſit under the throne, and about 50 or 60 rowers are ſeated afore and be-aft the throne, (clothed in carnation coloured waiſtcoats, with fine caps or turbands on their heads,) to row or paddle His Majeſty wherever he orders them, and there are ordinarily above 1000 other barges to wait on His Majeſty, beſides ſeveral thouſands of other common ballongs, inſomuch, that for five or ſix miles, the river is covered with boats, except near His Majeſty's barge, and there is half a mile of the river clear for his barge to move in.

About four or five in the evening, he goes in his barge to a temple about three miles above the city, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, where the prieſts pray for him, and preſent him with two yards and an half of cotton cloth, that muſt be ſpun and woven the ſame day that the King comes to receive it. After ſun ſets, he embarks

again

again (leaving ſome royal gratuity to the prieſts for their miraculous preſent) and is attended in ſtate to his palace.

His reaſon for honouring the river and his people that time of the year, is to forbid the river formally to flow higher or longer than ſuch a number of inches in height, or of days in time, as he ſets it; yet ſometimes it diſobeys his royal commands.

All the Mandarines belonging to the government, whoſe affairs require their reſidence in the city, whoſe numbers generally amount to 3000, muſt daily attend in the palace, except they have leave to be abſent, and if any one tranſgreſſes, he is ſeverely whipped with ſplit rattans, which cut pretty deep into the fleſh, and leave conſpicuous marks behind them. The greater the marks appear, the greater the honour they take them to be; and the pretty ladies are not exempted from the flagellation, for very ſmall faults. And I have ſeen ſome pretty agreeable young gentlewomen with rattan marks on their backs, which they are ſo far from covering, that as they paſs the ſtreets, they expoſe their backs, though their breaſts, bellies, and necks, are covered with a ſcarf, ſeeming to glory in being ſo much taken notice of by the greateſt King on earth.

The women in Siam are the only merchants in buying goods, and ſome of them trade very conſiderably. The huſbands in general are maintained by the induſtry of their wives. And the Europeans that trade to Siam, accommodate themſelves as they do in Pegu, with temporary wives, almoſt on the ſame conditions too, and it is thought no diſgrace to have had many temporary huſbands, but rather an honour that they have been beloved by ſo many different men. The Chriſtian prieſts cry down that way of marrying, and want every heretic, as well as Chriſtian catholic, to be tied to ſome young laſſes of their bringing up, but the heretics, according to their innate principles, generally continue deaf and obſtinate to the grave advice and ſound doctrine of the holy fathers, and marry according to the Siam way. The catholics dare not do ſo for fear of excommunication, but the Siam wives generally prove the moſt obedient, loving, and chaſte, for which reaſon, when the catholics once go from Siam to follow their buſineſs in other countries, they ſeldom return to Siam, but leave their beloved wives a legacy to the church, who is a very indulgent mother to her termagant daughters.

The natives of both ſexes go bare-headed, and their hair cut within two inches of the ſkin, and gummed, and combed upwards, which makes their head ſeem very big, and all in briſtles like a boar's back. They are well ſhaped in body and limbs, with a large fore-head and a little noſe, and handſome mouth with plump lips, and black ſparkling eyes; their ears of a moderate ſize, but large thick lappets. The men have but little hair on their chins, and they are of an olive-colour, but the women of a ſtraw complexion, and ſome of the ladies have a little tincture of red in their cheeks and lips, but whether it is natural or artificial I know not. They are very prolific and long-lived, which may be partly imputed to their temperance in eating and drinking.

After the uſurper had ſettled himſelf on the throne of Siam, he ordered the French to deliver their fort at Bencock to an officer that he ſent to take poſſeſſion of it, but they refuſed, without firſt making terms for themſelves, on which he ſent a part of his army to attack it, and threatened every man's life that returned before it was taken. His orders were punctually put in execution, and all the French got, was the honour of dying bravely in the defence of their liberty. The fort ſtands ſtill undemoliſhed, but no artillery is in it.

In

In Siam they have ſeveral ways in puniſhing criminals with death, for theft and other ſuch like peccadilloes. Beheading is the common way. For rebellion or mutiny they are ripped up alive, and their guts and entrails taken out, and their carcaſes woven up in a twig caſe, and tied up to a ſtake for vultures and other voracious fowls, or dogs to feed on. I ſaw eighteen one morning going to be executed ſo for mutiny. They were each put on a triangular ſeat, with their necks and hands in wooden fetters, and carried by three ſlaves in chains through the ſtreets to the place of execution, but they looked as if they had been almoſt ſtarved in priſon, for they were very meagre. Some were weeping, others joyful that they were near the end of a miſerable life.

For treaſon and murder, the elephant is the executioner. The condemned perſon is made faſt to a ſtake driven into the ground for the purpoſe, and the elephant is brought to view him, and goes twice or thrice round him, and when the elephant's keeper ſpeaks to the monſtrous executioner, he twines his trunk round the perſon and ſtake, and pulling the ſtake from the ground with great violence, toſſes the man and the ſtake into the air, and in coming down, receives him on his teeth, and ſhaking him off again, puts one of his fore-feet on the carcaſe, and ſqueezes it flat.

In anno 1717, the King of Siam made war on his neighbour of Cambodia, and invaded his country with an army of 50,000 by land, and 20,000 by ſea, and committed the care of his armies to his barkalong, a Chineſe, altogether unacquainted with war. The China-man accepted of the charge with much reluctancy, but the King would not be denied. The war proved unſucceſsful; but I will leave the particulars till I treat of Cambodia, and return to Siam, where I had ſome difficulties to meet with.

In anno 1719, I went thither with a cargo to diſpoſe of, expecting to trade on the footing of the old treaty concluded at London with the King of England and the King of Siam's ambaſſador, in anno 1684; but, on my arrival, I found that Mr. Collet, governor of Fort St. George, had cancelled that agreement by his ambaſſador Powny, as I have already obſerved; and the new conditions being too hard for me to ſtand to, I ſolicited for liberty to depart again with my ſhip and cargo, which I could not obtain in leſs than four months.

Collet's attorney at the court of Siam was a Perſian by birth, but had come to Siam with his father when very young, and had remained about 40 years at Siam. He was as complete a raſcal as Collet could have found for his villainous purpoſes; for by falſe informations to the King he had brought many honeſt men into trouble, and ſome treaſure into the King's coffers.

When I underſtood that he was the remora that had put a ſtop to my commerce, I tried if I could remove him by large preſents, but all to no purpoſe, for if I traded, it muſt be on the ſcheme laid down by Collet, by the negotiation of Powny, who kept one Colliſon as his reſident at Siam, to conſult and inform the Perſian of the beſt methods to ruin the Engliſh traders that had not Collet's letters of protection.

This Perſian (whoſe name was Oia Sennerat) and I, were diſcourſing one day of my affairs in the Induſtan language, which is the eſtabliſhed language ſpoken in the Mogul's large dominions, and, among other things, I was laying down to him the difficulties that might attend the King of Siam's trade, carried on from Merjee to Fort St. George, becauſe if the reſt of the Engliſh colonies were forbid trading with Siam, they had juſt cauſe to forbid his ſubjects to trade to Fort St. George, or any where elſe, and that other troubles might ariſe to the King's affairs, by thus impoſing on the King, who was ignorant of the conſequences that might follow in breaking the agreement made in England, without ſo much as once giving warning to the Engliſh colonies of other parts of India.

He anſwered me, that the King of Fort St. George could beſt give me an anſwer, who was able to protect the King of Siam's trade thither, and that His Majeſty had no other foreign trade but Japon, that he valued, and the Engliſh had no trade that way to diſturb his maſter's commerce; and that if I did not comply with the agreement made by Powny in Collet's name, I might go away when I could.

I told him that I had a mind to ſee the King, and would make him a preſent of a 1000 dollars, if he could find means to introduce me to his preſence. He anſwered me, that the Engliſh had not good manners enough to be admitted into the preſence of ſo great a King, and therefore I ought not to expect to appear before him; and for fear I ſhould have made application to ſome other court favourite to introduce me, about two or three days after our confabulation, I heard that there was a proclamation publiſhed all over the city, that no foreigner ſhould dare to approach within ſuch a diſtance of the King's palace, under very ſevere penalties.

About a week after I had a ſummons to appear before a tribunal, to anſwer to an indictment of ſpeaking treaſon of the King. I knew myſelf innocent, and appeared at the time appointed, which was about eight in the morning. The court was held in a large, ſquare, oblong hall, open on all ſides. About nine the judge came with ſome thouſands of attendants, and, as he paſſed by me to take his place, he viewed me very narrowly, as I did him with much attention. He was a man of a middle ſtature, about 50 years of age, of a pleaſant but grave countenance, and had a quick ſparkling eye. He ſpoke to my interpreter, to bid me have a care of my tongue, leſt I ſhould prejudice myſelf in anſwering to intricate queſtions. I thanked him for his admonition, and told him, "A word to the wiſe was ſufficient."

Having placed himſelf, he ordered my indictment to be read, which was accordingly done, and in about half an hour's time it was ended. He aſked me by my interpreter, if I underſtood what was libelled againſt me. I anſwered, "No." He then bade the interpreter inform me of the meaning of each particular paragraph, as they were read a ſecond time with deliberation, and, having heard my impeachment, which was grounded only on my ſaying, "That the King had been impoſed upon," I thought fit to deny all, and put my adverſary Oia Sennerat to prove that I had ſaid ſo; but, by the bye, I found, that ſaying the King of Siam was capable of being impoſed on, is rank treaſon.

The judge choſe out of the aſſembly two procurators for each of us; and there were no ſmall debates, for three or four hours, "Whether or not a ſtranger, who was ignorant of the laws of Siam, could come under the penalty annexed to the tranſgreſſion of their laws, when they were broken through ignorance, and not with deſign;" but my antagoniſt at laſt carried it in the affirmative, though the judge ſeemed to incline towards the opinions of my advocates.

Then the judge put Oia Sennerat to prove what I was accuſed of, and he produced two of his own ſervants, who ſtood at ſome diſtance when we were diſcourſing of my affairs; but my advocates challenged the laws of Siam for their inſufficiency, for that law admits not of a ſervant's teſtimony, either for or againſt his maſter. Then he proffered to bring an undeniable witneſs againſt me, who was the only perſon with us when we diſcourſed, and that was Colliſon, who was preſently ſent for, and being ſet by my adverſary, the judge aſked him by the interpreter, if he was preſent at ſuch a time, when Oia Sennerat and I were in warm diſcourſe. He anſwered, he was. He then interrogated him, if he had heard me ſay in my diſcourſe, that the King had been impoſed on. He affirmed he had; on which I perceived a cloud overſpread the judge's countenance, and many others who had come to hear the trial ſeemed ſorrowful.

After a little pauſe, the judge, by the interpreter, aſked me what I had to ſay to Colliſon's evidence. I anſwered, that I had little knowledge of him, but that he might be an honeſt man, or otherwiſe, as his intereſt led him. All continued mute for a little ſpace, and I broke the ſilence by deſiring the judge to aſk Colliſon in what language I held that diſcourſe with Oia Sennerat, which the judge did, and was anſwered, that he did not well know, but that he believed it was in the Induſtan language. I begged the judge to aſk him if he underſtood that language, and he did ſo. Colliſon, after ſome pauſe, anſwered, "No." Then the judge aſked him angrily, and with an air of diſdain, how he could come in as evidence of words ſpoken in a language that he did not underſtand, and he ſimply ſaid, that he thought I had ſaid ſo; at which the whole crowd gave an huzza, and clapped their hands, and ſeemed joyful. The judge reprimanded Oia Sennerat for putting him and the court to ſo much trouble, and complimented me on my ſafe delivery, and ſo departed ſeemingly well ſatisfied.

I had two Britiſh gentlemen that accompanied me all the time of my trial. One was commander of a ſmall ſhip from Bengal, called Mr. Alexander Dalgliſh, and one Mr. John Saunders, who was ſecond ſupercargo under me; and when the judge came, ſome executioners followed him with their inſtruments of death, to put the ſentence in execution as ſoon as the judge pronounces it. Our debates held ſo long, that it was near eight at night before we got home. Had I been caſt in my proceſs, my head had been a ſacrifice to my adverſary's reſentment, and my ſhip and cargo to the much-injured King, and, to ſum up all, my ſhip's company had been the King's ſlaves. On my returning home victorious, I had the congratulations of all my friends, particularly the Chineſe merchants, whoſe lives and eſtates might have been endangered by the like villainous informations.

My adverſaries being ſhamefully diſappointed in that project, had one more to try their ſkill in, and that was to bring me in for piracy; for, about four years before, Mr. Harriſon, then governor of Fort St. George, had ſent a ſhip to Amoy in China, and ſome China merchants having taken goods and money, to the amount of 20,000 tayels, or 6700l. ſterling; when the term of payment came, they eloped, and the ſupercargoes could have no redreſs, which made them give orders to the captain of the ſhip to make repriſals, which they did on a large jonk belonging to the Barkalong of Siam; which jonk they carried with them to Fort St. George, and which fact my adverſaries fixed on me, though, at that time, I was in Arabia or Perſia, which I offered to prove by ſome Mahometan merchants that ſaw me there; but all that I could alledge would have been ineffectual, if I had not accidentally found ſome Chineſe who belonged to the jonk when ſhe was ſeized, and who knew both me and Captain Jones, who was the captor, and ſo it never came to a trial.

It being high time for me to get from Siam at any rate, I applied myſelf to my judge for his aſſiſtance, and carried a preſent of four yards of ſcarlet cloth, and ſome pieces of Surat goods, to the value of 20l. in all. He received me very courteouſly, and promiſed me his aſſiſtance, but would accept of none of my preſents. At laſt, on my preſſing him to take it, he accepted of the ſcarlet cloth, but would not touch any of the Surat goods, though they were very fine in their kind; but recommended me to two officers more, whom I muſt addreſs to make my requeſt be the eaſier granted, and he told me, that thoſe Surat goods would ſerve to make them my friends. I took his advice, and in three days had my clearance, for paying about 200l. for my ſhip's meaſurage, (an impoſition of Mr. Collet's,) and ſo I fell down to Bencock, where, according to the Siam cuſtom, I was obliged to put my guns aſhore, before I could go up to the city. I lay there four or five days before orders were ſent to deliver my

guns, which, as ſoon as I had got on board, and mounted, I told the officer that delivered them, to give my ſervice to Oia Sennerat, and tell him, that if the King's three jonks arrived on this coaſt this ſeaſon, he would hear farther from me by them.

By that time I was clear at Bencock, Captain Dalgliſh arrived there alſo, in order to proceed to Bengal. He had fallen into the trap laid by Collet, and had paid meaſurage and cuſtoms, beſides the uſual preſents to the court, according to the old conſtitution, but he could not get ready to go ſo ſoon out of the river as I, otherwiſe I deſigned to have brought ſome troubles on Sennerat, if not on Collet and Powney's affairs at Siam, but Captain Dalgliſh being ſtill in their power, tied my hands.

Siam bar is only a large bank of ſoft mud, and, at ſpring tides, not above ten or eleven feet water on it. It is eaſy getting into it in the ſouth-weſt monſoons, becauſe, in two or three tides, with the motion the ſhip receives from the ſmall waves and the aſſiſtance of the wind, ſhe ſlides through the mud. My ſhip drew thirteen feet, and we had not above nine on the bar when we went into the river, but coming out with the north-eaſt monſoons, the ſea being ſmooth, we were obliged to warp out with anchors and halſers, and, if the ſhip draws any conſiderable draught of water, we are ſometimes two ſprings in warping over, but, at twelve feet draught, I got over in four tides.

And now, having given ſome particular accounts of my obſervations on and in Siam, I will alſo give ſome general remarks, and begin with the fertility of the country, which, on that point, is inferior to few (if any) in the world.

There are but two parcels of mountains to be ſeen in the places that I paſſed through, and they lie between eaſt and north-eaſt from the city of Odia, about ten leagues diſtant, and they produce good timber for building, and agala-wood for perfumes. They have alſo mines of iron, tin, lead, ſilver and gold, but they are all entailed on the crown, who has the ſole benefit of them. They breed vaſt numbers of wild deer, which are hunted and killed for the ſake of their ſkins, which they yearly ſend to Japon.

The plains produce all ſorts of grain neceſſary for animal and human ſuſtenance. They plentifully bear as good, if not the beſt oranges, lemons, and limes in the world. Their rivers ſuperabound in fiſh of ſeveral ſpecies, very good in their kind. Their villages are numerous, and well inhabited with artificers and peaſants; but there are but five walled towns in all the Siam dominions, and Odia is one of them.

They have abundance of wild animals in their woods, ſuch as elephants, rhinoceroſes, leopards and tigers; and tame cattle, as bullocks, buffaloes and ſwine, in abundance about their farms. Temples and prieſts are more numerous here, in proportion to the laity, than in any country I ever ſaw out of the dominions of Portugal. Their tallapoys or prieſts are diſtinguiſhed from the laity by a cinnamon or orange-coloured cloak which they wear, they again differing among themſelves by diſtinguiſhing badges, by which they know their degree and dignity. Their heads, beards, and eye-brows are kept cloſe ſhaven. They are forbidden marriage or meddling with money, and if any of the prieſthood is convicted of incontinency with women, he is burned for it alive, and, if only ſuſpected and brought to a trial, he is degraded and baniſhed.

They have ſermons or lectures four times in a moon, the gates of the temples being ſet wide open, and the people meet in good order. Their ſermons conſiſt in recommending moral duties to the people, and charity towards one another, but particularly to the church, by which acts it ſubſiſts; and, after the prieſt's benediction, every one goes to an image, and kiſſes it, or bows to it, and marches off in good order. They have morning and evening prayers, and ſing anthems. They viſit the ſick, and pray for the dead, and accompany the corps to the funeral pile, and ſing obſequies. They

go to weddings, and make ſacrifices for the proſperity of the bridegroom and bride, but have no hand in joining them together.

Marriages are there made up by parents or near relations, without the conſent of the parties to be married, for that reaſon they are commonly married very young; but, if they are come to the years of diſcretion or maturity, then the ſpark gets ſome female friend to acquaint his miſtreſs with his paſſion for her, and if ſhe will permit a viſit from him the bargain is as good as made. The civil magiſtrate with them officiates the prieſt's part with us, and when once they are married, they ſeldom ſue for a divorce, which is very hard to procure, except in caſe of inſufficiency in the man, or barrenneſs in the woman, for adultery, in either party, is not reckoned infamous; and fornication is either allowed or tolerated.

The children are carefully educated in ſchools by prieſts ſet apart for that ſervice, and it is rare to find a Siamer but who can write. After ſchooling, they are put to ſuch callings as ſuit beſt with their genius and quality; and there is generally a reciprocal harmony between parents and children. The children are obedient, and the parent indulgent. In childhood and youth the parent furniſhes the child with what is neceſſary, and in old age the child ſupplies all the wants of his parent, as far as he is able. In marriages they make no account of conſanguinity, farther than between father and daughter, mother and ſon, and ſiſter and brother; all other degrees are lawful.

And now it is time to ſteer my courſe to the ſouthward again as far as Cambodia. Coaſting along ſhore, the firſt place we meet with is Bankaſoy, a place not frequented by ſtrangers, though it produces much agala and ſapan-woods, and elephants teeth; but all are ſent to the King, who, for all his gaudy titles, yet ſtoops to play the merchant. I ſuppoſe he makes uſe of trading in honour of his kinſman Mercury, who ſuperintends merchandizing, but was never reckoned a fair dealer, and in that point the King is nearly related to him: but Bankaſoy is famous, chiefly for making ballichang, a ſauce made of dried ſhrimps, cod-pepper, ſalt and a ſea-weed or graſs, all well mixed, and beaten up to the conſiſtency of thick muſtard. Its taſte and ſmell are both ungrateful to the noſe and palate; but many hundred tons are expended in Siam and the adjacent countries.

Bankaſoy river lies but four or five leagues to the eaſtward of Siam bar, and there are two iſlands, called the Dutch iſlands, where great ſhips are obliged to ſtay in the ſouth-weſt monſoons, when they cannot get water over the bar that bears off it ſouth-eaſt and by ſouth, about nine leagues diſtant.

I obſerved before, that the Company ſent the Herbert and another ſhip from England in anno 1685, and in 1686. As the Herbert lay at thoſe iſlands, one Captain Udal, who commanded her, died, and the ſucceeding captain carried his corpſe aſhore, and buried it in a pretty deep grave. Two days after, ſome of the ſhip's people going aſhore, had the curioſity to go and ſee the grave. When they came near, to their great wonder, they ſaw the corpſe ſtripped of its winding-ſheet, and ſet upright againſt a tree. It was afterwards put again into the coffin, and buried in the ſame grave, with a quantity of heavy ſtones on it, and next day they came to the grave, and found it opened a ſecond time, with the corpſe ſtanding upright againſt another tree; ſo they made faſt ſome ſtones to it, and carried it a pretty way into the ſea, and buried it in the water, where it remained undiſturbed. This ſtrange reſurrection left room for various conjectures, but the moſt probable ſeemed to be, that ſome ſorcerers took it up, and put it in that poſture, whilſt they, by their ſorceries or incantations, interrogate it about future events, and received anſwers through human organs. The matter of fact I have heard often affirmed by ſeveral who were there at the time and ſaw it, which made me enquire, if

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any people in Siam uſed to enquire about future events after that manner, and I was told that they did.

The coaſts of Liampe and Chiampo are in the territories of Siam, but for 50 leagues and more along the ſea-ſhore, there are no ſea-ports, the country being almoſt a deſert. It produces good ſtore of ſapan and agala-woods, with gum-lack and ſtick-lack, and many drugs that I know but little about.

CHAP. XLVIII. — *Gives an Account of Cambodia; its Trade; alſo of a late War brought into their Country by the Siamer, and the ill Succeſs they had.*

THE firſt ſea-port to be met with is Cupangſoap, a town in the dominions of Cambodia. It affords elephants teeth, ſtick-lack and the gum cambouge or cambodia; but there is no free commerce allowed there, without a licence from the court of Cambodia.

The next place is Ponteamaſs, a place of pretty good trade for many years, having the conveniency of a pretty deep but narrow river, which, in the rainy ſeaſons of the ſouth-weſt monſoons, has communication with Banſack or Cambodia river, which conveniency made it draw foreign commerce from the city of Cambodia hither; for the city lying near 100 leagues up the river, and moſt part of the way a continual ſtream running downward, made the navigation to the city ſo long and troubleſome, that few cared to trade to it, for which reaſons foreign commerce choſe to come to Ponteamaſs, and it flouriſhed pretty well till the year 1717, that the Siam fleet deſtroyed it.

When the Siam army and fleet threatened Cambodia, the King knew his inability to withſtand the Siamers, ſo the inhabitants that lived on his borders had orders to remove towards the city of Cambodia, and what they could not bring with them, to deſtroy it, ſo that for 50 leagues the country was a mere deſert. He then addreſſed the King of Couchin-China for aſſiſtance and protection, which he obtained, on condition that Cambodia ſhould become tributary to Couchin-China, which was agreed to, and he had an army of 15,000 to aſſiſt him by land, and 3000 in nimble gallies well manned and equipped, by ſea.

The Siam army by land was above double the number of the Cambodians and Couchin-Chineſe in conjunction, and their fleet above four times their number. The land army finding all the country deſolate, as they marched into the borders of Cambodia, ſoon began to be in diſtreſs for want of proviſions, which obliged them to kill their carriage beaſts and their elephants and horſes, which they could get no ſuſtenance for, and the ſoldiers being obliged to eat their fleſh, it being a diet they had never been uſed to, an epidemic flux and fever ſeized the whole army, ſo that in two months one half was not left, and thoſe were obliged to retreat towards their own country again, with the Cambodian army always at their heels.

Nor had their navy much better ſucceſs; for they coming to Ponteamaſs, ſent in their ſmall gallies to plunder and burn the town, which they did effectually, and, of elephants teeth only, they burnt above 200 tons. The ſhips and jonks of burden lying in the road, above four miles from the town, the Couchin-Chineſe taking hold of that opportunity, attacked the large veſſels, and burned ſome, and forced others aſhore, whilſt their gallies were in a narrow river, and could not come to their aſſiſtance till high-water that they could get out. The Couchin-Chineſe having done what they came for, retired, not caring to engage ſuch a ſuperior number, and the Siamers fear-

ing famine in their fleet, ſteered their courſe for Siam with diſgrace. In anno 1720, I ſaw ſeveral of the wrecks, and the ruins of the town of Ponteamaſs.

The city of Cambodia ſtands on the ſide of the great river, about 50 or 60 leagues from Ponteamaſs by land, or by water in the ſouth-weſt monſoons. The country produces gold of 21 carats fine, raw ſilk at 120 dollars per pecul, elephants teeth at 50 to 55 dollars for the largeſt. The ſmall are of different prices. They have alſo much ſapan-wood, ſandal-wood, agala-wood, ſtick-lack, and many ſorts of phyſical drugs, and lack for japanning. They are very deſirous of having a trade with the Engliſh; but they will not ſuffer the Dutch to ſettle factories in their country.

Proviſions of fleſh and fiſh are plentiful and cheap, and are the only things that may be bought without a permit from the King. I have bought a bullock, that weighed between four and five hundred weight, for a Spaniſh dollar; and rice is bought at eight-pence per pecul, which is about 140lbs.; but poultry are ſcarce, becauſe the country being for the moſt part woody, when the chickens grow big they go to the woods, and ſhift for themſelves. Tigers and wild elephants are numerous in the woods, and there are alſo wild cattle and buffaloes, and plenty of deer, all which animals every body is free to catch or kill.

There are about 200 Topaſſes, or Indian Portugueze ſettled and married in Cambodia, and ſome of them have pretty good poſts in the government, and live great after the faſhion of that country; but they have no prieſts, nor will any venture to go among them; for in anno 1710, a poor capuchin went there to officiate, and finding one of the toppingeſt of his congregation to have two wives, ordered him, by virtue of his ſacerdotal power, to put one of them away, but his pariſhioner would not obey in that point, which made the prieſt uſe the weapon of excommunication againſt him, which the other took in ſuch dudgeon, that he knocked his ſpiritual guide's brains out for his unſeaſonable ſeverity. Since that time they wrote to Siam and Macao in China for ſome more ghoſtly fathers, but not one will go, though perhaps they might have the honour of dying martyrs.

They all of them have ſmall penſions from the King, but too narrow to maintain them, ſo they go to the woods with fire-arms, and kill wild elephants for their teeth, which they ſell to foreigners, and their way of killing them is very ſingular; for they form a piece of iron like a ſlug, and the foremoſt end is made ſharp: in the woods grow certain trees with a thick bark of a violent poiſonous quality; they drive the ſharp end of the ſlug into the bark, and let it ſtay a ſhort time in it, then put the ſlug into their gun charged with powder, and coming near the beaſt, fire the ſlug into its body; the elephant being thus wounded, flees from the man, but the man keeps ſight of it for a ſmall ſpace of time, and then it drops down dead.

And with the ſame poiſoned ſlugs they kill cattle and buffaloes, for their tongues. This ſubtil poiſon has alſo another ſtrange quality, that if men become hungry or thirſty (as they often do in the woods), they ſqueeze a few drops of it on a leaf of a tree, and they licking the leaf, it gives immediate refreſhment; but if the ſkin be broken, and the juice touch the part, it proves mortal without remedy.

When I arrived at Ponteamaſs, an officer came on board who could ſpeak a little Portugueze. He brought a preſent of refreſhments along with him, and adviſed me to ſend to the King, to give him an account of my arrival, and acquaint him that I deſigned to trade with his ſubjects by his permiſſion, which I did, and in twelve days received an anſwer that I might, but deſired me to ſend ſome perſon up with muſters of my goods, that he and his merchants might ſee them, and ſent two Portugueze for interpreters, one to ſtay with me on board of my ſhip, while I ſtaid, and the other to accompany the perſon

perſon I deſigned to ſend him with the muſters. On their arrival I diſpatched my ſecond ſupercargo, with an equipage of 25 men, well armed with fuzees and bayonets, with two ſmall bales of muſters, and preſents for the King, with inſtructions to let me hear from him once a week by an expreſs, if no other opportunity offered.

After he arrived at the city, he had a large houſe allowed him for the accommodation of him and his retinue, and had ſtore of proviſions ſent him, and many folks of diſtinction viſited him, but ten days paſt before he could ſee His Majeſty, who at laſt received him in great ſtate, ſitting on a throne like a pulpit, with his face veiled below his eyes, and after many gracious ſpeeches, ſome whereof were pertinent to my purpoſe, but many not, he gave me liberty and encouragement to trade.

I had ſtaid above three weeks in expectation to hear from my ſecond ſupercargo, but could get no account from him. I beginning to be uneaſy, got an expreſs to carry letters to him, and ordered him to ſend it back with as much ſpeed as was poſſible, but had the mortification to find he had been ſtopped at the city. I was extremely uneaſy for want of advice what was become of my people, and the approaching of the ſouth-weſt monſoons, which would have made that coaſt a lee-ſhore, and would have obliged me to take ſanctuary in one of their harbours for five or ſix months, and was not certain whether I was in a friend's or an enemy's country. In this labyrinth I continued a week, and at laſt reſolved to depart by a certain day, and leave my people to come after me to Malacca, if they were alive and at liberty. The goods I had ſent up with them would have been ſufficient to have hired a veſſel to carry them thither. I told my reſolution to my interpreter, and that I ſhould be obliged to carry him and ſome more of the King's ſubjects along with me, as hoſtages for the civil treatment of my people at Cambodia. He ſeemed ſurpriſed at my reſolution, and got a perſon to go to the city in all haſte to give an account of my impatience and deſign, who returned in fourteen days, about two days before my term was expired, that I had ſet for my departure. There accompanied him three Portugueze, who brought me letters from my ſecond ſupercargo, that he had taken leave of the King, and was coming to me with all haſte, and in three days after the Portugueze came, he arrived with all his retinue, with a letter of compliment to me in the Portugueze language, and one directed to the governor of Bombay, to invite the Engliſh to ſettle in his country, and to build factories or forts in any part of his dominions to protect trade.

The reaſon why he kept us ſo long in ſuſpence, was, that he would enter into no correſpondence with us without the knowledge and conſent of his guardian, the King of Couchin-China, who at laſt conſented to allow us commerce, both in Cambodia and in his own proper dominions, but that the Siamers had deſtroyed the country where they had been, and they had nothing ready for barter with my cargo then, but in a year or two they would be provided.

When the King beſtows his favour on any perſon whom he has a mind to honour, which he never does without a conſiderable preſent, he preſents the perſon with two ſwords to be carried always before him when he goes abroad in public; one is the ſword of ſtate, and the other of juſtice. All people that meet him when thoſe ſwords are carried before him, muſt give him place, and ſalute him by a ſet form of words; but if he meets with another court minion, then they compare the dates of their patents, and ſeniority takes place, and muſt be firſt ſaluted. Wherever thoſe Mandareens go in the country, they hold courts of juſtice, both civil and criminal, and they have the power

power of laying on fines, but they are paid into the King's treaſury; but in capital crimes, his ſentence is law, and ſpeedy execution follows ſentence.

The Cambodians are of a light brown complexion, and very well ſhaped, their hair long, and beards thin. Their women are very handſome, but not very modeſt The men wear a veſtment like our night gowns, but nothing on their heads or feet. The women wear a petticoat reaching below the ancle, and on their bodies a frock made cloſe and meet for their bodies and arms, and both ſexes dreſs their hair.

I ſaw none of their prieſts, but underſtood from my interpreter, that they worſhip the ſame gods that are adored in Siam. They worſhip the great God under the name of Tipedah; and Praw Prumb, and Praw Pout, are his ſons. The church ſubſiſts by free-will-offerings, and their prieſts are not much reſpected, being generally choſen from among the lower ſort of the laity.

The kingdom of Laos borders on Siam, Cambodia, Couchin-China, and Tonquin. It produces gold, and raw ſilk; elephants teeth are ſo plentiful, that they ſtake their fields and gardens about with them, to keep out wild hogs and cattle from deſtroying their fruit and corn. They are all Pagans in religion.

The natives of Laos are whiter in complexion than their circumjacent neighbours. I ſaw ſome of them at Siam, of both ſexes. Their women were little inferior to Portugueze or Spaniſh ladies.

There are ſeveral iſlands that lie off the coaſt of Cambodia, but none are inhabited, becauſe the ſaleeters or pirates that infeſt that coaſt, rob them of what they get by pains and induſtry, though there is one about three leagues weſt of Ponteamaſs called Quadrol, that has good qualifications for a ſettlement. It is about three leagues long, and one broad, Wood and freſh water are plentiful, the ground of a moderate height, the ſoil black and fat, except along the eaſt ſide which faces Ponteamaſs, and that has ſeveral fine ſandy bays, and they are good ſafe harbours in the rainy and windy ſeaſons.

About 30 leagues eaſt-ſouth-eaſt from Ponteamaſs, is the weſt entrance of Cambodia river, generally called Bocca de Carangera. The ſhalloweſt place in the channel in going in, is four fathoms, and within it deepens to twenty in ſome places. The north entrance is broader, but much ſhallower, and lies about ten leagues diſtant from the weſt channel, but is little frequented. Between Ponteamaſs and the river, are ſeveral ſmall uninhabited iſlands. Pullo-panjang is the largeſt, and conſiſts of a cluſter of eight iſlands, which form a pretty good harbour. Pulloubi is the eaſtmoſt, and affords good maſts for ſhipping.

Pullo-condore is the largeſt and higheſt, compoſed of four or five iſlands. It lies about 15 leagues ſouth of the weſt channel of Cambodia River. Pullo-condore had once the honour of an Engliſh colony ſettled on it, by Mr. Allan Ketchpole, in anno 1702, when the factory of Chuſan, on the coaſt of China, was broke up, he being then director for affairs of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company in thoſe parts.

He made a bad choice of a place for a colony, that iſland producing nothing but wood, water, and fiſh for catching. He got ſome Maccaſſers to ſerve for ſoldiers, and help to build a fortification, and made a firm contract with them to diſcharge them at the end of three years, if they were minded to quit his ſervice, but did not perform what was contracted, which was the cauſe of his own ruin, and the loſs of the colony; for thoſe eaſtern deſperadoes are very faithful where contracts and covenants are duly obſerved when made with them, but in defailance, they are revengeful and cruel. Mr. Ketchpole having detained the Maccaſſers beyond their time of agreement, ſtill entruſted

entruſted them with the guard of his own perſon and the garriſon, and then taking the opportunity of the night, when all the Engliſh were in their beds, who lodged in the fort, they inhumanly murdered them all. There was ſome noiſe made by thoſe that were awake, which a few who lodged without the fort, hearing, took the alarm and fled to the ſea ſide, where kind Providence directed them to a boat ready fitted with oars and ſails, which they embarked in, and put off from the ſhore, and they were not a ſtone's throw off, when the bloody villains on the ſhore were in queſt of them that were in the boat; with much fatigue, hunger, and thirſt in ſailing, and rowing above 100 leagues, they got to ſome place of the King of Johore's dominions, where they were treated with humanity. The reverend and ingenious Doctor Pound was one of thoſe that eſcaped, and Mr. Solomon Lloyd (an old acquaintance of mine) was another.

There were two harbours, or anchoring places at Pullo-condore, but neither of them good. One at the north-eaſt end, they were forced to uſe in the ſouth-weſt monſoons, the other on the weſt-ſide for the north-eaſt winds, the bottom of which is rocky, and therefore dangerous for loſing anchors and cables, yet that was the place choſen to build their fort on; but ſince a factory was thought neceſſary to be ſettled on that coaſt, I wonder why they choſe theſe iſlands, rather than Quadrole which I mentioned before.

The city of Cambodia is reckoned to lie 100 leagues up from the bar, and the river filled with low iſlands and ſand banks. The country of Laos is about 40 leagues farther up, but what navigation is uſed above the city of Cambodia, is done by ſmall rowing veſſels, and the river being one of the longeſt in the world, employs great numbers of thoſe rowing boats.

CHAP. XLIX. — *Treats of Couchin-China and Tonquin; their Religion, Laws, and Cuſtoms.*

COUCHIN-CHINA is only divided from Cambodia by the river, which in ſome places is three leagues broad. It is a country far larger than Cambodia, and much richer, and the inhabitants more courageous and hardier for enduring fatigues in labour or war, than the Cambodians, but are not ſo converſable and civil to ſtrangers. The Couchin-Chineſe draw one half of the cuſtoms and taxes raiſed in Cambodia by commerce and merchandizing, but they give little encouragement for ſtrangers to trade with them. Their country abounding in gold, raw ſilk, and drugs, they bring them to Cambodia, to diſpoſe of there, except what they ſend yearly to Canton in China; and I have ſeen ſome of their jonks trading at Johore and Batavia.

Their religion is Pagan after the China way, worſhipping the ſame gods, after the ſame manner as the Chineſe do. Their laws are ſevere and bloody for crimes of treaſon; for not only the guilty perſon ſuffers a painful death, but the relations within the bounds of conſanguinity ſuffer death alſo. Their cities and towns are divided into wardſhips, and at the ends of each ſtreet are railed gates, placed to confine each ward within its own limits. Theſe gates are ſhut and locked every night, ſo that they have no communication by night; but if a fire breaks out in one of the wards, its whole inhabitants are cut off, except the women and children.

There are but few Chriſtians tolerated in Couchin-China, yet there was (and perhaps is) a French prieſt in great eſteem among them, but it is capital for any other prieſt to be found in their country. This Frenchman kept a correſpondence by writing, with Mr. Ciſſie, biſhop of Siam, and he having a relation of the danger Chriſtian prieſts

were in there, made the old zealot half mad to get thither, to receive the honour of martyrdom, and had he been honeſt in his promiſes to me (which was only not to protect any of my fugitive ſeaman at Siam), I would have favoured him with a paſſage to Cambodia, from whence he might have eaſily gone to get that glorious crown.

Couchin-China has a large ſea-coaſt of about 700 miles in extent, from the river of Cambodia, to that of Quambin, and it has the conveniency of many good harbours on it, though they are not frequented by ſtrangers; and along the eaſt coaſt it is very deep, for in ſeveral places I ſounded the depth, and found between 60 and 80 fathoms within half a league of the ſhore.

There are ſeveral iſlands on this coaſt. Thoſe neareſt the ſhore are not dangerous. Pullo-ſecca de Terra, lies moſt ſoutherly, and neareſt the ſhore. It is uninhabited, and looks only like a parcel of ſcorched rocks, without either tree, buſh, or graſs to be ſeen on it. I paſt within a mile of it, and it lies about a mile from the ſhore. Pullo-ſecca de Mare, and all the chain of iſlands that ſtretch from the dangerous ſhallows of Paracel, are rather to be accounted rocks than iſlands. Pullo-cambir lies about 15 leagues off the ſhore, near the Paracels. It is uninhabited though pretty large. Pullo-canton lies near the ſhore, and ſo do the iſlands of Champello, but there are no dangers lie off from them. There are ſtrong currents that run to the ſouthward in the north-eaſt monſoons, which makes pilots take care to keep near the Couchin-China coaſt, for fear of being driven among the Paracels, which are a dangerous chain of rocks, about 130 leagues long, and about 15 broad, and have only ſome iſlands at each end. There are ſeveral inter-currents among thoſe rocks, but no known marks to keep clear of dangers by, yet I knew an Engliſh ſhip from Surat, that drove accidentally through them, and neither knew nor ſaw their danger till it was over, when they unexpectedly ſaw the coaſt of Couchin-China.

In anno 1690, a Portugueze ſhip was loſt on one of the northernmoſt iſlands of the Paracels, and all were loſt but three or four perſons who ſwimmed aſhore. There were many pieces of the wreck followed them, and ſome canniſters of flour were accidentally thrown aſhore, whereby they were ſupported. They built an hut of what timbers and boards they could uſe for that purpoſe, and they found ſome freſh water in the caverns of the rocks, and in one place they built a ciſtern to ſave the rain water for the dry ſeaſon. They took ſea weeds and mixed with mud that they found about the coaſt of the iſland, and placing that mixture in a convenient part to retain the rain water, they ſubſiſted by that means a dry ſeaſon. Their food was ſea fowls, and tortoiſes which frequented that iſland in great numbers. In three years they all died but one, and in anno 1701, a ſhip bound to Maccao, coming near the iſland againſt their will, ſeeing the figure of a man waving his hands over his head, they had compaſſion and ſent their boat to the iſland, and were aſtoniſhed to find the perſon to be one of their own countrymen, and much more when he told them his misfortunes, and how long he had been alone on that iſland. They clothed him and fed him, and carried him to Maccao, where I ſaw him in anno 1703, and had the account from his own mouth.

But it is time to return back to Couchin-China, which about three or four centuries ago was but a province of Tonquin, at leaſt they were both under the dominion of one King, who dying without iſſue, divided the government of his dominions between a brother and a ſiſter of his, whom he very much eſteemed for their good qualities. He ordered his brother to reſide in Couchin-China, and take care of affairs there, while the ſiſter took care of the government of Tonquin, but to have a meeting once a year to conſider and conſult of matters for the good of the ſtate.

The lady being young thought fit to marry, and the harmony of ſtate ſoon ended by the marriage. The huſband grew ambitious, and wanted the government wholly in his own hands, but carried fair with his brother-in-law, and one time talking with the Queen of the neceſſity of uniting both kingdoms into one, as formerly, and that of right both belonged to her, as being poſſeſt of the moſt ancient and noble kingdom, and that in order to get both kingdoms into her hands, he would find a way to cut off her brother, without ſuſpicion of their being acceſſary to it. The Queen ſeeming to approve of the deſign, privately let her brother know his danger; being then at the court of Tonquin ſhe adviſed him to pretend to go a hunting for a few days, but to make what haſte he could unto his own government, where he might be ſecure from conſpiracies on his life, which advice he followed, and got ſafe into Couchin-China, and calling a council of his nobles, related the whole affair to them.

The Couchin-Chineſe took the deſigned injury to their Prince ſo ill, that from that time they renounced all friendſhip and commerce with the Tonquiners, and the river Quambin being made the bounds of Tonquin dominions to the ſouthward, and of Couchin-China to the northward, they both raiſed armies of 40 or 50,000 men each, and they continue ſtill facing one another, the river lying between them, and nothing of action has happened all this while. If any Couchin-Chineſe happens to flee from the juſtice of his own country, to the Tonquiniers, they receive him kindly, and treat him civilly, but if a Tonquiner fall under the ſame circumſtances, and go for ſanctuary to the Couchin-Chineſe, he is condemned to ſlavery, and ſo muſt continue till he gets a pardon from his own court, and pay his ranſom.

Tonquin is the next kingdom I muſt ſteer to of courſe, where the Engliſh and Dutch both had their factories, but the Engliſh Company's affairs being a little out of order, they withdrew theirs in January 1698, and the Dutch finding but little advantage by their trade in Tonquin, withdrew theirs about ſix years after. However the Engliſh had a private trade pretty good till the year 1719, that an Engliſh ſhip from Bengal ruined it by an act of violence.

The ſhip being laden and ready to ſail, fell down the river from Catcheo, the capital city of Tonquin, and in defiance of the known laws of the country, the ſupercargo got a Tonquin girl on board, in order to carry her with him, but her friends miſſing her, informed the civil magiſtrate, who ſent to demand her, but the ſupercargo would not reſign his miſtreſs, whereupon acts of hoſtility enſued, and ſome were killed on both ſides, and Captain Wallace who commanded the ſhip, had the fortune to be one of the ſlain, however, the Engliſh bravely carried off their prize, but I never heard any more of the Tonquin trade ſince.

Tonquin is bounded with Couchin-China on the ſouth, Laos on the weſt, Quanſi, a province of China, on the north, and the ocean on the eaſt. The country is prodigiouſly fruitful in all things neceſſary for the conveniency and ſupport of life.

It produces gold and copper, but neither of them fine. They have abundance of raw ſilk, and manufacture part of it in wrought ſilks, but none fine. Their baaz is the beſt, which they generally dye black. It wears very long, becauſe it is ſoft and well ſpun, and the oftener it is waſhed, the colour looks brighter, if blacker may be ſo called. They make bowls, cups, and tables, of rottans, and cover them very neatly with lack of divers colours, and gild them. They have alſo ſome porcelain, but very coarſe and ill painted. And thoſe are the commodities for exportation from Tonquin.

There is a great chain of impaſſable mountains that run from the ſea above 150 leagues, along the confines of Quanſi and Quichew, provinces of China, which ſecure Tonquin from any invaſions that may come that way from China, and thoſe mountains

are covered with thick woods well ſtocked with wild elephants, tigers, and deer, but the uſe or oſtentation of training up tame elephants is not much minded in Tonquin, nor in China.

The Chriſtian religion is ſtrictly forbidden to be preached in Tonquin, yet there are ſome Chriſtians of the Romiſh church there. Their own religion is Pagan, according to the doctrine of China. And they have a tradition, that many ages ago, Tonquin and Couchin-China were both provinces of China.

The Tonquiners uſed to be very deſirous of having a brood of Europeans in their country, for which reaſon the greateſt nobles thought it no ſhame or diſgrace to marry their daughters to Engliſh and Dutch ſeamen, for the time they were to ſtay in Tonquin, and often preſented their ſons-in-law pretty handſomely at their departure, eſpecially if they left their wives with child; but adultery was dangerous to the huſband, for they are well verſed in the art of poiſoning.

The men and women are both well ſhaped, and tolerably beautiful, but of a low ſtature. The maids keep their teeth very white, till they have loſt the blue of their plumb, and then they dye them as black as jet, with the juice of a certain herb which they hold in their mouths for three days ſucceſſively, and the black tincture continues ever after; but while that juice is in their mouths they dare not ſwallow their ſpittle, it being of a poiſonous quality.

CHAP. L. — *Gives ſome Accounts of the Religion, Laws, Cuſtoms, Commerce, Riches, Cities, Temples, Gods, and Goddeſſes, Prieſts, Military Forces, Produce, and Manufactories, &c. of China.*

THE iſland of Aynam lies in the bay of Tonquin, and not above 12 leagues diſtant from its northern confines. The iſland is large, being about 180 miles in length, and 120 in breadth. It was formerly under Tonquin, but at preſent a part of the dominions of China. Its greateſt product is ſalt, and is not frequented on account of trade. There is no paſſage for veſſels of burden between it and the continent, being ſo full of dangerous banks and rapid currents. The midlands ſeem very mountainous. The eaſt and ſouth ſides are low, but clear of danger. About two leagues from its ſhores, is from 20 to 25 fathoms water.

The next courſe I ſteer is into Quanſi, the ſouthernmoſt province of China, and as yet has not been brought to acknowledge the Tartar domination. It admits of no commerce either with foreigners or Chineſe, that are under the Tartar government, but on all occaſions commit acts of hoſtility on them, and are ſo bold and courageous, that one of their little gallies will attack four of the Emperor's, and make them flee before them, for they give quarter to none that bear arms under the Tartar prince, as they call the Emperor. The country is fruitful and populous, and produces much raw ſilk and drugs, ſuch as China root, gallingal, &c. It has 80 leagues of a ſea-coaſt, and is bounded by the Limpacao iſlands, and Canton river.

Canton or Quantung (as the Chineſe expreſs it) is the next maritime province; and Maccaw, a city built by the Portugueze, was the firſt place of commerce. This city ſtands on a ſmall iſland, and is almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea. Towards the land it is defended by three caſtles built on the tops of low hills. By its ſituation and ſtrength by nature and art, it was once thought impregnable. Indeed their beautiful churches and other buildings gave us a reflecting idea of its ancient grandeur; for in the forepart of the ſeventeenth century, according to the Chriſtian æra, it was the greateſt port for trade in India or China.

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The largeſt braſs cannon that ever I ſaw are mounted in proper batteries about the city. I meaſured one (amongſt many) out of curioſity, and found it 23 feet from the breech to the muzzle ring, nine inches and a quarter diameter in the bore, and it was 12,250 rotullaes or lbs. weight of ſolid metal.

The city contains five churches, but the Jeſuits is the beſt, and is dedicated to St. Paul. It has two convents for married women to retire to, when their huſbands are abſent, and orphan maidens are educated in them till they can catch an huſband. They have alſo a nunnery for devout ladies, young or old, that are out of conceit with the troubles and cares of the world. And they have a *Sancta Caſa*, or the Holy Houſe of the Inquiſition, that frightens every Catholic into the belief of every thing that holy mother church tells them is truth, whether it be really ſo or no.

The forts are governed by a captain-general, and the city by a burgher, called the procuradore, but, in reality, both are governed by a Chineſe mandereen, who reſides about a league out of the city, at a place called Caſa Branca. The Portugueze ſhipping that come there are admitted into their harbour, and are under the protection of the town; but the Chineſe keep the cuſtom-houſe, and receive cuſtoms for all goods imported.

That rich flouriſhing city has ruined itſelf by a long war they made with Timore, as I have obſerved before. They exhauſted their men and money on that unſucceſsful project of domination, ſo that out of a thouſand creditable houſekeepers that inhabited the city before that war, there are hardly fifty left; and out of forty ſail of trading veſſels, they have not above five left; ſo that in the whole city and forts, there are computed to be about two hundred laity, and ſix hundred prieſts, and about fifteen hundred women, and many of them are very prolific, for they bring forth children without huſbands to father them.

In anno 1703, I was bound from Surat to Amoy, and off the Maccao iſlands, in the month of Auguſt, I met with a ſevere hurricane. We had viſible ſigns of an approaching ſtorm before it came, the air was in great agitation by much lightning continually flaſhing, but no thunder nor rain. We prepared for its coming from noon to ſunſet, making every thing in the ſhip faſt, our yards lowered as low as conveniently they could be, and our ſails made faſt with coils of ſmall ropes, beſides their uſual furling lines. At nine in the night it laid our ſhip's gunnel under water, and I wiſhed our main-maſt had been away, which about ten was effected, and it carried our mizen-maſt along with it. On its going overboard our ſhip came to rights a little, and her lee-gunnel was clear of the water, but much water getting down at the hatches, we had five feet water in the ſhip, and no poſſibility of getting it out by pumping, for our main-maſt breaking in the parteners of the upper-deck, diſabled both our pumps. About midnight we had cleared the ſhip of the main and mizen-maſts, by cutting the rigging that kept them faſt to the ſhip. By this time the wind had ſhifted from north-eaſt to ſouth-eaſt, and had rather increaſed than aſſuaged, and thoſe two winds had put the ſea in two violent motions; however we got our ſhip before the wind, but broaching-too brought her head almoſt to the ſea, which met her ſo violently, that it broke quite over the ſhip, carrying away our fore-maſt and bowſprit, two anchors from the lee-bow, three great guns of twenty-two hundred each, with our pinnace and yaul. We ſoon cleared ourſelves of the anchors, by cutting the cables, and, before day, we were quit of our fore-maſt and bowſprit. About eight in the morning the ſtorm abated, and at ten I called over the muſter-roll, and found none wanting, but between ſeventy and eighty bruiſed and wounded, who were carefully dreſſed by our ſurgeons, and all recovered. The ſea continued turbulent, but we having two ſpare top-maſts,

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rigged them up, and having ſaved our mizen-yard and enſign-ſtaff, fitted them for yards, to which we bent ſails, and ſtood towards the land, and, before it was dark, anchored near ſome iſlands called Les Ilhos de Viados by the Portugueze. Next morning we had much trouble to get our long-boat out of the ſhip. It was about ten tons of burden, and ſtrongly built; but, after four hours labour we put it into the ſea, and ſent it aſhore to try if we could get a pilot, but found nobody on that iſland; however, they met with two pieces of maſts of ſmall veſſels that had been caſt on the iſland, and thoſe they brought with them; which did us very great ſervice in bringing us to the Maccao iſlands, which were about 15 leagues from us.

We kept the boat ſounding the depths before the ſhip, till we got about eight leagues on our way, and anchored in good oozy ground, under an iſland that kept the rolling ſeas from diſturbing us, and in the morning, by break of day, we diſpatched the boat in queſt of Maccao, and to bring us pilots. Before night they landed at the city, and next day returned with a pilot and a junk to attend us, and, in two days more, the pilot brought us ſafe to an anchor in Teipe Queberado, a very ſecure place for ſhipping to ride in. It is about four miles from the city of Maccao, where I found a company ſhip called the Canterbury, commanded by Captain Kinsford, who had come from Amoy in March, and could not reach the Streights of Malacca, ſo was forced to paſs the ſouth-weſt monſoons in this harbour.

I went to the city, and applied myſelf to the captain-general and the procuradore for aſſiſtance, and they made large promiſes. I addreſſed each of them with a preſent of ſcarlet cloth, and Surat atlaſſes, which they thankfully received, but ſoon after I found they were in no condition to aſſiſt me. They indeed deſigned to compliment me with ſome freſh proviſions, but had not intereſt enough with the China mandereen to get liberty to ſend them on board of my ſhip.

Nor would he ſuffer any body to ſupply me with neceſſaries, till he received orders from the Chontock or Viceroy of Canton. That incivility preſaged but ill ſucceſs to my affairs there; however, I went and paid him a viſit, and preſented him with a ſilver ſalver and a piece of atlas on it, both in value about 45 tayels, or 15l. ſterling, which he received, and made an apology for his prohibiting commerce with my ſhip till he had received advices from the Viceroy.

He treated me with Tartarian tea, which I took to be beans boiled in milk, with ſome ſalt in it, and it was ſerved in wooden diſhes, as big as chocolate cups. When our regailia was over, I took leave, and he loaded me with fair promiſes, and ſent after me a preſent of an hog, two geeſe, a goat and ſome wheat flour, and a ſmall jar of ſamſhew, or rice arrack.

Having nothing to do till the Viceroy's orders came, I went among ſome iſlands to find a watering-place, and, on a pretty high iſland about a mile long, and half as broad, I ſaw a fine clear ſtream trickling down the face of a rock, about half a league from our ſhip. I ordered my men to fill about twenty tuns of it, and being clearer than we had before, we made uſe of it for drinking and boiling rice. About ten days after we had made uſe of it, all my men were affected with a violent heach-ache, and, among the reſt, myſelf, which was a diſtemper I never had been troubled with before.

I began to ſuſpect that the water might be the cauſe, and ordered a large copper-pot to be filled with it, and to boil one half of it away, and ſet the reſt to cool a day and a night, which was accordingly done, and, on pouring off the water, I found about a large handful of a dark grey ſalt at the bottom, of a ſharp unſavoury taſte, which made me empty what remained of it into the ſea; but there was an high large iſland about two leagues from our ſhip, that had many ſprings of water, which I tried, and found to be good.

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One day I was diſcourſing with a Portugueze phyſician of the quality of the water we firſt uſed, and he told me, that moſt of the ſprings in China had pernicious qualities, becauſe the ſubterraneous grounds were ſtored with minerals, as copper, quickſilver, alum, toothenague, &c. and the ſprings running through or near thoſe mines, the water becomes affected with their natural qualities, which was one reaſon why the Chineſe boiled all their water before they drank it, and as the boiling cauſes the ſpirits of water to evaporate, they uſed tea to infuſe new ſpirits in the place of the old; ſo that it was more out of neceſſity than choice that the Chineſe drank ſo much tea, though they do not drink it half ſo ſtrong as generally we do in Europe.

It was near a month after my arrival before the Viceroy's order came to ſettle my affairs. They had repreſented to him, that our ſhip was a wreck, and, by the laws of the country, ſhe fell to the King; but the Viceroy diſtruſting the report of the Chineſe, ſent a French gentleman to bring him true accounts of our condition, and what merchandize we had to diſpoſe of. When the Frenchman came on board, I entertained him civilly, and gave him a ſight of the muſters of our goods and their quality, and we had fiſhed up ſome ſmall fir-trees, which we had converted into maſts and yards.

On the Frenchman's return, and giving the Viceroy an account of what he had ſeen, he ſeemed amazed at the falſe information he had from Maccao, and ordered the hapoa or cuſtom-maſter to go and take an account of our goods, and take the Emperor's cuſtomary dues, and give me a free toleration to trade. Accordingly the hapoa came and brought three merchants along with him to buy our goods. When they came on board, they were ſurpriſed to ſee ſo large a ſhip, with ſo many guns, having forty mounted, and ſuch a number of men, I having above an hundred and fifty. I ſaluted the hapoa with ſome guns and treated him with a dinner after the European faſhion, and gave him good ſtore of wine to waſh it down; but he liked Canary beſt and drank of it till he was well fluſtred. Then he ordered the length of the ſhip to be meaſured on the upper-deck, and the breadth at the main-maſt, and departed.

Next day I went to viſit him, and carried him a preſent as cuſtomary. In our diſcourſe he told me that he had brought a very honeſt man along with him, who ſpoke the Portugueze language, and that he muſt be my interpreter at Maccao, and buy all my proviſions ſpent in the ſhip, and on my table aſhore, and that he had alſo brought three merchants to agree for my cargo, all men of ſubſtance. I anſwered, as to the buying proviſions, I had no occaſion for any, and for making a contract with thoſe merchants, I had no mind to it, becauſe I deſigned to carry my cargo to Canton in ſmall jonks, and when I arrived at Canton with my goods, and had inquired into the market, it would be time then to make bargains. He ſeemed to be angry that I was not directed by him, and told me, that he had taken much pains to ſerve me, but that I ſlighted his ſervice. I anſwered, that being a ſtranger, I might be allowed to walk cautiouſly till I had informed myſelf of the current prices of goods, and the King's duties to be paid on them, but I ſhould always have a great regard to his friendſhip. He alledged that there was great danger in carrying goods between Maccao and Canton, becauſe there were many pirate veſſels in the way, belonging to Quanſi, and that neither the Emperor nor the Viceroy could be accountable for what robberies might be committed by theſe pirates. I replied, that I deſired none to anſwer for ſuch loſſes, but would be very glad to meet with thoſe ſcarecrows, that I might have an opportunity to make a preſent of ſome of them to the Viceroy.

When he found that none of his arguments prevailed, he gave orders to have my goods put on board of ſmall jonks, and that I might put five men of my own in each boat for a guard, and ordered one of his merchants to accompany me in that which I went

went in, ſo that we were twenty-five Europeans well armed, in our little fleet. We took the inland paſſage, which was the neareſt, and ſailed by ſeveral iſlands on both ſides of us. I kept in the headmoſt jonk, and a good officer in the ſternmoſt; and every veſſel we ſaw, they told us they were pirates. I anſwered them, I wanted to be near them, but I could not perſuade them to ſteer towards them.

After we had ſailed about 18 leagues from Maccao, we came to a ſmall city called Janſan. The teytock or governor ſent me a compliment, and invited me aſhore; but I excuſed myſelf, becauſe the wind was fair, and I was in haſte to be at Canton. About five leagues above Janſan, we entered into a canal cut through a large plain of corn-fields, where we ſaw many large flat-bottomed boats built to breed ducks, which they bring up for ſale, and to weed the rice grounds for hire. They have three or four ſtories over one another, where are the ducks neſts. On the uppermoſt they ſit and hatch eggs. In the others they lodge all night; and it is wonderful to ſee what order and œconomy thoſe ducks keep; for ſome old drakes (on the winding of a whiſtle) drive all the younger novices into the water, ſome going foremoſt to ſhew the way, while others take care that none loiter behind. There is a ſmall port made about a foot high from the water, and a piece of deal board laid in it, whoſe other end lies in the water on a gentle deſcent, that ſerves them for a bridge to go out, and come in at when they are out about ſervice. The maſter goes in a ſmall boat among the rice-grounds, (for that grain always grows among water), and winding his whiſtle, they all follow his boat, and fall to their work, to deſtroy frogs and ſmall fiſh, with the weeds that would hinder the growth of the corn. About noon he winds his whiſtle again, on which they all repair on board of their own veſſel in good order, ſome of the old drakes bringing up the rear, whilſt others guard the bridge, to take care that no ſtranger ducks enter with their own tribe; and when all are in, the old guardians enter alſo and take their proper poſts.

Sometimes when two or three of thoſe boats are employed in one field, and their ducks mingle, and ſome young novices, which do not underſtand their proper maſter's whiſtle, chance to come in company to another boat, and would enter with the reſt, the old guardian drakes ſoon ſpy them out, and beat them away from the bridge, and on no account will they ſuffer them to enter, more than an eſtabliſhed company will admit interlopers to enter into their trade.

Between Janſan and Canton, which is about twenty leagues, there are many pretty villages ſeated in the plains, and the peaſants bring fiſh, fowl, eggs, &c. eatables to ſell at very moderate prices; and there are alſo ſome ſmall high towers built on high grounds. The reaſons why they were built I could not be informed of by my companions, but the foot of their covering is hung round with pieces of glaſs of ſeveral ſizes, ſo near, that, with a ſmall gale of wind, they beat againſt one another, and make a pretty agreeable noiſe.

When I arrived at Canton the hapoa ordered me lodgings for myſelf, my men and my cargo in an haung or inn belonging to one of his merchants, where none but the French, who had then a factory there, had liberty to viſit me, and when I went abroad, I had always ſome ſervants belonging to the haung to follow me at a diſtance. I had ſtaid about a week, and found no merchants came near me, which made me ſuſpect, that there were ſome under-hand dealings between the hapoa and his chaps, to my prejudice, but I could not be informed what they deſigned. At length, one night I had ſupped in the French factory, and began to make my complaint to Mr. Petchbertie, the chief, of the ſtrange method I was treated in, that all merchants ſhunned my company, but for what reaſon I knew not. He winked on me to follow him into his bed-chamber,

and, ſhutting the door, told me, that thoſe three merchants, or rather villains, Linqua, Anqua, and Hemſhaw, had paid to the hapoa 4000 tayels for the monopolization of my cargo, and that no merchant durſt have any commerce with me but they; but withal adviſed me to carry fair with them, and bargain with them on whatſoever terms they would allow me.

Accordingly I had a meeting with my chaps, and in my diſcourſe, I told them what the current price was in town for every ſpecies of my goods, and deſired to know what they would give. They ſeemed ſurpriſed that I knew the market, and would fain have known who had informed me of the prices, but I deſired to be excuſed on that point, and to proceed to bid for themſelves. My cargo conſiſted in cotton, putchock or radix dulcis, roſamalla or liquid ſtorax, and Surat coarſe chints, which, according to the current market, would have come to 14,000 tayels, but they would not come within 80 per cent. of the market price.

I finding myſelf inſulted, had a mind to wait on the Vice-king, who reſided at a town called Sachow, about twenty miles up the river, and, in order to go thither, I applied myſelf, by the aſſiſtance of the French linguiſt, to a mandereen called the chumpin, for licence to go to Sachow, and for his letter of recommendation to the Viceroy. The news of my being with the chumpin alarmed the hapoa and my merchants, who found no way to impede my going but by ſeizing any linguiſt that ſhould ſerve me, either in Canton or in my journey, and accordingly, as I was going next day to receive my letters, and the French linguiſt along with me, he had a ſmall iron chain thrown over his head, (a cuſtom that is among the Chineſe when they arreſt a man), and he was dragged before the hapoa, and was accuſed of aſſiſting the French in running goods on board of their ſhips, for they had two lying at Whampoa, a village about four leagues below the city. The poor man was kept in priſon as long as I ſtaid at Canton; and his impriſonment ſo terrified others, that I could get none to ſerve me but whom thoſe villains of merchants recommended to me, and none durſt ſerve me as linguiſt.

I finding no remedy but patience, to my diſturbed mind, was forced to comply with the unjuſt impoſitions of the hapoa, and ſo ſtruck up a bargain at the villainous merchants rates, but to receive ſilver for my goods; and after I had delivered them, I deſired to ſettle accounts, and to have my money according to contract. They made up a large account of charges, as 3000 tayels for the meaſurage of my ſhip, 1000 for liberty to buy maſts, cordage, and proviſions, and 1000 tayels for preſents to ſome mandereens; and then they told me, for what remained I ſhould have goods at the current price of the market, though I was obliged to take them between 40 and 50 per cent. higher. They made me pay 13 tayels per cheſt for Japon copper, which I could have bought for 9 tayels, and for China copper I was charged ten and a half, which I bought at Maccao for ſeven, ſome fir maſts that I cheapened for 60 tayels they made me pay 250. It was the middle of January 1704, before I had ended my accounts with them, and I wanted permiſſion to go to Maccao, but that I could not have. They put me off, from day to day, about a week. At length I viſited the French chief, and he frankly told me that they would not let me go till I laid out 10,000 tayels of ſilver with them, which they were informed I had on board of my ſhip, and that my merchants had told him ſo. I anſwered, that being bound to Amoy, I had bills on merchants there for near that ſum, which, with my goods, had been ſufficient to have loaded my ſhip there, for which reaſon I had brought no ſilver with me; but I found there was no end to their villainy, and therefore I would go without leave, if I had it not in three days. He told me of many ill conſequences that would attend violent courſes; but I anſwered him, that I could no longer bear their inſults; and, if I had not my permiſſion

in three days, I would run a muck, (which is a mad cuſtom among the Mallayas when they become deſperate,) and that I thought twenty-five men well armed were ſufficient to go off by violence, when by fair means they could not obtain it, that being the laſt remedy, what blood might be ſpilt in the action, the hapoa and his chaps would anſwer to the Emperor for, who, no doubt, would enquire into the cauſe.

I then bade farewell to all the gentlemen of the French factory, and left a preſent of 50 tayels for the linguiſt that lay in priſon, and came home to my inn, and acquainted my men with my reſolution, who unanimouſly approved of it, promiſing to live and die with me; and immediately we new cleaned our arms, and new loaded them with powder and ball; which the ſervants of the haung taking notice of, went and informed my merchants what we had been doing, and that we looked briſker than uſual. The merchants went to the French chief, to ſee if he knew what deſign we had, and he frankly told them all that I had told him. They immediately acquainted the hapoa, who forthwith ſent us a permit for ourſelves and goods, and next day I departed with twelve of my crew, and ſome goods, leaving the reſt to follow with the reſt of my goods and maſts.

In three days we got to Maccao, and got all things in readineſs to ſail. There were two Portugueze lying in Tiepe-queberado, waiting for me to accompany them for fear of a French cruiſer of 32 guns that had been at Manilla. One Mr. Burno commanded her, who had made his brags to the Spaniards, that he would bring all the Engliſh and Portugueze that were bound from China to the Streights of Malacca, into Manilla, and make a preſent of our ſhips to the Spaniards, which frightened the Portugueze. One was a ſhip of two-and-twenty guns, and the other of ſixteen.

However ſome China merchants contracted with me to carry them, and about 150 tons of bricks and Chinaware, to Pullo-condore, and were to pay me 1000 tayels. Three days after my arrival came my maſts, and as they were paſſing through the harbour of Maccao, towards my ſhip, they were ſtopped by the procuradore of the city. When word was brought me, I ſent my purſer, who ſpake good Portugueze, that if my maſts were not delivered the ſame day, I would take the maſts out of their ſhips that lay cloſe by me, let the conſequence be what it would. So to avoid trouble, my maſts were cleared.

Two of my merchants came to Maccao, under pretence of clearing accounts fairly. I invited them on board to dine with me, but they would not do me that honour. They had heard of the contract I had made with the China merchants, to carry them and their goods to Pullo-condore, which contract they broke, for that ſtrong reaſon, that they had bought me of the hapoa, and that freight I had no power to contract for, but they would furniſh them with a paſſage for them and their goods, on the ſame terms that I had agreed on, ſo I was obliged to loſe my freight.

I received what goods they were pleaſed to bring me, but I found wanting 80 cheſts of Japon copper, and ſome toothenague that I had weighed off at Canton, and put the ſtock's mark on them. I aſked the reaſon why they did not deliver thoſe goods, ſince, according to their own account, there was a balance due to me of 1800 tayels. They told me that they would give no more, and the balance they would keep, for fear they ſhould loſe on my imported cargo. I bid them farewell, and promiſed to let them hear from me by the firſt jonk of theirs that I met with. Next day I ſent them my account, wherein I ſhewed that they and the hapoa had cheated me of 12,000 tayels, and that I ſhould not fail to make repriſals when I met with any effects of theirs. Accordingly I did at Johore, by the King's permiſſion, ſeize a jonk of theirs, and ſecured their books of accounts, having two Portugueze natives of Maccao, who could ſpeak and write Chineſe

Chineſe, and they found out what merchandize belonged to thoſe villains, which I took on board of my ſhip, among which was my 80 cheſts of copper, and 200 peculs of toothenague, with my own mark on them. I drew out a fair account, and ſent them with a letter of advice, that I had received but one third part of the balance due to me, but upon their fair dealing with the Engliſh for the future, I would forgive the reſt, but if they continued to act like villains, I would proſecute my reſentment till I had recovered the laſt penny of my balance.

When I gave the King of Johore an account how they had uſed me in China, he wondered that I did not ſeize all the other merchant goods that were in the jonk, and ſell the men for ſlaves. So having ended this ſhort digreſſion to Johore,

I return back to Canton, to give an account of my obſervations on that fine city and country.

CHAP. LI. — *Some Obſervations and Remarks on the Province and City of Canton or Quantung, and of the Province of Fokein; with ſome Occurrences that happened there.*

CANTON was once a kingdom of itſelf, and was called Nangvee. It had been ſeveral times conquered by the Emperors of China, and ſhaked off the yoke when they found opportunity. At laſt, about three centuries ago, it was ſubdued and made a province of China. It borders on Quanſi to the weſtward, Kiangſi to the northward, Fokien to the eaſtward, and the ocean waſhes about 100 leagues of its coaſt to the ſouthward. The country is as pleaſant and profitable as any in the world. The ground yields two crops a year of rice, wheat, and legumen. The people are ingenious, induſtrious, and civil, but are too numerous, which makes them tolerate a baſe and cruel cuſtom, that when a man thinks he has too many daughters, he may deſtroy as many as he pleaſes of them, but they do not kill them outright, but ſerve them as Moſes was in Egypt, by laying them on an ark of reeds, and letting them float on the ſtream of a river, while they are infants, and if any charitable perſons ſee them, and commiſerate their condition, they may take them out, and bring them up as their own, either for marriage, concubinage, or ſlavery.

The abominable ſin of Sodomy is tolerated here, and all over China, and ſo is buggery, which they uſe both with beaſts and fowls; inſomuch that Europeans do not care to eat duck, except what they bring up themſelves, either from the egg, or from ſmall ducklings. Whoredom is not puniſhed in this province, though very ſeverely in ſome others.

The city of Canton ſtands upon the eaſt-ſide of a pretty large river called the Taa. Its walls are high towards the river, but towards the eaſt the ground is a little hilly, and the walls are much lower. The walls are about ten miles in circumference, but ſome reckon them twelve, though there are large ſpaces towards the eaſt and ſouth, kept for gardens, and no buildings but ſummer-houſes are there.

There is a large building of timber on the higheſt of the little hills to the eaſt, that ſtands cloſe to the wall, and it bears the name of the King's banqueting-houſe. It is four ſtory high, ſupported with great fir maſts, very finely painted with vermillion, and japanned and gilded, as are all the walls and ceilings within it. From it a very fair proſpect of the city and ſuburbs may be had. The ſuburbs are ſo large, that ſome of them look like cities. Half of the number of houſes built in the garden-plots, would fill them up, and all the other vacant places in the town.

There are many ſtately buildings in the city of Canton, and above a dozen of triumphal arches in ſeveral places of the city, and a great number of temples, well ſtocked with images. The Italian church makes an handſome figure, but the French chapel is but mean on the outſide.

There was a new temple built by the King of Couchin-China, and dedicated to one of his gods called Migleck, whoſe image is placed in it, in a lazy poſture, ſitting on a carpet, with his heels drawn almoſt to his buttocks, clothed in a looſe robe, with his breaſt and belly bare, and leaning on a large cuſhion or bolſter. He is very corpulent, and always laughing, which merry aſpect made me think that he might paſs for Democritus of Abdera in Greece. There is another image of a young god that died before he reached twenty. He is placed ſitting on a chair, and as we approach near him, he nods his head, by means of ſome ſprings that reach from the pavement that we tread on: However, this young dead fellow ſhews as great a wonder in nodding to his viſitants, as St. Charles of Milan does to his devotees on the anniverſary day of his canonization.

Canton was the laſt great city of China that the Tartars conquered, when they overran that country about the year 1650, and had it not been for the cowardice and treachery of the governor, it might ſtill have been an independent province as well as Quanſi. The Tartars loſt above 100,000 men in reducing it, for they lay nine months before it, and the city nowiſe diſtreſt for want of proviſions, having the river free for communication with foreign places; but upon the governor's ſurmiſe that it might be taken at laſt, and he and his family ſacrificed to the reſentment of a barbarous enemy, he ſecretly articled with the general of the Tartars, and perfidiouſly opened two gates in one night, and the Tartars entering horſe and foot, ſoon made the city a theatre of horror and miſery.

I made a calculation of the number of inhabitants within the walls of Canton, by the quantity of rice daily expended in it; for they reckon 10,000 peculs is the daily import of that grain. It is alſo reckoned, that every perſon conſumes one pecul in three months, ſo that by that calculation, there muſt be above 900,000 people in it, and the ſuburbs one-third of that number, and there is no day in the year but ſhews 5000 ſail of trading jonks, beſides ſmall boats for other ſervices, lying before the city.

A little way below the city, are two ſmall iſlands in the river; they have each a caſtle built on them, and their garriſons examine all veſſels and boats that paſs by them.

The product of the country, beſides corn and fruits, is gold, quick-ſilver, copper, ſteel, iron, raw and wrought ſilks, and beſides the ſilk manufactories, there are lacked or japanned ware; and at Sachow there are much porcelain or China-ware made. We have the ſame ſort of clay, in ſeveral parts of Great Britain that porcelain is made of, but we want the warm ſun to prepare it.

They reckon that the province of Canton or Quantung, pays yearly to the Emperor 1,200,000 peculs of rice, and 20,000 peculs of ſalt, out of which is ſerved out to the military (who are reckoned 80,000 continually kept in the Emperor's pay) 320,000 peculs of rice, and 8000 peculs of ſalt, The reſt is ſold in markets, at the common price of 5 macias a pecul, which may amount to 446,000 tayels, which is appropriated towards the payment of the military expence, which may amount to 1,000,000 of tayels yearly. The cuſtoms on merchandize and poll-money amounts to prodigious great ſums, all which are gathered according to the book of rates, and ſent to the treaſury of the province, for the uſe of the empire, which makes the Emperor's treaſury always full.

Fokien

Fokien is the next maritime province to the eaſtward of Canton, a very mountainous country, and has about 90 leagues of a ſea-coaſt. It reaches from the iſland Lamoa, which lies directly under the tropic of cancer, and makes a very ſpacious ſecure harbour for ſhipping between it and the continent; but no ſtranger frequents it, but to ſhelter them from ſtorms, becauſe they admit of no trade with foreigners. About three leagues without the Great Lamoa, are ſome ſmall iſlands uninhabited. They are called the Small Lamoas. There is a good clear channel between thoſe ſmall iſlands and the great one, of 15 fathoms, on a good oozy bottom.

The next place of ſafety for ſhipping is the iſland of Amoy, where the Engliſh once had a factory, and a good trade, but now it is ſhut up from foreign trade by the Emperor's order. There are ſeveral ſmall iſlands lie off it, particularly the iſland Tangſi, by the Engliſh called Chapel Iſland, and by ſome the Hole-in-the-Wall, becauſe there is a large hole that paſſes quite through it, being undermined by the ſea below, but above all is faſt without fracture. It appears like the arch of a large bridge. About ſeven leagues within it is the inner harbour of Amoy, where ſhips lie very ſecure in 12 fathoms oozy ground, within 200 yards of the ſhore. The town is built cloſe to the ſea, and ſome houſes in it at high water, are waſhed by the ſea.

About the year 1645 the Dutch had a great mind of poſſeſſing Amoy, for the conveniency of its ſituation and trade. They came to an anchor with five large ſhips in the outward harbour, and landed about 300 men. There were none to oppoſe them but a few merchants and mechanics, who were ſoon frightened; but were ſo cunning, that before they left their town, they left their houſes well ſtored with ſamſhew, a kind of ſtrong arrack made of rice, and with hockſhew, a kind of ſtrong ale made of wheat-malt, by fermentation.

The Dutch fearing no enemy, or deſign againſt them, entered the town, and ſome inconſiderable people being left in it, were civilly treated by the Dutch, and thoſe poor Chineſe ſhewed their new maſters the beſt houſes in the town, where the Dutch took up their lodgings, and, according to cuſtom, caroufed heartily, that before midnight there were few of them ſober, and ſo went to ſleep. The Chineſe who were left in the town, went and informed their countrymen what poſture the Dutch affairs were in. They armed all they could get with ſwords, lances, bows and arrows, to the number of 2000, and came on the Dutch before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and cut them all off; which diſaſter made the Dutch depart without making any farther attempt.

This hiſtory is written in large China characters, on the face of a ſmooth rock that faces the entrance of the harbour, and may be fairly ſeen as we paſs out and in to the harbour.

Amoy was famous in the Tartar war, between the years 1648 and 1675, by the diverſion it gave to the Tartar forces at ſea, by the courage and conduct of one Cockſing, a native of Amoy, who gave them many defeats, and could never be brought to comply with the Tartar uſurpation, though he had many advantageous offers to ſubmit, but his death gave the Tartars a quiet poſſeſſion of the whole province.

About the year 1648, the Tartars took Chinchew, a very large city, reputed to be as large and rich as Canton. They did not ſtand out above nine weeks, becauſe they foreſaw that want of proviſions would compel them to a ſurrender at laſt, upon worſe terms than they might have had, if the ſiege had been but ſhort, however, they capitulated to have their lives and fortunes ſecured, and ſubmitted in all other things to the Tartar government and cuſtoms.

This province of Fokien borders on Chequiam to the north-eaſt, on Kiamſi on the north-weſt, on Quantung on the ſouth-weſt, and the ſea waſhes the ſouth-eaſt part of it. There are ſeveral iſlands lie on its coaſt, and Quamoy is but two leagues from Amoy, and is much larger, but not ſo well inhabited, becauſe of the near neighbourhood of Chinchew.

In anno 1693 I was at Amoy, and then the iſland was governed by a chungcoun, or a general of 10,000 men. He was a man of about eighty years of age, of a very agreeable aſpect. He had done many ſingular ſervices to his country, particularly in ſuppreſſing pirates that mightily diſturbed the province, and governed with much juſtice and moderation, but next year he died, and was ſucceeded by a teytock, or deputy-general of 5000. In anno 1697 I went thither again, and found a new temple built in honour to the old chungcoun, and his image placed in it, as much like his perſon while alive, as ever I ſaw any thing repreſented in my life, with every lineament and feature in his face, and I ſaw many votaries worſhip his image. It ſeems the Chineſe are ſpeedier in their canonizing than the Romans are.

The teytock has a deputy called the chungnae by title, and another officer called the chumpin, who ſuperintends the affairs of the ſea and rivers. In thoſe three perſons hands is the management of the affairs of the iſland, except the cuſtoms on goods imported and exported, and theſe are in the hands of the hapoa, who farms thoſe cuſtoms of the court at Peking, but the other three are put in by the chungtock, who keeps his court at Hockſew, a large city about 200 miles north-eaſt of Amoy.

There are no beautiful buildings in or about Amoy but ſome temples, in one of which I ſaw hell painted in freſco, on a wall, according to Des Cartes's ſyſtem of demonology; the demons being painted in the ſame ſhapes and figures as are in the cuts of Des Cartes's book; their methods of tormenting the damned very near the notions delivered by Chriſtian doctors, and purgatory better repreſented according to the doctrine of the church of Rome, than I ſaw it in a church in the city of Antwerp.

There are ſome curioſities in Amoy. One is a large ſtone that weighs above 40 tons, that is ſet ſo dextrouſly on a rock, in ſuch an equilibrium, that a youth of twelve years old can eaſily make it move, but an hundred men can make it move in no greater motion than that ſingle youth can. I ſaw it tried with a pair of hand-ſcrews, but to no purpoſe.

Another rarity is of five large ſtones, as big or bigger than the laſt mentioned, placed in an hollow at the foot of a mountain (whether by nature or art I cannot tell), they are each about thirty feet long, and twelve or fourteen diameter. They lean their heads againſt one another, and form an alcove at their feet, wherein is placed a table and benches around it, of ſtone, and there is a pretty clear rivulet runs cloſe by the table. We Europeans frequented that table on Sundays, for we often dined there.

There is a fine large citadel at the backſide of the town, with good high, thick ſtone-walls, and two gates that face one another; and in the middle ſtands the teytock's palace. The front of it is built of wood, and the back and ſides of ſtone, as moſt mandareens houſes are in this province, as well as the temples. There are ſentinels and guards always in the gateways, but I ſaw none any where elſe, except when he gave public audience to ſtrangers, then he had about 50 men attending at the palace.

There are about fifty Chriſtians in Amoy, and they have a chapel ſerved by French miſſionaries; but the pariſhioners are of the ſcum of the people, as they are of Chriſtianity.

I heard

I heard a pleaſant and true ſtory about the famous chunghee, who died in anno 1723, and the chungtock of Fokien, who was alive in anno 1700, which I had from Mr. le Blanc, a French miſſionary, as well as from ſome eminent China merchants, and it happened about the year 1690, the chungtock being then chungnae, or deputy-governor of the iſland of Quamoy, that iſland having about 30,000 inhabitants, not reckoning women and children; they were all poor, and had their ſuſtenance by their hard labour, in manuring the ground and fiſhing.

A great part of the iſland being low and marſhy, by the overflowings of ſpring-tides, made travelling very incommodious. The chungcoun being a man of pleaſure, could not bear living at home in rainy weather or ſpring-tides, and in going to hunt, he was obliged to go a great way about, before he could reach the places where the game was.

One day in council he propoſed to take one half of the miſerable inhabitants from their daily labour, to bring ſtones from ſome neighbouring mountains, to build a bridge or cauſey over the moraſs, which was above three leagues long, and being the Emperor's work, it muſt be done gratis.

The chungnae oppoſed it, laying down the difficulty, if not the impoſſibility for thoſe poor people to carry on ſuch a work, which could not be finiſhed in leſs than three years. He laid before the council, that the inhabitants could hardly live by their labour, when every one of them were employed, and how could they ſubſiſt on the labour of one half; that he could foreſee the ruin of the whole by taking off the half from their manuring the land, and fiſhing. However, it was put to the vote, and the chungcoun carried it, on which the chungnae laid down his commiſſion, and proteſted that he would not be acceſſary to the deſtruction of ſo many innocents, whom he foreſaw would be wrought and ſtarved to death, and ſo bade the chungcoun, and the reſt of the council adieu.

The chungnae having ſpent moſt of his time in the ſtudy of letters and philoſophy, had made a good progreſs in both, and having a ſmall fortune of ten or twelve thouſand tayels in money, took a journey to Pecking, to try if he could get into ſome convenient poſt in the government there, but found that none was to be got without friends and money, ſo that he took a reſolution to lead a private life on the intereſt of his money, and to follow his ſtudies; and hiring a chamber in a bye-lane of the city, he fell to writing a tract of moral philoſophy, being well qualified in writing a good hand, and a good ſtyle. He began to write on the imbecility of human nature, when our paſſions were more followed than reaſon; of the diſmal conſequences of tyranny when ſupported by power, and ſeveral other ſuch uſeful and commendable topics, and having carried his work pretty well forward, one morning he went to a neighbour's houſe to drink tea, and forgot to ſhut his chamber door or windows, which being on the lower ſtory of the houſe, and facing the lane, any body that paſſed by could ſee what was in the room.

The Emperor had gone abroad that morning incognito, to hear what news paſt current in the city, and accidentally came into that lane while the gentleman was at his tea, and looking in at the window ſaw a book lying open on the table, and the writing ſeemed to be extraordinary fine, which made him have the curioſity to enter at the door, and to ſit reading till the owner ſhould come in, that he might know both the ſubject written on, and the author.

It is the cuſtom in China for a ſtranger to read on any book that he ſees lying on a table. If it be a merchant's book of accounts, they take that liberty; and the Emperor having read above half an hour, was mightily pleaſed with the fine writing, and ingenious reflections made on each ſubject by the author. At laſt the gentleman came in, and was ſurpriſed to find another in his chamber, but the Emperor addreſſed him in ſo

obliging terms for his intruding into his chamber without leave, led by the ſtrong chains of curioſity, and the opportunity that offered to give him ſatisfaction, by the door being accidentally left open, that the chungnae could take nothing ill that was done.

The Emperor aſked him of what country he was, and what had brought him to Peking, and the chungnae ſatisfied him that he was a native of Fokien, and recounted the hiſtory of his affairs in Quamoy. The Emperor was much taken with his ſtory, and the modeſt way he expreſſed himſelf in it, and told him that he found his actions to quadrate with his doctrine. Then he aſked the chungnae if he had an employment, or if he had a mind to accept of one. He anſwered, that he had been in Peking above a year, and could obſerve, that merit was but a weak recommendation to preferment, and he did not deſign to buy it.

The Emperor told him, that he was nearly related to a great mandereen at court, and that if he would accept of a poſt, he would uſe his endeavours to procure him one, for he found him recommended by two good qualifications, ingenuity and honeſty. The chungnae thanked him in very obliging terms, and told the Emperor, that he was willing to accept of a poſt, providing it was not too high, becauſe his fortune was too low to ſupport the neceſſary expence, nor too low, leſt it ſhould make him contemptible. The Emperor aſſured him, that his kinſman had ſeveral poſts to diſpoſe of, and that he might depend on one ſuitable to his mind, and giving the chungnae his fan, ordered him to call at a gate of the palace, called the Elephant-gate, and deliver that fan to the captain of the guard, and tell him that you want to ſpeak to a mandereen of ſuch a name (as the Emperor borrowed for that time), and the captain would conduct him to his apartment; but withal he begged the uſe of his book for a few days, and, as he was a man of honour, he would return it.

The chungnae complimented him with the uſe of the book, making a modeſt apology for its incorrectneſs, and ſo they parted for a ſhort time.

The Emperor ſent for ſome coleas, mandereens of the firſt order, and gave them a pleaſant account of his morning's adventure, and ſhewed them the book, which they were highly pleaſed with, and the Emperor told them, that he had promiſed the author an handſome poſt, and deſired to know if any were vacant. One mandereen told His Majeſty, that he had received private advices that morning, that the chungtock of Fokien was dead, and that there would be certain information next day at court, if it was ſo or not, and that if it was true, His Majeſty might beſtow that poſt on him, he being a native of that country, and conſequently knew the manners and cuſtoms of his own country better than a ſtranger could. His Majeſty approved of his advice.

And next morning, according to appointment, the chungnae went to the Elephant-gate, and enquired for the Emperor by the borrowed name; and, on ſight of the fan, was conducted by the captain of the guard to an apartment in the grand palace, and was ordered to ſtay till the captain came back to him. When the Emperor knew of his being in the palace, he ordered a council of mandereens to be ſummoned forthwith, and when they were convened, and himſelf ſeated on the throne, the chungnae was ſent for, and he paying the uſual compliment of falling on his knees, and bowing his head three times to the ground, the third time to continue in that poſture till he was ordered to riſe, the Emperor ordered him immediately to ſtand up. The chungnae ſoon knew who had been his gueſt the day before, and would have begged pardon for the freedom of ſpeech he had uſed to the Emperor in diſguiſe; but the Emperor prevented him by beginning an allegorical diſcourſe, recounting the chungnae's adventure at Quamoy, as if it had happened in a foreign country, and when he had made an end, he aſked the opinion of the aſſembly, what both the chungcoun and chungnae deſerved. They unanimouſly

mouſly condemned the chungcoun, and commended the chungnae, and were of opinion, that the chungnae deſerved a better poſt than he had before.

The Emperor told them, that this was the caſe of the perſon before them, and that the government of Fokien was vacant by the death of the chuntouck, which advices he had received that morning, and that he had thoughts of beſtowing that place on him before them, which they all approved of, on which he ordered robes of the ſecond order to be brought, and inveſted him in the office and dignity, and ordered 100,000 tayels to be paid to him, in order to equip him for his journey, and withal told him, that he expected he would govern his province according to the doctrine that he preached to others.

Accordingly the new chuntock took his journey to Hockſhew, where, on his arrival, all the mandereens of note in the province came to compliment him, and none muſt come to wait on him till firſt introduced by a preſent, which is punctually ſet down in a book kept for that purpoſe.

And among the crowd of viſitors came his old friend the chungcoun of Quamoy. After the common compliment of genuflexion and proſtration was done, he ordered him to ſtand up, and aſking him if he did not remember him, he received a negative anſwer. He aſked him how his government of Quamoy thrived, and how far the bridge was brought forward. The chungcoun gave him a ſad account of the ſtate of his iſland, which, he alledged, was occaſioned by a raging plague, that had ſwept off above the half of the people, and the bridge was not carried one quarter of the way forward.

Then the chungtock made himſelf known to him, and upbraided him with his cruelty, and the chungcoun having little to ſay in his own defence, fell at his feet, and implored mercy. The chungtock bade him riſe, and told him, that for the ſake of his family, he would ſave his life, which he had juſtly forfeited; but withal baniſhed him to a palace on the ſide of an hill on the iſland of Quamoy, where he ſhould be allowed 2,000 tayels yearly, for the ſubſiſtence of his wives and children, but he was never to meddle in government again, and ſo diſmiſſed him, and ſent one along with him to take poſſeſſion of his government, with orders to rectify all things that had been amiſs in his government, and to invite people to the manuring of the ground and catching of fiſh, on better terms than had been before. Thoſe juſt and generous actions of the Emperor and chungtock were worthily admired by all who loved juſtice and generoſity; and I have borne no ſmall veneration for both their perſons ever ſince.

I muſt now give an account of the chuntock's juſtice and generoſity in an affair relating to ſome ſhipwrecked Engliſhmen at Amoy.

CHAP. LII. — *Is a Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Chungtock of Fokien, in relation to ſome Occurrences that happened among the Engliſh at Amoy in anno* 1700.

I BEING then bound to Amoy in a ſhip from Surat, employed by Sir Nicholas Waite, the new Eaſt-India Company's preſident there, and Commodore Littleton being then at Surat with a ſquadron of four men of war, by ſome conſiderable reaſons was perſuaded by Sir Nicholas to let one of his ſquadron go as far as Amoy to look after the Engliſh pirates that then infeſted the ſtreights of Malacca.

The Harwich was the ſhip pitched on, a 50 gun-ſhip, commanded by Captain Cock, and we ſailed in company as far as Atcheen, and there we were parted by a ſtorm. He called at Atcheen, but I made what haſte I could for the port of Malacca. I ſtaid there above a fortnight for him, and when he had taken in ſuch proviſions as he wanted, and that I had paid for them, we ſailed from Malacca, in order to proceed for Amoy.

When we arrived there, we found three European ſhips, and a country ſhip frhe Surat, employed by Sir John Gayer, preſident for the old Eaſt-India Company. T ſupercargoes of thoſe ſhips, on ſight of a man of war, ſent a compliment of 500 tayels to the teytock, to diſſuade him from giving the Harwich permiſſion to come into the harbour, for fear of loſing a feather that they had put in their own caps, of wearing a pendent at their top-maſt heads; ſo that when I went to pay my compliment to the teytock, and give him an account of our cargo, and to deſire liberty for the man of war and my own ſhip to come into the harbour; he told me, that my own ſhip was welcome, but he could not, with ſafety, admit of the King's ſhip into the harbour, but that ſhe might be ſupplied with what ſhe wanted in the road.

I told him, that the King's ſhip's bottom wanted repair, and that if he would not permit her to come into the harbour, both ſhe and I muſt go to Canton, and if the captain of the man of war reſented the ill uſage he was like to meet with at Amoy, thoſe ought to anſwer who had given the teytock that ill advice, and ſo I took leave very ill ſatisfied.

The linguiſt and I had been acquainted ſome years, and, on our way from the citadel, I told him, that if the teytock continued his reſolution of denying our King's ſhip the ſame civilities that he granted to merchant ſhips of our nation, I could not anſwer for the ill conſequences that might attend that affront, and, if ſhe had not permiſſion in three days to come in, on the fourth we would proceed for Canton.

He then very frankly told me, that it was none of the teytock's fault, but the Engliſh captains and ſupercargoes, who had ſent him with a meſſage to the teytock, to acquaint him, that if the man of war was permitted to come into the harbour, their men would be rude to the merchants, and would be tied up to no rules or laws which the merchant ſhips obſerved; that the women would be debauched, and many other aggravating crimes, they alledged, the man of war's men would commit, and withal had ſent the teytock a preſent of 500 tayels to keep her out of the harbour.

I carried the linguiſt into a merchant's houſe that was my acquaintance, to conſult with that merchant about removing that remora that ſtopped the man of war from entering into the harbour, which could be done no other way than my being bound for the good behaviour of the people belonging to the man of war, and to give a preſent ſuperior to theirs, which I conſented to.

Then we conſulted how the captain of the King's ſhip ſhould be received by the teytock, when he ſhould make his viſit, and we agreed, that all the captains and ſupercargoes ſhould be called to the teytock's in company with Captain Cock, and that he ſhould enter before us, and have an high chair placed a little before the teytock's chair, on the left hand, which, among them, is the place of honour, and we captains and ſupercargoes to be ſet on felt cuſhions on the floor, and on the right ſide of the teytock's chair, which was raiſed on a platform of deals, with three ſteps of aſcent.

We had no ſooner done with our conſultation than I diſpatched my friend Shawban, for that was the merchant's name, with the linguiſt, to acquaint the teytock with what we had reſolved on, and he approved of all, and two days after ſent a ſummons for the captains and ſupercargoes to accompany Captain Cock, and all obeyed but one, who pretended indiſpoſition; however he ſent his ſecond ſupercargo to ſupply his place.

As ſoon as we were in the citadel, we were conducted to the teytock's palace, and entered the chamber of audience, and were ſeated according to the method before agreed on. The teytock being ſeated before, he made a ſpeech pretty long, wherein he told how he had been informed of the looſe behaviour of men of war's men, which had armed him with caution, but that he knew of a more convenient place on an iſland within

within three leagues of the town, for the man of war to hale aſhore, if we would be ruled by his advice. The captain made a bow and acceded to that motion.

He then wanted to know who would be ſurety for the captain and men belonging to the man of war, that they ſhould obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of the place, without being moleſtation to the natives. I found none cared to enter on ſo hazardous an affair, ſo I ſtood up, and proffered myſelf, ſhip and cargo for ſecurity. The reſt not expecting that the captain could have found ſuch ſecurity, one, who made a good figure among us, told me, I was too forward in my proffer. I anſwered him, that I only engaged what I had the command of, but meddled with nobody's affairs elſe.

The teytock ſeemed well ſatisfied, and gave us a very handſome entertainment, and then diſmiſſed us. The man of war went to the iſland, and landed ſome of her greateſt guns, but found ſo much difficulty in carrying things aſhore, that we got an order from the teytock to bring her into the harbour, and accordingly ſhe came in.

There is an iſland oppoſite to the town of Amoy, called Cullemſhoe, about half a mile diſtant, and it has two convenient places to lay ſhips on, in order to clean their bottoms, or repair them, and there are ſome rocks that lay between thoſe places, that appear dry at low water. In one of thoſe bays the Harwich was haled aſhore, and cleaned, and her ſheathing being much worm-eaten, it was repaired with a great deal of new ſheathing, all which charges I had orders from my employers to diſburſe on their account, in expectation, that carrying back 200 tons of China goods would ſufficiently reimburſe them; but Captain Cock being a young man, not very well verſed in the affairs of ſhipping, took advice of ſome other captains of better knowledge, and daily carouſing with them on board of his ſhip, chanced, that day that his ſhip haled off, to be a little inebriated, as well as his tutors. I was none of the cabal, and ſo ſtaid in my factory. The tide of ebb was made before they began to remove the ſhip from the bay that ſhe had been fitted in, and in haling off, the tide ſet her upon the rocks abovementioned, and on them ſhe was loſt.

As ſoon as the ſhip ſat faſt on the rocks, his counſellers left him to think on his misfortune, Next morning all the captains and ſupercargoes went over to the iſland (where he and all his men were lamenting their condition) to condole his misfortune, but not one had the charity to invite him to a dinner. About ten I went over to viſit him, and found him weeping. I diſſuaded him from grieving at what could not be remedied, and invited him to dine with me, if he was not pre-engaged. He then wept very bitterly, and told me, that not one of all his companions that had been viſiting him, had the good manners to give him an invitation, and that I, who had juſt cauſe to be angry with him for his folly and contempt of my counſel, had ſhewn him more humanity than thoſe who had ſworn eternal friendſhip to him.

I carried him and his two lieutenants along with me to dinner, and allowed them a chamber in my factory to lodge in, and to ſhew a good example to the reſt of the captains, I took forty of the poor ſeamen on board of my ſhip, and gave them proviſions. They were in all one hundred and eighty two men and boys in the crew, and there being five ſhips, I thought I had taken a large quota for my ſhare, but not one of the reſt would follow my example, ſo the remainder of the crew were in diſtreſs for want of food and raiment. I went over one morning to ſee what condition the poor men were in, who had made tents of the ſhip's ſails, and I ſaw one newly dead for hunger and cold.

I uſed all my rhetoric amongſt my brethren the captains and ſupercargoes, to take pity on the poor ſhipwrecked men, but they were all deaf to my petitions, which obliged me to allow them a pound weight of rice per day each man: and to clothe them, I

bought three thouſand yards of blue cotton cloth about a groat per yard value, and bought them needles and thread, and gave them about 1000lb. weight of cotton for quilting, and ſo every man was his own tailor.

But finding my charges would be very great in maintaining ſuch a number of men, and in carrying them paſſengers would take up too much room in my ſhip, which I could much better employ in carrying China goods to Surat, I went to my old friend Shawban, with my confidant the linguiſt, and held a conſultation how we might compel my brethren to be humane, and force them to take their quotas of the poor diſtreſſed men, and we fell on the project to write to the noble and juſt chungtock at Hockſew before mentioned, to get an order from him, that no ſhip ſhould have liberty to lade their goods aboard, that did not firſt take their quota of the ſhipwrecked men. We went to the teytock, and acquainted him with our deſign, who much approved of the project, and he ſeemed ſurprized, that any of thoſe ſhips durſt go into our King's dominions, who had denied to aſſiſt, not only his ſubjects, but immediate ſervants. He was very humane, and ſent the poor ſeamen preſents of pork and hockſew, (a ſtrong fermented liquor like our ſtrong ale), for me to diſtribute among them, and thoſe preſents he frequently ſent.

I provided a preſent to accompany my letter to the chungtock, to the value of 40 pounds ſterling, and got the beſt ſcribe in the place to write my letter, laying down the miſery the poor men were in, and how eaſily and juſtly they might be relieved by ſuch an order.

I ſent my letter and preſent by an expreſs, who returned in ſixteen days with a ſatisfactory anſwer, and an order to the hapoa, to ſuffer no goods to be ſhipped off without conſulting me. The hapoa came to my factory, and congratulated me on the honour that the chungtock had done me, and promiſed to obey his orders in relation to ſhipping goods off.

A gentleman who was ſupercargo of the ſhip Dorrel, bound directly from Amoy to England, was the firſt that was denied a permit to ſhip goods off. He had ſent for the ſhip's boat to carry off ſome cheſts of ſilk, but the waiters ſtopt them from putting them into the boat, on which the linguiſt was ſent for to know the reaſon; and he told the ſupercargo, that the hapoa had received orders to let no goods be ſhipped off withot conſulting me firſt about taking a quota of the man of war's men; on which my antagoniſts held a council, and reſolved to continue obſtinate, and that ſupercargo before mentioned came early next morning to my houſe. When my ſervants informed me that he was in the court, I went and invited him in. I gueſſed his errand by his countenance, and aſked him to ſit down, but he refuſed. I aſked him if he would drink any coffee or tea, but he would not. He then, in a fret, aſked me if I was governor of his affairs. I anſwered, no, nor did I know how he could aſk me ſuch a ſimple queſtion. He ſwore that he found I was, and that if I were in another place than Amoy, I durſt not act as I had done, and ſwore again, that not one man of them ſhould be entertained on board the Dorrel. I told him, that I durſt do any thing that was honeſt and juſt, and was always ready to defend what I had ſo done; but as to his taking his quota of the ſhipwrecked men, he muſt comply with it, if he had a mind to ſave his paſſage to England that ſeaſon. He ſtill continued curſing himſelf if he took any of them, and went away in a very great huff, which I little regarded.

It was, and I believe is, ſtill the cuſtom on board the Engliſh Company's ſhips, for the captain to give a remonſtrance and a proteſt thirty days before the expiration of the term for their departure, to the ſupercargo or factor for the company, according as it is ſtipulated by charter party. Accordingly the captain of the Dorrel gave in his proteſt about

about that time to the aforeſaid ſupercargo, which aggravated his chagrin, and he told the captain, who was my friend, what troubles I had brought him and the reſt into. The captain adviſed him to conſider what time might be ſpent in contention; and that I, having the government on my ſide, would certainly carry my point in ſpite of all the oppoſition they could make, and that it would be much better to comply in time than to ſtand out, and be forced to comply at laſt.

He told the captain that he might do as he pleaſed, but he was reſolved to give him no orders on that head. The captain bade him look what was agreed on in charter-party; where they found, that the commander of a company's ſhip was to take no paſſengers on board of his ſhip on penalty of 100l. for each paſſenger, without a written order from the Company's agent where he ſhould happen to be; but where no agent was, he was then at his liberty.

After a little deliberation, he bade the captain ſpeak to me of the hardſhips they would be under in carrying ſuch a number of paſſengers ſo long a voyage, and to try me, whether I would favour them in the number of the quota that they muſt be obliged to carry: and the captain came to diſcourſe me about it; and I agreed that Capt. Cock, his lieutenants, and ſeventeen more, ſhould have their paſſage on board his ſhip to England, and that thoſe ſeventeen ſhould be ſuch as Captain Cock ſhould chooſe, that the captain and his two lieutenants ſhould have Captain Hide's table, they paying him 20l. each for that favour, all which the captain conſented to, and the ſupercargo and I became friends again.

The other ſticklers ſoon complied, and took thirty ſix each for their quota, and the reſt I provided for, and they were as forward to work and obey my orders as my own ſeamen, though they were not ſo on board of the other Surat ſhip, where they were like to mutiny for want of victuals, even before they went to ſea, for the captain of that ſhip pretended that he would allow them no victuals before they went to ſea, and the poor indigent fellows faſted twenty four hours on that pretext. At laſt hunger compelled them to make their complaint to me, and I furniſhed them with a ſupper, and bade them be eaſy till next noon, and if there was no proviſion made for them, when the ſhip's company's dinner was ready, to ſeize on it for their own uſe, and let the others ſtay till more was dreſt, which advice, they took to be very wholſome, and punctually followed it.

The captain complained to me of the paſſengers rudeneſs. I told him, that they only followed my advice, for I could not ſee what pleaſure he could take in ſtarving poor men, ſince what they did eat was nothing out of his pockets, for I knew the charges would be allowed in his accounts with his employers, and adviſed him to treat them civilly at ſea, ſince they being ſuperior in number to his ſhip's company, might make them uſe force to obtain what they ought to have by fair means: nor was I out in my conjecture, for at ſea he put them to ſo ſmall an allowance, that they mutinied, and threatened to carry him and the ſhip to Madagaſcar, and deliver him to the pirates.

About Chriſtmas I broke up houſe-keeping, and paid houſe-rent for Captain Cock and his officers to remain in it a month after me, and knowing the ſcarcity of money among him and his family, I gave him a bag with 1000 Spaniſh dollars for his ſubſiſtence on his voyage to Europe, on condition, that when he was in a capacity to pay me, he would not forget to repay me. I gave his firſt lieutenant 100 and the ſecond lieutenant 50 of the ſame pieces, but without proviſion of repayment.

The captain made his acknowledgments in the moſt emphatical words he could expreſs, imprecating vengeance to purſue him if he did not thankfully repay me with

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good intereſt, when he was able, I alſo wrote to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Royal Navy, about the charges I had been at on account of the loſs of his Majeſty's ſhip, in China; and petitioned that I might be reimburſed, and made Mr. Matthew Cock, a brother of the captain's, my attorney, to ſolicit for and receive what their Lordſhips would pleaſe to allow me.

I received a letter from the captain, then at Cape Bona Eſperance, in his way home; wherein he gave me an account of their hard uſage aboard of the ſhip, and of the death of his ſecond lieutenant, and that was all I had from him in twenty-three years. When I arrived in England, I did myſelf the honour to write him from London to Leatherhead, to try if I could furbiſh up his ſhort memory with the remembrance of what had paſſed between us in China; but he proteſted that he had quite forgot it. I anſwered him, that his firſt lieutenant, Captain Falconar, ſtill remembered it very well, and had made a grateful acknowledgment of the ſmall favour he received above twenty years before. My affairs calling me to Holland in anno 1724, he called for me at London, when he knew I was in Holland; and before I returned to England, he had paid his great debt to nature, without taking notice of the ſmall one due to me.

CHAP. LIII. — *A Continuation of Obſervations on the Gods, Clergy, and Devotion of the Chineſe.*

AND now I have followed him to his grave, I will return back to Amoy, and obſerve ſome of their cuſtoms, religious, civil, and criminal. Their temples are built all after one form, but, as in other countries, very different in beauty and magnitude. Their joſſes, or demi-gods, are ſome of human ſhape, ſome of monſtrous figures, but in the province of Fokien, they are more devoted to the worſhip of goddeſſes than gods. Quanheim has the moſt votaries. She is placed in ſtate, ſitting on a cuſhion with rich robes, and her little ſon ſtanding before her, with a charged trident in his right hand, ready to throw at offenders of the laws of humanity and nature, and alſo at thoſe who make no freewill-offerings to his mother. The Chineſe, who have ſeen the Roman Catholic churches and worſhip, ſay that ſhe is the Chineſe Virgin Mary.

There is another goddeſs called Matſoa, who ſwam from a far country, through many ſeas, and came in one night to China, and took up her reſidence there. She ſits on a platform, with a cuſhion laid on it, and her head is covered with blue wool inſtead of hair. She is the protectreſs of navigation, for which reaſon none go a voyage but they firſt make a ſacrifice of boiled hogs heads, and bread baked in the ſteam of boiling water. It is ſet before the image when reeking hot, and kept before her till it is cold, ſhe feeding on the ſmoke, and the devotees on the ſubſtance, when it is cold. On their return from a voyage, they compliment her with a play, either acted on board of the ſhip, or before one of her temples.

They have another goddeſs in form of a virgin, called Quonin, who has many votaries, but is moſtly worſhipped in the provinces of Peking and Nanking, but being a virgin, ſhe has many lovers all over China.

The god Fe has an human ſhape, except his head, which has the figure of an eagle. Gan has a broad face, and a prodigious great belly. Fo is a very majeſtic god, and is always placed with a great number of little gods to attend him. Minifo in Fokien, I take to be the god Miglect at Canton, being alike in ſhape and countenance. He is called the god of pleaſure. Puſſa is ſet croſs-legged on a cuſhion, beſpangled with flowers and ſtars, and ſhe has eight or nine arms and hands on each ſide, and two

before, that ſhe holds in a praying poſture. In every one of her hands (except the two that are dedicated to prayer) ſhe bears ſome thing emblematical, as an axe, a ſword, a flower, &c. The great God that made the heavens and earth, they beſtow an human ſhape on him, like a young man in ſtrength and vigour, quite oppoſite to the church of Rome, who make his picture like Salvadore winter, old, cold, and hoary. I have ſeen many more whoſe names I have forgot, ſome with human bodies, and dragons, lions, tigers, and dogs heads, and one I ſaw like Stour Yonker in Finland, with a man's body and clothes, and with eagles feet, and talons in the ſtead of hands.

The prieſthood are in no great eſteem among the people, being generally of low extract. They have many different orders among them, which are diſtinguiſhed by badges, colour of habit, or faſhions of their capes. They are all obliged to celibacy while they continue in orders, and that is no longer than they pleaſe. But while they continue in orders, and ſhould, or chance to be convicted of fornication, they muſt expiate the crime with their lives, except their high prieſt, who is called Chiam, and he always keeps near the Emperor's perſon, and is in very great repute, and he has liberty to marry, becauſe the high prieſthood muſt always continue in one family, as Aaron's did for a long while, but not half ſo long as it has been in this family, who has kept up the cuſtom above 1000 years ſucceſſively, without the intruſion of interlopers.

There are no perſons of figure or fortune that care to have their children conſecrated to ſerve at the altar, ſo that the prieſts who can have no iſſue of their own, are obliged to buy novices of ſuch mean perſons as neceſſity forces to ſell their children, and their ſtudy being in the large legends of their divinity, and not having the benefit of converſation with men of letters or polity, they are generally ignorant of the affairs of the world, which makes them contemptible among ſo polite a people as the ingenious and converſible Chineſe laity are.

Confucius, or as the Chineſe call him, Confuce, was the prince of their philoſophers. He was near contemporary with Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, and Malachi, about 450 years before our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. He both taught and practiſed moral philoſophy to perfection, and acquired ſo great a veneration among his countrymen, that his ſentences are taken for poſtulata to this day, not one ſince having offered to contradict any thing that he has left behind in writing. They have another doctor of philoſophy called Tanſiw, who was almoſt as ancient as Confucius, and wrote many excellent tracts of a virtuous life, and the methods to attain to it, but his character is inferior to Confucius's.

Their preachers take ſome apophthegms out of thoſe great mens writings, for texts to comment and expatiate on. They live very abſtemiouſly, and riſe early before day to pray. Every temple has a cloiſter or convent annexed to it, and has a certain ſtipend allowed by the Emperor to ſupport the prieſts and novices, but they get much more by letting of lodgings to travellers, who generally lodge in their cells, than the Emperor's allowance. Beſides, they have a genteel way of begging from ſtrangers, by bringing tea and ſweetmeats to regale them.

The Chineſe do not bury in or near their temples, but in the fields, and when a bouzi or prieſt tells a rich dying perſon, that ſuch a piece of ground is holy, and that the infernal ſpirits have no power to haunt ſuch ground, they will perſuade the poor man that is diſtempered both in body and mind, to buy it at any rate to be buried in, and ſometimes they will pay a thouſand tayels for ten yards ſquare of ſuch holy ground.

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The fiſhers and carriers by water, who are born and bred in their boats, and on the water, muſt alſo be buried in it, unleſs they have money enough to purchaſe a burying-place aſhore.

They have many ſects among them, but all agree in the tranſanimation of ſouls, yet not one ſect perſecutes another, but allow free liberty to believe what they think beſt, and it is very natural for men to embrace what they think is beſt, whether it is the beſt or not.

The Chriſtian miſſionaries have converted many by the indulgence of ſeveral Emperors, particularly of Chunghee, and thoſe apoſtles indulge their proſelytes in many things oppoſite to the ſyſtem and canons of the weſtern Chriſtianity, as polygamy, concubinage, and the invocation and adoration of Pagan ſaints, as well as Chriſtian, in their apotheoſis, which has cauſed no ſmall diſturbance at Rome.

When a mandereen of any conſideration paſſes through a ſtreet or highway, he goes in great ſtate, either on horſeback, or in cloſe or open chairs, carried by men, and he has flags carried before him, and large peels lacquered, and painted black or red, with large golden characters written on them, that gives the deſignation of his titles and dignity. The foremoſt of his retinue in their particular habit, with an high-crowned hat in form of a cloſeſtool-pan, and two long feathers of a pheaſant's tail, ſtanding upright in it; and they make an hideous noiſe as they go along, crying inceſſantly Ho—ot, to warn every one to go off the ſtreets or highway, till he paſs by. Next to them are fellows with ſmall chains in their hands, ready to throw over any body's head, and catch them by the neck, that do not obey the call of the foremoſt men. And next them are executioners with their enſigns of cruelty, as a great ſword, an axe, and ſome large pieces of wood, painted black, and trailing on the ground as they paſs along, to bamboo the delinquent, which is by throwing them on their faces, and giving their buttocks as many blows with thoſe batons as his worſhip the mandereen ſhall order, and they have caps like ſugar-loaves. I knew an Engliſh gentleman now alive in England, that underwent the chaſtiſement of the bamboo.

Yet I heard of a comical paſſage that happened at Amoy, between a mandereen and an Engliſh ſailor. The mandereen going in his chair with his uſual retinue, met a ſailor coming with a keg of arrack under his arm. Every body went off the ſtreet but the jolly ſailor, who had been taſting his arrack, he was ſo mannerly as to walk aſide, and give the mandereen the middle of the ſtreet; but one of the retinue gave the ſailor a box on the ear, and had almoſt ſhoved him down, keg and all. The ſailor d---ned him for a ſon of a whore, and aſked what he meant by it; and at the ſame time gave the aggreſſor a box on the ear in return. The poor ſeaman was ſoon overpowered by the retinue; but the mandereen ordered to do him no harm, till he had ſent for the Engliſh linguiſt, who forthwith came. The mandereen told the linguiſt what had happened, and bid him aſk the ſailor why he gave him that affront. The ſailor ſwore that the mandereen had affronted him, in allowing his ſervants to beat him, while he was walking down the ſtreets civilly, with his keg of ſamſhew under his arm; and ſwore by G—d that he would box the mandereen, or every one of his gang, for a Spaniſh dollar; and with that put his hand in his pocket and pulled a dollar out.

The mandereen ordered the linguiſt to tell him verbatim what the ſailor ſaid, and why he pulled his money out. When the linguiſt had told him all, the mandereen was ready to fall off his chair with laughing. And after he had compoſed himſelf, he aſked if the ſailor would ſtand to his challenge, who ſwore he would. The mandereen had one Tartar in his retinue famous for boxing, who had won many prizes at it, and

called for him to try his ſkill on the Engliſhman. The Tartar was a luſty man, and the ſailor ſhort, but well ſet. The Tartar promiſed an eaſy conqueſt; and to the combat they went. The Tartars uſe to kick high at the guts, and the firſt time he kicked, the ſailor had him on his back. The Tartar was much aſhamed of the foil he had received, and at the ſailor again, but Jack ſoon tripped up his heels again. He deſired then to have a fair bout of boxing without tripping, which Jack agreed to, and battered the Tartar's face and breaſt ſo with his head, that he was forced to yield to Old England. The mandereen was ſo pleaſed with the bravery and dexterity of the ſeaman, that he made him a preſent of 10 tayels of ſilver.

In the puniſhment of crimes there are laws made to proportion the puniſhment according to the notoriety or quality of the crime. For faults not capital they uſe the bamboo and whip, or a pair of wooden ſtocks, or a wooden collar, being ſome boards fixed together, with a hole in the middle for the head to go through. It is generally about five feet ſquare, and between ſixty and eighty pounds weight, that they are obliged to carry a conſiderable way in the day, and ſleep in it at night, ſitting with that continual weight on their ſhoulders, becauſe there is no lying down; which puniſhment laſts as long as the judge determines in his ſentence. Some they lay in the ſtocks by the neck, laid flat on their back in the open ſun, with their face continually towards it while it ſhines, and this laſts for one, two, or three days, as the judge thinks fit to order.

Traitors, murderers, and pirates, are carried to Nankin to be tried and puniſhed, except a ſpecial order from the Emperor carry cuſtom out of her road. Thoſe goals in Nankin are only cleared of malefactors once in three years. In thoſe priſons they live in great miſery, and often wiſh for death before it comes.

Every one of thoſe ſort of criminals has particular priſons belonging to ſuch crimes, and when the judge receives the Emperor's orders to reprieve ſuch a number, the judge has it in his power to ſave whom he pleaſes of that number ſpecified, and the reſt are immediately put to death, as faſt as they can diſpatch them with the ſword and axe. I have been credibly informed, that 30,000 have been executed in one month, and half that number reprieved.

When the Emperor gives ſpecial order for the puniſhment of piracy or murder, the delinquent is tied to a ſtake, and an executioner cuts the ſkin of his forehead round from ear to ear, and pulls it over his eyes, and then delivers him to the friends and relations of thoſe that had ſuffered injuries by him, and they have the pleaſure of torturing him as they pleaſe. I have heard of ſome who have been tortured three days and nights before they expired. Others have had a brick or ſtone cloke built round them cloſe to their bodies, by the ſide of an highway, and a guard ſet over them, who commanded all paſſengers to ſpit on their heads as they paſſed by, and they are generally much longer dying than the others.

Parents have the power of the life and death of their children till they marry, and then that power ceaſes. Huſbands have the ſame power of their wives, if they are convicted of adultery. I knew an inſtance of the latter in Amoy by a Chineſe, that went a voyage to Fort St. George, and from thence to England. He had a good agreeable young woman to his wife, and he pretended when he returned, to make his wife uſe the freedom of England, in bringing his wife into Engliſhmen's company when they came to his houſe, and made her eat at table, or drink tea with them, but not when any Chineſe ſtrangers were in his houſe. However, ſhe did not know how to behave herſelf prudently in that ſtate of freedom, but was debauched by ſeveral; and he going a

voyage to Canton, had ſtaid ten months after the Engliſh ſhipping was gone, and found her big with child at his return. He ſent for her relations and feaſted them, and then before them upbraided her for her diſloyalty, and took a piece of heavy wood that they uſe in pounding rice, and gave her a blow on the head that killed her outright.

I heard of an inſtance of the other at Canton. A rich merchant had a profligate ſon, whom he ſent abroad with a conſiderable ſtock to employ in trade. In a few months he had conſumed all the ſtock, and run in debt. He gave his creditors bills on his father, who anſwered them for his own credit. The ſon came back, begged his father's pardon, and proteſted, that for the future he would lead a virtuous life. The kind indulgent father entruſted him with a ſecond ſtock, and he, in a ſhort time, deſtroyed that alſo, and when his credit was gone returned to his father, who ſeemed to paſs by his folly. But one day he made an entertainment for all his relations, and when the entertainment was over he began an apologue that came pretty near his own caſe with his ſon; and aſked their opinion what in juſtice the ſon ought to ſuffer for abuſing his father's kindneſs, and ruining his eſtate. They did not know that he and his ſon were the perſons mentioned in the fable under borrowed names, unanimouſly agreed that the ſon ought to be puniſhed with death. On which the father took a knife and cut his ſon's throat, before either the ſon or his relations had the leaſt thought of it; and then he thanked them for paſſing ſo juſt a ſentence, for that he and his ſon were the real perſons repreſented in the apologue.

If children grow incorrigible, and deſpiſe the threats or admonitions of their parents, according to law, the parents are to complain of them to the magiſtrate, and upon full conviction, the magiſtrate will ſeverely correct them. For if a ſon break the eſtabliſhed laws, the parent ſuffers puniſhment as well as the criminal ſon, if he had not before made the magiſtrate acquainted with his ſon's vices.

And if a parent is brought to poverty and want, and has not brought his ſon up to ſome calling, whereby he might get his living, the ſon is not obliged to aſſiſt his father, but otherwiſe he is.

In their marriages the bridegroom never ſees his ſpouſe till they are married, for the match is made by matrons of both ſides, and he is obliged to pay a ſum of money to the bride's relations before he can have her; and when all obſtacles are removed, her relations make a feaſt for the bridegroom and his friends, and after that is over, ſhe is brought veiled into the dining-room, and he preſents her with ſome jewel of ſmall value, or ſome pieces of ſilk ſtuffs, and a prieſt ſacrifices a cock, by cutting his throat, and ſprinkling ſome of the blood on them both, and then they are married by law; and he ſeldom marries another while ſhe lives, except in caſe of barrenneſs, and then he may take another, and ſo on in caſe of failure in iſſue, as far as four, but they cannot go beyond that number, yet he may buy as many concubines as he pleaſes, and the wives are ranked according to priority, and the concubines muſt attend and ſerve the wives.

The ladies dreſs is very becoming. They wear fine linen breeches that reach to the ancle, but they are covered with a petticoat handſomely platted, that reaches below the ancle, and a gown that reaches midleg down, tied with a ſilken belt round their middle, and each ſleeve ſo large, that one would ſerve to put their body in, and reaches almoſt to the ground. They have a collar of embroidery handſomely cut, that comes round their neck, and covers the neck of their gown, and reaches half way between the neck and ſhoulder-bone. They have naturally a great deal of hair as black as jet, which they ſet on wires fitted to their head, raiſed four or five inches, and covered with their

hair in a becoming manner, and thoſe who can afford pearl, have ſome of them bored on one ſide, and ſet in their hair, and they have two or more gold bodkins which keep all the handſome fabric faſt.

Their feet are bound up with rollers of cloth when they come to three years of age, and are always kept hard bound, ſo that all the other parts of their body grow in their natural ſhape and magnitude, but their feet, which, by reſtraint, are always as ſmall as they were when firſt bound up. Their pretty little ſhoe has a piece of wood placed in the middle between the heel and the toe, that ſerves both for heel and ſole; which makes them rather trip along when they go, for their ambulation cannot be called walking.

Their forehead is large, pretty ſmall eyebrows, well arched, their eyes black, but almoſt hid with the lids, their noſe ſmall and flat at the eyes, their mouth little, and pretty plump lips of a deep vermillion colour, their cheeks and chin in a good agreeable ſymmetry, and their neck ſmall, their arms long and ſlender, a fine little hand, and to grace the whole ſtructure of their perſons and ornaments, the nails of their fingers are never pared, but are let grow to two or three inches in length, to ſhew that they are not employed in ſervile works.

And this faſhion of long nails is followed by the men of diſtinction, and are carefully kept clean, and formerly, before the Tartars were their lords, they wore their hair long, rolled up behind, (as our women in Britain formerly wore theirs,) and a net of hair or black ſilk to cover their neat rolls and gold bodkins, with double or treble prongs ſtuck in their hair, to keep it in order, but now they have only a lock at their crown, platted and hanging down their back, and none are without that lock; for if they have not hair enough growing naturally on their heads, they take ſmall locks of borrowed hair, and twiſt it with their own to be in the faſhion.

The men of figure have a coat of ſilk that comes down to their knees, and a ſhort doublet over that, that reaches no farther than their loins. Their breeches are large and full, which come under the tops of their ſilk boots, neatly made and quilted, for great men wear no ſhoes. They generally wear on their right thumb a thick ivory or agate ring, very convenient for drawing their long-bows made of buffalo's horn, they being all bred to archery, and exerciſe themſelves much in ſhooting at a mark. They wear their ſwords on the left ſide, with the point forward; and when they draw them, they lift up their lacquered ſcabbard, that the handle may reach above their ſhoulder behind, ſo that at the drawing of them with their right hand, they can make a good and nimble ſtroke on whatſoever they attack.

And to dreſs our China or Tartar gentleman completely, he wears a cap made of fine mat for that purpoſe, in the form of a blunt pyramid, with a taſſel of horſe-hair dyed red, that reaches from the crown almoſt to the bottom, and often an amber or coral button faſtened to the crown of the cap, and they uſe a piece of hair-tape to come under the chin, to keep it from blowing off by the wind; and to their girdle they have a purſe for their little tobacco-pipe, which is made of ſome metal, and two other purſes, one ſmall for their tobacco, and the other pretty large, with ſeveral diviſions in it for their money and papers, all drawn cloſe by ſilken ſtrings; and their handkerchief is a piece of coarſe cotton rag ſtuck between their girdle and ſide, one end hanging to the knee, and that ſerves for a towel and a napkin alſo; and ſo I have equipped him either as a courtier or cavalier.

But the mandereens of the pen have a long gown to their heels, with badges or blazons on their backs and breaſts, to diſtinguiſh their degree or dignity; and before they are admitted to the degree of doctor, they muſt paſs through ſeveral trials and

examinations. They alſo wear a diſtinguiſhing cap on their head, and look as grave as an old advocate.

A merchant and mechanic wear the ſame cap as the courtier, but their habit is a long robe with narrow ſleeves, and ſtockings made of coarſe cotton cloth, with ſquare-toed ſhoes, without heels or latchets to tie them on. The peaſants and fiſhers are not tied up to ſumpture laws, but wear what they pleaſe.

Every houſe, ſhip, and fiſhing-boat keep a domeſtic god that they pay adoration to evening and morning; and he has always a ſmall flat table with ledges before him, filled with wood-aſhes ſmoothed over, and ſmall furrows drawn through the aſhes in order, and thoſe furrows filled with powder of putchock, or radix dulcis, mixed with powder of ſandal, myrrh, or olibanum; and the compoſition is fired at one end, and it gives a little but pleaſant ſmoke the whole four-and-twenty hours, without the leaſt need of mending or renewing it.

When two China Men quarrel, (for they are naturally a little choleric,) if the breach is ſo wide that it will be difficult to be made up again, then they will threaten not to pay any reverence or reſpect to one anothers god; and that word cuts off all means of communion and ſociety ever after. And ſo I leave them, and proceed to my obſervations on other things.

CHAP. LIII. — *Gives an Account of the natural Rarities of China, and of the Emperor's Revenue and common Expence.*

THERE are many artificial as well as natural rarities in China. Their artificial ones are in ſtupendous bridges, that give ſafe and convenient paſſages over great and rapid rivers, and over vallies between the tops of mountains, to make roads eaſy and pleaſant that would otherwiſe be very ſteep, crooked and dangerous; but I never ſaw any of them, though I have heard much talk of them.

They have alſo great and convenient ſluices to check the violence of floods from lakes and rivers, and to ſerve out their waters to lower grounds, to moiſten them and make them fit to yield good crops of corn, but I being confined to the iſland of Amoy, could not have an opportunity to ſee them, ſo that what I add more to my obſervations, is only by informations and reports from others, (who had travelled where I had no permiſſion to go,) whoſe acquaintance I caſually ſought after to be informed.

I now begin again to continue my courſe along the ſea-coaſt to the northward: And in the ſame province of Fokien is the river and city of Hockſew; but whether the city of Hockſew be the ſame with Fochew, I know not; it is very large however, and is famous for being the reſidence of the chungtock, and in brewing a ſort of good ſtrong ale in ſmall pots of coarſe China ware, luted over with a clay head as big as the pot.

About twenty leagues to the northward of Hockſew begins the province of Chequiam, whoſe chief city is Limpoa, by ſome called Nimpoa, and by others Ningpoo; however, it is a large city and drives a great trade. Here the Portugueze were once well ſettled, and had a numerous colony. When the Chineſe were maſters of their own country, and the Portugueze of the ſeas, it is reported, that they had above one thouſand Portugueze families ſettled in Limpoa, and were governed by their own laws. Their trade through China and Japon, which they carried in ſhipping to India and China, made them prodigiouſly rich, which brought them into luxury and debauchery, and, at laſt, was the cauſe of their expulſion from Limpoa.

They began to be notorious raviſhers of women. They would go into the country villages, and carry off young virgins by violence, from their parents, and when they had

had abuſed them as long as they pleaſed, ſent them back to their friends. Many complaints had been made, but no redreſs could be obtained. At length, when a parcel of virgin-hunters had gone into the country upon an expedition of that nature, the peaſants fell on them, and killed them every man.

This ſlaughter made the Portugueze very loud in their complaints, and demanded juſtice to be done on the peaſants. The peaſants made ſolid replications to the complaints of the Portugueze, and deſired their caſe might be laid before the Emperor, which was accordingly done, and the Portugueze were ordered to clear themſelves of the crimes laid to their charge, and they not being able to do it, were baniſhed Limpoa, but had liberty to carry off their effects: and thus ended the moſt opulent colony, at that time, in the world.

Nanking is the next province to Chequiam, and the city of Nanking is ſtill reckoned one of the largeſt cities in China, or perhaps in the world. I have heard many ſay, that ſaw both Peking and Nanking, that it occupies a larger ſpot of ground than Peking, and that the triumphal arches, palaces, and other public edifices, are nobler than thoſe at Peking.

The province begins at Souchew, a large city, and one of the greateſt trading cities in China, in gold, wrought ſilks, porcelain or China ware. It ſtands near the lake of Hamchew, which is about 20 leagues long, and 16 broad, of fine clear freſh water, and it produces many excellent ſorts of fiſhes, ſome whereof are daily ſent in boats to Peking for the Emperor's table.

Nanking city ſtands on the banks of the river Kiam, the greateſt but not the longeſt river in China. It is ſituated about 100 miles from its mouth, in a fine, pleaſant, fertile plain. It was formerly the metropolis of all China, till the Tartars grew troubleſome and formidable, which drew the court to Peking, to be nearer the frontiers, in order to check their inſolence.

The diſtance between Nanking and Peking is about 500 Engliſh miles. They have a communication by water in two royal canals, one from Nanking to the Yellow River, ſo called from the colour of its water, and the other from that river to the city of Peking, or very near it. They are the work of art, done by the hard labour of many thouſands of poor workmen, in obedience to their Emperor's order, to facilitate the carriage of merchandize between thoſe great cities.

The Yellow River, or Corcei River, is much longer than any river in Aſia, or perhaps, in Europe, for there are 30 degrees diſtance between its ſource and its mouth: and I heard one Mr. Fountanay, a miſſionary, who went to France on the Emperor of China's account, about the year 1694, ſay, that, he believed there were as many people that lived in boats and veſſels on the rivers of Kiam and Corcei as in the three greateſt provinces of France, for in their veſſels they keep fairs on theſe rivers, one ſeaſon at one place, and in other ſeaſons at other places; and though there may be 10,000 veſſels aſſembled at a fair, yet there is as good order and decorum kept, as in a well governed city. All ſhips and boats who have the ſame ſpecies of goods are moored together, along a certain place on the river's ſide allotted for them, by proper magiſtrates, and at night, watches are ſet to prevent thieving and diſorder, and offenders are ſeverely puniſhed, without reſpect of perſons.

There are alſo fairs kept on the royal canal, between the Yellow River and Peking, in which all the ſorts of commodities that China produceth are to be ſold.

The magnitude, beauty, and opulency of Peking, are ſo fully deſcribed by ſome who have been there, that my hear-ſay account can be of no uſe, and for that cauſe I

omit it; but the aforeſaid Mr. Fountanay told me, that the winter ſeaſon is much colder than in France, and, that in the month of November, the fraternity bought three deers, and hung them up in a pantry without ſalt, and when they had a mind for ſome veniſon, they cut what they wanted for their uſe till the beginning of March, and what was left then began to grow ſtale, but not before, which ſhews the ſubtile coldneſs and dryneſs of the air there.

And now being at the end of my journey on the continent of Aſia, I will make ſome more general obſervations on the product of China, and return to the ſouthward, to take a view of the iſlands that face the ſea-coaſts of China, and ſteer back to the northward as far as Japon.

As there are many mountains in China, ſo they have many different qualities. Some by their ſituation and prodigious height, ſhew their lofty tops above the clouds, always clear and ſerene; but none dare preſume to go to their tops, becauſe the air being too much rarified, inſenſibly takes away perſpiration, and cauſes death. Others, though as high, by nitrous and ſulphureous mines in their bowels, ſend up thick vapours that always hide their tops; and at the foot of thoſe mountains are ſprings and wells of fire, that continually burn in their own cells, but never break forth in any other places.

Other mountains are covered with trees of various ſorts. The pine is the largeſt, ſome being ſix foot through, and four of five ſcore covets high, or according to Engliſh meaſure, an hundred and fifty feet in length, and they produce bamboos, as long, and ſo big, that one joint between the inter-nodes or knots can contain above ten catties of water, which are of great uſe to ſea-faring men, to hold their freſh water in. They alſo produce the roſe-tree, which preſerves an agreeable ſmell and colour as long as the wood laſts, which is not leſs than a century or two.

In the ſouthern provinces, I have been told, that a tree called quanlang, has a ſoft pulp growing within it, which the inhabitants dry and pulverize, and apply it to all the uſes that wheat-flour ſerves for, having the ſame taſte and quality. I heard a miſſionary aſſert, that not far from Limpoa, in the province of Chequiam, he ſaw ſome trees that bore a fruit pretty hard on the outſide, but within a fat pulp, which being put awhile in the air, becomes good white tallow; and it ſerves for all intents and purpoſes, for the ſame uſes that tallow is put to, only with this advantage, that it does not defile the hand, nor greaſe and ſtain clothes.

All the provinces of China are well ſtored with fruit-bearing trees, and being of ſo large an extent, and the ſeaſons ſo different, that in one place it is ſummer, while in another place winter predominates, as in the provinces of Quanſi and Quantung it is pleaſant ſummer, while in Zanſi and Peking the chilling colds of winter, and ſtorms diſturb the air, and ſhut up the pores of the earth.

All the provinces produce tea in abundance, but Nanking and Chequiam afford the beſt. I ſaw four or five tea ſhrubs growing on the eaſt ſide of Amoy, but it was in the end of September, when all the leaves were off. It is pretty like a young willow; and I was informed, that they plant once in three years, and pull all up, or cut down all that are above that growth. I was alſo informed, that, about the middle of June, they pulled off the firſt and beſt leaves, and about the beginning of Auguſt they had a crop of Sungloa tea, which is ſomewhat groſſer than the bing or firſt crop. Both thoſe ſorts are put under a ſhade to dry with the wind, and in September they ſtrip the buſh of all its leaves, and, for want of warm dry winds to cure it, are forced to lay it on warm plates of iron or copper, and keep it ſtirring gently, till it is dry, and that ſort

is

is called bohea: and I have heard others ſay, that ſome grounds will produce none but fine tea, and others again none but coarſe; but they all agreed in drying the bohea on hot plates.

On the ſkirts of the mountains they plant their mulberry-trees for their ſilk-worms, and cut them down at two years growth, becauſe the inſect delights moſt in a tender leaf.

There are many uſeful trees in China that bear no fruit. Some bear beans; but of thoſe I have ſeen in India, at Surat, and Bengal. One ſort they have that provokes ſleep, by laying ſome of the leaves in the bed near the patient. The iron-wood tree is commodious for making anchors for ſhipping. It is prodigiouſly ſtrong and hard, and has natural gravity enough to ſink it to the bottom of the ſea.

On the mountains of Zenſi, near the famous wall that divides China from Tartray, grows abundance of that valuable root rhubarb, whoſe uſe is ſo well known in Europe. The root genſing grows alſo in woods there, and when the natives go in queſt of it, to find it, they are forced to go in the night ſeaſon, with torches in their hands, for fear of being aſſaulted by the wild inhabitants of the woods, ſuch as lions, tigers, leopards, rhinoceroſes, &c. of the brutal kind, beſides dangerous reptiles, as ſerpents and ſnakes, which all flee from fire. I have heard of ſerpents thirty feet long, and five in circumference, which lurk all day in their dens, and come out in the nights, to prey on animals that lay ſecurely in theirs.

This root genſing, when dried, is like a little carrot, of a light yellow colour, and, about midway down, it branches in two, which makes the Chineſe call it the man-herb. It has a ſweetiſh taſte, but, being much chewed, it ſeems bitteriſh. It is cut in ſhreds, and drunk with tea, and then it is eſteemed a very great reſtorative of the animal ſpirits. It is exceeding hot in quality, and therefore to be avoided by thoſe of ſtrong conſtitutions. It is excellent in conſumptions, and, for its ſeveral good qualities, is ſold at a great price, ſome at three times its weight in ſilver; but, after it is a year old, it goes off at a ſhilling per ounce, becauſe it is difficult to keep the worm out of it. Radix-china, or China-root grows in many parts of China, but the iſland of Aynam yields the beſt.

The Emperor's revenues, by report, amount to 180,000,000 of tayels, out of which he maintains fifty caloes or privy-councillors, at 100,000 tayels yearly. The princes of the blood are honoured with the government of provinces, and are allowed, out of the royal treaſury, from 500,000 to 1,000,000 tayels yearly. He has fourteen provinces, wherein he maintains 80,000 ſoldiers in each, and each ſoldier is allowed 10 tayels per annum in ſilver, and a catty of rice, and an ounce of ſalt per day, which are delivered monthly out of the Emperor's granaries. In a word, I look on China to be the richeſt and beſt governed empire in the world. And ſo having given the beſt account I can of it, I ſteer my courſe to the ſouthward among the Philippine iſlands, whoſe deſcriptions I take by report.

CHAP. LIV. — *Gives ſome Account of the Iſlands of Mindanoa, Luconia, Formoſa, and Japon, with ſome remarkable Occurrences that have happened on them.*

MINDANOA is both the ſouthernmoſt and eaſternmoſt of all the Philippines. It has little or no commerce with ſtrangers, and I never heard of any European ſhip that went to it ſince Captain Swan called there in his way from Panama to India, when Captain Dampier was with him, who, no doubt, has given a good account of it in his travels: and

and I know no more of it, but that it is divided into many ſmall principalities, and that the ſea-worm eats ſo greedily ſhip's bottoms, that in three or four months they eat quite through; and that there is abundance of rice and other proviſions to be had very cheap there, and that it produces very good caſſia-lignum, or baſtard cinnamon. It is about 140 leagues in length, but of a very unequal breadth, having many large deep bays running into it, which afford many harbours for ſhipping.

Papa-goa, or little Borneo, is a very long narrow iſland, being 90 leagues long, and but 14 or 15 broad. It breeds the beſt ſoldiers and ſeamen that the Spaniards have in the Philippines, but produces nothing for exportation. The Spaniards have a fort on the north-eaſt end of it, and ſo they have on the iſlands of Panay, Negroſs, Cobu, Leyte, and Samar. They are all large iſlands, but have no commodities for export. And Mindora, that lies cloſe to the iſland Luconia, affords nothing for trade.

Luconia is the largeſt of all the Philippine iſlands, and is richeſt in its productions, for it affords corn, fruits, and roots in great plenty, as well as wild game and fowl. It produces gold, but of a low touch. It is not half conquered yet by the Spaniards, though they are poſſeſſed of all the ſea-coaſt, as the Dutch are of Zealoan; and the natives loſe no opportunity of cutting off their lords, the Spaniards, when they can do it without danger. They have fortified their mountains and vallies ſo well with thick hedges of bamboos, that the Spaniards cannot eaſily moleſt them, though they have ſecret ways to ſally out and diſturb their enemy.

The chief city in Luconia is Manhila or Manilla, the reſidence of the Spaniſh Viceroy, and the port where all the galleons that come yearly from New Spain, reſort to. The harbour is ſpacious, commodious, and ſafe. They admit of trade from India and China, but not with any European nation. The Mahometans are tolerated in their religion, but not the Pagans, ſo that all Chineſe that go there for commerce, get a little braſs image hung about their neck, with a ſtring of beads in their hands, and learning to croſs themſelves, cry *Jeſu ſancta Malia*, (for they cannot pronounce Maria, becauſe the letter R is excluded the Chineſe alphabet); I ſay, when they have got all thoſe forenamed qualifications, they are good Spaniſh Chriſtians.

And when they have feathered their neſt by cheating the Spaniards, and taken their leave of Manilla or Manhila, at their paſſing by a mountain dedicated to the Virgin Mary, they throw their beads over board, and thank the Virgin for her kindneſs to them.

In anno 1719, there happened a mutiny in Manilla, wherein the Viceroy loſt his life; and he had a ſon that might have ſaved his, but was obſtinate, and would needs follow his father. It was occaſioned by oppreſſion and avarice, for the Viceroy having a mind to fill his coffers at any rate, ſet up a tribunal, wherein the richeſt merchants in the city were impeached for high crimes and miſdemeanors, by ſuborned informers. Evidences were not wanting to prove things that never were done by the innocent merchants, and on thoſe falſe informations and evidences their perſons were impriſoned, and their eſtates ſeized. Thoſe that had not been proſecuted ſeeing their danger, carried their goods and money into the churches and convents for ſecurity, and fled into the country themſelves, till the times ſhould amend; but thoſe places of ſanctuary were violated, and when the merchants were ſummoned, and did not appear, their eſtates were confiſcated, and brought out of the churches and convents by force.

The archbiſhop, and his army of prieſts, went to him, and laid the people's grievances and his own oppreſſions and crimes before him; but he treated them rudely, which ſoon put the whole city in an uproar. A cunning and bold prieſt of the Auguſtin order

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ſeeing the people's diſpoſition to mutiny, took a large crucifix on his ſhoulder, and invited all who were true Catholick Chriſtians to follow Jeſus Chriſt's banner, and afford ſuccour and aſſiſtance to Chriſt's perſecuted flock.

The citizens came thronging after the prieſt and crucifix, well armed, and they marched directly to the Viceroy's palace. His guards all deſerted him on ſight of the prieſt and crucifix, and he and a few of his domeſtics fired ſome ſmall arms, and killed ſome and wounded others, which ſo enraged the multitude, that they ruſhed furiouſly up ſtairs, and ſhot him dead. His ſon was governor of a caſtle a little way from the city, and he hearing that his father was in danger, came with his garriſon to reſcue him, but being killed before the aſſiſtance came, the citizens complimented him, and deſired him to return to his poſt, for they had nothing to lay to his charge; but he refuſed, and ſwore he would be avenged on his father's murderers, and beginning to uſe violence on thoſe next to him his men deſerted him, and he ſoon fell a ſacrifice to his own folly. There were above a million and a half of Spaniſh dollars found in his treaſury, out of which thoſe whom he had unjuſtly robbed were reimburſed.

It is about 120 leagues from ſouth to north, and the ſouth end is about 100 leagues in breadth. It breeds good, hardy, ſmall horſes, and, if it were in the hands of ſome induſtrious nation, it is able to furniſh good materials to build a good commerce with; but the Spaniards are rich, lazy, and proud, and rather diſcourage than improve trade, or to engage the natives to be civil and induſtrious.

The next iſland of note is Formoſa; but there are ſeveral ſmall iſlands between it and Luconia, which belong to China, though of no great account, and becauſe they are flat and low, they are called the Baſhee Iſlands.

Formoſa is a noble iſland, and produces many valuable commodities, as well for the ſuſtenance of mankind as for pleaſure and luxury. It affords plenty of gold, raw ſilk, fine white ſugar, ſugar candy, and copper finer than in China, but coarſer than in Japon, and ſeveral drugs, as gallingal, China root, &c. Before the Tartars ſubdued it, it had kings of its own, but tributary to China. The natives differ much from the neighbouring people of China and Luconia, both in phiſiognomy and make. They are of a low ſtature, with a large head and forehead, hollow-eyed, and the cheek-bone very high, a large mouth, and a ſhort flat chin, with little or no beard on it, long-jawed, and a ſmall long neck, their body ſhort and ſquare, their arms and legs long, ſmall and ill ſhaped, their feet long, and broad at the toes, and generally they are baker-kneed. The Engliſh and Dutch had their factories there; but about the year 1678, when all Fokien had ſubmitted to the Tartars, they were ordered to withdraw their factories from Teywon, a ſmall iſland cloſe to the great one, on which their factories ſtood. The Engliſh obeyed, and removed over to Amoy, but the Dutch received ſupplies from Batavia, and endured a long ſiege, but were at laſt forced to ſubmit, though they ſold their factory and many of their men's lives pretty dear, for the Tartars loſt above 5000 men in reducing it. It is now wholly under the Tartars, and the chungtock of Fokien has the ſuperintendency of it.

When it was tributary to China, about the year 1650, there was a ſtrange diſtemper raged on the iſland for three years together, for moſt of the virgins between twelve and eighteen years of age, had a trick of hanging themſelves, inſomuch that very few maidens were left on the iſland, nor could any remedy be found to prevent it, before an old China man found one out, and addreſſed himſelf to the king, deſiring him to make a trial of hanging all thoſe that hanged themſelves privately up by one leg on the ſides of high-ways, for paſſengers to gaze on. The King took his counſel, and

hanged up ſome ſo, and in one month's time the maidens refrained from hanging, and have continued good girls ever ſince.

The religion of Teywon (for that is the name that the Chineſe call the iſland of Formoſa by) is purely Pagan. They all worſhip the ſun and moon, and the ſtars their children. Some worſhip the firſt living thing they ſee in the morning, except a lizard.

Between Teywon and the coaſt of Fokien, lay the Piſcadores Iſlands, ſo called from the great quantities of fiſh caught about them. There are many ſhallows lay a good diſtance off them, on which an Engliſh ſhip from Surat, called the Joſiah, was ſhipwrecked in anno 1697, but all the men were ſaved; and on the report of a Jeſuit miſſionary who was paſſenger, that he had ſome things on board for the Emperor, one Mr. Reynolds, the firſt ſupercargo, was forced to take a journey to Peking, who cleared himſelf, but brought ſcandal on Holy Mother Church, for forging things ſo palpably falſe; for the good father's trunk was ſaved, and opened by proper officers, and not one thing that he had reported to be in it, was found.

Many other iſlands lay along the coaſt of China, but of no great note, till we come to the iſland Chuſan, which lies off the mouth of Limpoa. It firſt became famous in the Tartar wars; for many Chineſe of note repaired thither with their families, who thought to have found a quiet retreat there, but they were miſtaken, for by Coxinga from Amoy, and the Tartars continually warring thereabout, they were haraſſed between them, and at length a garriſon of Tartars ſettled on it, and gave it their laws.

In anno 1700, the new Eaſt India Company of England ſettled a factory on Chuſan, by Mr. Allan Catchpole before-mentioned; but by the oppreſſion of the Tartar officers, and the Company's neglect of ſending money ſufficient to carry on their trade, Mr. Catchpole removed the factory again in the beginning of the year 1703, and carried it to Pullo-condore, as is before obſerved.

From the north end of Formoſa, to the ſouth end of Japon, the diſtance is about 220 leagues, and in the fair-way are ſeveral iſlands of no great account in commerce. They are moſt of them very high, and on one of them is a very great volcano, which continually ſends forth a prodigious flame that may be ſeen in the night above 30 leagues diſtance from it.

Bungo is a province of Japon, and was honoured with the name of a kingdom, but about the year 1655 it loſt its title and moſt of its inhabitants, for being too zealous in promoting Chriſtianity by barbarous ways. The Portugueze found this iſland and Japon to be eaſily brought over to their notions of Chriſtianity, and that the country abounded in gold and ſilver, drove a very great and advantageous trade there, for above one century of years. Nor were their prieſts idle in making converts; for in the ſpace of 100 years, they proſelyted 180,000 families, when at the ſame time, the Emperor gave great encouragement to the prieſts to go on in their apoſtleſhip, every one having free liberty to embrace Chriſtianity; and had not the giddy-headed Chriſtian prieſts been too zealouſly hot and haſty, it was believed that the Emperor himſelf would have become Chriſtian; but a civil war breaking out in Japon, and the Emperor's forces much diminiſhed, the Chriſtian prieſts thought it a proper time for them to ſettle their religion on the ſame foundation that Mahomet did his, by eſtabliſhing it in blood.

Their thoughts run on nothing leſs than extirpating the Heathen out of the land, and formed a conſpiracy of raiſing an army of 50,000 Chriſtians to murder their countrymen, that ſo the whole iſland might be illuminated by Chriſtianity, ſuch as it was there. But the Emperor, having intelligence of their holy deſign, thought fit to prevent them, and coming to an agreement with his rebellious Pagan ſubjects, diſcovered the common danger

danger they all lay under from the Chriſtians, and they, to ſecure themſelves, joined their forces with the Emperor's, but lay ſilent till they ſaw where the Chriſtians would begin their tragedy, and it was not long before they began the maſſacre, near a large city called Oſſacca. The Emperor's army marched ſpeedily thither to chaſtiſe their inſolence, and a very bloody battle enſued, wherein the Chriſtians had the better. The Emperor ſoon levied a greater army, and engaged the Chriſtians a ſecond time with ſucceſs, and quite routed them, and never gave them time to form themſelves into another army after, but followed his blow, ſparing neither man, woman, or child that had been baptized, and the Pagan bouzies or prieſts were very good informers, ſo that in two years, above 300,000 perſons periſhed by the violent zeal of bigotted prieſts, and an edict was publiſhed, that whatever Chriſtian ſhould, for the future, be found within the dominions of Japon, ſhould be put to death without mercy.

Many new inventions were found out to torture the Chriſtians, and the prieſts were the firſt that made trial of the exquiſiteneſs of their pain. The poor women and virgins were torn limb from limb, by being tied to ſtakes placed in the ground, under the branches of large trees bended down, and their limbs being faſtened to the ſtakes and branches, by the elaſticity of the branches they were torn to pieces. Children were thrown down precipices, and daſhed to pieces, and infants were drowned, and ſo Romiſh Chriſtianity ended in Japon, with a very diſmal and tragical cataſtrophe.

The Engliſh and Dutch at that time had their factories on a ſmall iſland called Firando, that lay cloſe to the ſhore of the iſland Bungo, and drove a very advantageous trade; but in anno 1664, when the Engliſh ſhipping arrived, our never-failing friends taking the advantage of our being Chriſtians, and coming thither contrary to the edict, were in hopes to have a ſecond part of Amboina acted at Japon. They gave information that the Engliſh were Chriſtians, and not only ſo, but that our King had married the King of Portugal's ſiſter, and had a mind to introduce the Portugueze ſecretly into Japon, and how dangerous that might be to their ſtate, they knew by dear bought experience, and as an undeniable truth of our being Chriſtians, they might ſee in the very colours that our ſhips wore, the ſign of the croſs. Their information had ſome of the deſired effects, though not the cruel part. The Emperor being acquainted with the Dutch information, ordered the Engliſh to be civilly treated, their cargoes to be taken off their hands as before, and a new Japon cargo to be provided for them, in lieu of what they brought, and at the uſual time to diſpatch them, with ſtrict orders for the Engliſh never to return again upon pain of death, by which fair dealings the Dutch got the ſole Japon trade into their own hands, except what is carried on by the Chineſe. This account I had from Captain John Bear, who was in the laſt Engliſh ſhip that traded to Japon.

The Dutch and Chineſe are both limited in the numbers of their ſhipping that trade to Japon, the Dutch from one to four yearly, and the Chineſe from ten to twenty. As ſoon as their ſhips arrive, all their crews are ſent aſhore to houſes provided for them, and the Japoneſe take poſſeſſion of the ſhip, and all that ſhe has aboard of her; they unhinge the rudder, and ſend all the great guns and ammunition aſhore. Each cargo is unladed and ſent to the factory appointed for its factors, and there opened and repacked before proper officers. The goods are ſent away without any enquiry what they coſt, or what they are content to take for them, and the officers take a memorandum of what commodities they deſire in barter, and thoſe are provided and delivered on board their ſhips by the middle of October, and about the beginning of November they deliver their rudder, guns, and ammunition, and are diſpatched in form, to be gone without delay.

The Dutch factory is now ſettled at Nangeſaak, on a little iſland cloſe to the ſhore, and are there confined, without a ſpecial permiſſion from court, either when they have a deſire to go on the main iſland, or to remove from their factory to Batavia.

I heard of a mortifying accident that happened to the Dutch affairs in Japon, when M. Charron, a Frenchman, had the directorſhip of their factory. He had been ſeveral times at Jeddo and Meaco, two great cities where the Emperor keeps his court, ſometimes at one or other of theſe places, as his fancy or affairs lead him. The Emperor took a liking to M. Charron, and often ſent for him to hear the accounts he could give of Europe. Charron preſuming on his favours from the Emperor, begged permiſſion to build an houſe on the little iſland where their factory ſtood, on his maſter's account, which requeſt the Emperor granted.

Accordingly the foundation was laid very large for an houſe; however the building went cheerfully on, till it grew into an handſome fortification of a regular tetragon. The Japoneſe being ignorant of the art of fortification, had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of deceit, but ſuffered them to finiſh it.

When it was finiſhed, M. Charron adviſed his maſters at Batavia, of the progreſs he had made, and deſired by the next ſhipping to have ſome cannon ſent him in caſks filled with rubbiſh, ſuch as oaccam or cotton, the caſks to be well bound with iron hoops, and the heads ſecurely fixed in, with ſome caſks of the ſame make, filled with ſpices, which advice was accordingly followed.

When the ſhipping arrived, the lading was landed according to cuſtom, but in rolling the caſks, one of thoſe that contained a braſs gun, had the misfortune to have one of its heads fall out, and the cheat was by that accident diſcovered. This put a ſtop to all commerce till the Emperor's pleaſure was known about this ſtrange affair.

The Emperor forbad to interrupt the trade, but ordered their new-built houſe to be razed to the ground, and to ſend M. Charron to court, that he might expoſtulate the matter with him. The orders were ſpeedily obeyed, and Charron went to court, and when brought before the Emperor, was much dejected in his looks to what he uſed to be formerly.

The Emperor interrogated him on the diſcovered cheat, and finding he had no anſwer ſufficient to vindicate himſelf, the King upbraided him with abuſing his kindneſs, and ordered a barber to be brought, who pulled poor Charron's beard out hair by hair, and then a fool's coat and cap were put on him, and he carried through the ſtreets of Jeddo, for a ridiculous ſpectacle, and was ſent back to his factory with orders to go off with the firſt ſhips that were ready to ſail for Batavia.

The Japoneſe are ſtrict obſervers of moral rules, and particularly in commerce, inſomuch that a merchant of reputation, in his payments, puts up five, ten, or any decimal number of cupangs, which is a broad, oblong, thin piece of gold (of 20 ſhillings value there) into a ſilk bag, and putting his ſeal on the bag, paſſes current for what the ſeal mentions, for ſeveral generations, without ſo much as once looking what is in the bag; and gold is ſo plentiful and cheap, that a cupang of 20 ſhillings in Japon, paſſes current at Batavia for 32 ſhillings; and when the lion is ſtamped on it by the Company, it paſſes for 40 ſhillings ſterling.

Their porcelain, or Japon earthenware, is finer than Chinaware, but much thicker and heavier, and the colours brighter, and it ſells much dearer, either in India or Europe, than what is made in China, but their tea is not half ſo good. Their lackered or Japoned ware is, without any doubt, the beſt in the world. The beſt ſort will hold boiling water without detriment to it, and is ſo hard, that I have made a full paſs with a rapier againſt a cabinet, and there was not the leaſt ſhadow of a mark to be

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ſeen after the paſs. They abound in ſilks both wrought and raw, much ſtronger than what China produces.

Japon, with the neighbouring iſlands under its dominions, is about the magnitude of Great Britain. It is in length from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt near 300 leagues, and the mean of its breadth about 160 miles. It is well peopled, and produces all things neceſſary for human ſuſtenance, in great plenty. They are exact obſervers of juſtice, and rigorous in their puniſhing crimes.

A man of diſtinction, if convicted of a capital crime, the Emperor ſends him a letter, that on ſuch a day, and ſuch an hour, he muſt be his own executioner, on penalty of exquiſite torments, if he ſurvives the appointed hour. So the common cuſtom is, that the delinquent ſends for his neareſt and beſt friends to a ſumptuous feaſt on the day ſet him, and after the feaſt is over, he ſhews them the Emperor's letter, and while they are reading it, he takes a dagger that he has about him for the purpoſe, and with it he ſtabs himſelf below the navel, and rips himſelf up to the breaſt-bone.

The inferior ſort has not that honour, but are forced to be contented with hanging, beheading, or throwing over an high precipice, and for ſmall faults, whipping and ſtigmatizing are common puniſhments.

Their houſes are for the moſt part built of wood, but the Emperor's palaces are of marble, and covered with gilded copper. Their gilding is very durable, and can withſtand all winds and weather many years. The city of Jeddo is their metropolis, and its magnitude may be gueſſed by a fire that happened in it about the year 1660, which conſumed, in eight days that it raged, above 120,000 houſes, beſides above 500 temples.

Their religion is purely Pagan, and Amida is their favourite god; but he lives a great way off, for a ſoul is three years in continual travel before it can reach paradiſe, which is only the ſuburbs of heaven; however, when they once get thither, they are pretty ſure of getting to heaven, and they live very quietly in paradiſe, becauſe not one devil dares come there to diſturb them.

The magotty zealots have a trick of leaping over high cliffs into the ſea, in order to give their ſouls an eaſy paſſage to paradiſe, the prieſts giving them bills of credit to defray their charges by the way, and, no doubt, the madman pays the prieſt very handſomely for the bills, and thoſe bills are ſo good, that I never heard of one proteſted and returned.

They have ſeveral other reputable gods, and every one of them has their adorers and devotees. One has three faces, and he is father of the ſun, moon, and ſtars. Every god has his own particular paradiſe, but none are nearer than three years journey. Some of their zealots cut their own throats to get an eaſy paſſage, and others hang themſelves.

They carry their idols in proceſſion on horſeback, with inſtrumental and vocal muſic to entertain them. They make many feaſts and ſacrifices to their idols, but they are only fed with the ſmoke, the votaries eat up the meat.

No Japoneſe dares leave his country, and if he does he never muſt return. They are ſo wedded to their own cuſtoms and opinions, and ſo jealous of having new or foreign cuſtoms introduced, that they will not ſend embaſſies to other Kings or ſtates, or ſuffer their merchants to have commerce out of their own dominions; only they ſend ſome ſmall jonks or veſſels in the ſummer time, over to the land of Eſo, about 50 leagues from the north end of Japon, and I have heard ſay, that they bring much gold from thence; but whether that country is a part of their dominions or no, I never could get

information; but it is reported, that the natives of Eſo are luſty, robuſt, and uncivilized, but ſpeak the Japon language.

I alſo heard that when De Heer Matſuiker was general of Batavia, he ſent four houkers to make diſcoveries of the countries to the northward and to the weſtward of Japon, one of which was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Corea, and another on the northward coaſt of Japon. The other two had been on the coaſt of Eſo, but could not converſe with the natives. She that was loſt on Japon had moſt of her men ſaved, and were kindly entertained, and ſent to their factory: and twelve of the other's crew that was loſt on Corea, got aſhore, and were detained priſoners. Nine of them died in ſixteen years, and three were ſent in company with a Corean ambaſſador to Peking. Thoſe three profeſſed themſelves to be good Catholics, and the church at Peking got them paſſage for Canton, where they met with opportunities to get paſſage for Batavia. And now having made my obſervations on all the maritime coaſts and cities between Cape Bona Eſperanza and Japon, I conclude, and bid you adieu.

A TABLE OF WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND COINS USED IN SEVERAL PARTS OF THE EAST INDIES.

Weights uſed in Mocha for groſs Goods.

1 Caſilla is	- -	16	Kerrats
1 Vakea	- -	10	Caſillas
1 Maund	- -	40	Vakeas
1 Fraſella	- -	10	Maunds
1 Bahaar	- -	15	Fraſellas.

N. B. A fraſella is 29½lbs. avoirdupois.

The Banyan Weight.

1 Rotulla is	- - -	15	Vakeas
1 Maund	-	2	Rotullas
1 Fraſella	- -	26⅔	Rotullas
1 Bahaar	-	400	Rotullas.

Magiet, a Root for dyeing, is weighed:

1 Vazena is	- -	1¼	Fraſella
1 Bale	- -	13½	Vazenas.

Ambergreaſe Weight.

1 Bea is	- -	1½	Vakea
1 Vakea	- -	9	Zequeen weight.

N. B. 1 vakea is equal to 21 pennyweights Troy.

For Agala Wood, which is much uſed in Arabia for Perfumes.

41 Vakeas is a Maund, equal to 3lbs. Troy weight.

The Gold and Silver Weight.

1 Dollar weight is	- -	22	Dab
1 Zequeen weight	-	56	Grains.

The coin current is the cammaſſie, which is heightened and lowered at the ſheriff's or banker's diſcretion, from 50 to 80 for a current dollar, which is but an imaginary ſpecies, being always reckoned 21½ per cent. lower than Spaniſh dollars.

The Grain at Moha is measured by the Tomaan, which is 40 *Kella.*

1 Kella is - - 4 Rotullas.

Weights used in Persia.

1 Maund Taverize is - 6¾ lb. avoirdupois
1 — Capaar - - 8¾
1 — Shaah - 13½

Their Current Coins.

1 Shahee is - - 10 Gaaz or Cosbegs
1 Mamoody - - 2 Shahees
1 Abashee - - 2 Mamoodies
1 Tomaan - - 50 Abashees,
in value 3l. 2s. 6d. sterling.

Their Pearl Weights.

1 Miscal is - - 24 Kerracks
1 Kerrack - - 4 Grains,
or 3 Abashee weight
6 Miscal - - 1 Ounce Troy.

The Prices current for Pearl at Cong in Persia, anno 1715.

Abashee Weight.	Price in Mamoodies.
1	1
2	6
3	12
4	from 20 to 30
5	40 to 50
6	70 to 80
7	90 to 100
8	120 to 150
9	160 to 200
10	220 to 250
11	280 to 320
12	400
13	700
14	1100
15	1600
18	2200
21	2500 to 3000

Weights used in Bassora.

1 Miscal is - - 1½ Derhams
1 Vakea - - 500 Do.
1 Maund-Bassora - 24 Vakea
3 Maund-attarie - 1 Maund-Bassora.
N. B. A maund-attarie is 27¼ lb. avoirdupois.

Bagdat Weights are sometimes used in Bassora.

1 Vakea is - - 400 Derhams
1 Maund-attarie - 10 Vakea
1 Maund-agdat - 6 Vakea.

Species

Species of coins current in Baſſora and Bagdat.

1 Derham is	-	-	10 Fluce
1 Mamoodie	from	10 to	12 Derhams
1 Abaſhee-Baſſora	-		1½ Mamoodies
1 Crouſh	-	-	4½ Do.
1 Lyon Dollar	-		7 Do.
1 Spaniſh ditto	from	9 to	9⅓ Do.
1 Zequeen -	from	16 to	16¼ Do.
1 German Ducat	-		15½ Do.

A Baſſora tomaan 75, and a Bagdat tomaan 100 ditto.

Weights uſed at Sindy.

The common weight is 40 ſear to the maund-pucah, 75lbs. avoirdupois, but for elephant's teeth, 84lbs. ditto.

Of the Weights in Uſe at Surat.

The groſs weight is 20 great pice, or 32 ſmall to a ſear.

40 Sear is	-	-	1 Maund
20 Maund	-	-	1 Candy.

Amber and Coral Weight.

1 Sear is 18 Pice, or		-	35 Tolla weight
1 Tolla	-	-	32 Valls.

Diamond Weight.

1 Rutty is		-	3½ Grains Engliſh
1 Vall	-	-	3 Rutties
1 Tank	-	-	8 Valls
1 Tolla	-	-	32 Ditto
1 Miſcal	-	-	1⅙ Tank
1 Kerrack	-	-	3 Grains.

The Current Money in Surat.

Bitter almonds go 32 to a pice.

1 Annoe is	-	-	4 Pice
1 Rupee	-	-	16 Annoes.

The price of gold riſes and falls, according to the plenty or ſcarcity of ſilver.

The Rupees current in Payments are

The Chillany always the ſame.
The Hundea ½ per cent. leſs.
The Harſanna and
The Magarie from 1 to 2 per cent. leſs.

Weights in uſe at Bombay.

1 Sear is	-	-	10⅔ Oz. avoirdupois
1 Maund	-	-	40 Sear
1 Candy	-	-	20 Maund.

Their Accounts are kept by Rayes and Rupees.

1 Rupee is	-	-	400 Rayes.

But there are ſeveral other ſpecies of money current there, as zerephins, larees, and fedees.

Decan

Decan Weights are equal to Bombay Weights, but for Silver and Gold,

1 Ickery Pagoada is - 48 Jettals
1 Darwary Pagoado - 33 Ditto.

An ickery pagoada formerly was reckoned at $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, or 8s. 3d. ſterling, but now they are reduced below 3 rupees.

Goa Weights are

24 Rotullas to - - 1 Maund
20 Maunds is - - 1 Candil of 520lb. avoirdupois.

Their Coin.

1 Vintin - - 15 Budgeroocks
1 Tango - - 5 Vintins
1 Xerephin, or Pardoa - 5 Tangos
1 Gold St. Thomae - 5 Xerephins.

But they keep their accounts in rayes.

Calecut Weights are

The Maund of 28lb. avoirdupois.
20 Maunds to a Candy.

The Coins are

10 Tar to a Fanam.
$4\frac{1}{2}$ Fanams to a Rupee.

But moſt ſorts of foreign money paſs there in payments as the bankers value them.

All the coaſts of Malabar and Chormondel uſe near the ſame weights with Calecut.

Orixa and Bengal have the Puckah weight, fully weighed by the natives at 80 to 84lbs. to a maund, but the Engliſh Factory weight is but 75lbs.

Their Current Money and Coins are

80 Couries to a Poan.
32 to 36 Poans to a Rupee current.

But 1 Secca rupee is 11 per cent. better than current.
A Surat rupee 9 per cent.
An Harſanna rupee 8 per cent.
A Piet rupee 5 per cent.

In Bengal their Accounts are kept in Pice.

12 to an Annoe
16 Annoes to a Rupee.

Pegu Weight.

1 Viece is - - 39 Oz. Troy
or 1 Viece - - 100 Teculs
140 Viece - - a Bahaar.

The Bahaar is 3 Pecul China.

Atcheen Weights.

1 Catty is 20 Bankaals, or 29 Oz. Avoirdupois.
1 Bankaal is 3 Tolla 18 Vall Surat.

Their Coin is

From 12 to 1600 Caſh to 1 Macie, 16 Macies is 1 Tayel, valued at 18s. ſterling, but in Accounts reckoned commonly at 1l.

The Atcheen and China weights are uſed on Sumatra, Java, &c. iſlands, among the natives, and in the dominions of Johore.

Siam Weights and Coin have the ſame Denomination.

1 Miam is	- -	2 Foads
1 Tecul	- -	4 Miams
1 Cattee	- -	80 Teculs
1 Pecul	- -	100 Cattees, or 133lb. Avoirdupois.

The cattee and pecul are uſed in Cambodia, Couchin-China, Tonquin, China and Japon, not differing above 2 per cent. in all thoſe countries.

On Sumatra pepper is ſold by the bahaar; but on Java, Borneo and Johore it is ſold by the 100 gantams, a gantam being a certain wooden meaſure that contains about 4lb. 5oz. avoirdupois; and I have bought 100 gantams in Johore for 11 macies, or 1l. 18s. 6d. ſterling.

On Java and Malacca, and in Siam, rice is ſold by the quoins of 40 peculs; but in Johore and Cambodia 32 peculs.

In Malacca Dutch coins paſs, and Spaniſh dollars alſo: according to their plenty or ſcarcity they are in value, but the medium is 25 per cent. better than Dutch.

In Johore their macie is a gold coin, in value about 3s. 6d. ſterling, and the coupang is one fourth of a macie.

In Siam a tecul is in value about 3s. ſterling, and they are divided into maims and foads, all ſuperfine ſilver.

In Cambodia their only coin is galls, a ſmall piece of coarſe ſilver with characters on one ſide. Its value 4d. ſterling.

I never ſaw any Couchin-China or Tonquin coins, ſo I can ſay nothing of them.

China has only peties of coin, being a ſmall piece of coarſe braſs caſt round, with characters on each ſide, and a four ſquare hole in the middle. They riſe and fall often, but accounts are kept in tayels, macies and condereens; 10 condereens to a macie, and 10 macies to a tayel.

A DISCOVERY OF TWO FOREIGN SECTS IN THE EAST INDIES,

NAMELY,

The Sect of the BANIANS, the ancient Natives of India, and the Sect of the PERSEES, the ancient Inhabitants of Perſia: together with the Religion and Manners of each Sect. — In two Parts.

By HENRY LORD; ſometime reſident in Eaſt India, and Preacher to the Honourable Company of Merchants trading thither *.

A DISCOVERY OF THE BANIAN RELIGION.

THE INTRODUCTION.

HAVING by God's providence (who ſwayeth us as it pleaſeth him to our ſeveral places of being), gained a charge of ſouls in the adventure of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies: it happened that I was transferred from my charge aboard the ſhip to reſide in their prime factory in Guzzarat in a place called Surrat, with the preſident over their affairs in that place, Mr. Thomas Kerridge; where, according to the buſy obſervance of travellers inquiring what novelty the place might produce, a people preſented themſelves to mine eyes, cloathed in linen garments, ſomewhat low deſcending, of a geſture and garb as I may ſay, maidenly and well nigh effeminate; of a countenance ſhy and ſomewhat eſtranged, yet ſmiling out a gloſſed and baſhful familiarity, whoſe uſe in the Company's affairs occaſioned their preſence there.

Truth to ſay, mine eyes unacquainted with ſuch objects, took up their wonder and gazed; and this admiration, the badge of a freſh traveller, bred in me the importunity of a queſtioner. I aſked what manner of people thoſe were ſo ſtrangely notable, and notably ſtrange? Reply was made, they were Banians, a people foreign to the knowledge of the Chriſtian world; their religion, rites and cuſtoms, ſparingly treated of by any, and they no leſs reſerved in the publication of them: but ſome opinions they derived from the philoſopher Pythagoras touching tranſanimation of ſouls. It was thought the novelty would make the diſcovery thereof grateful and acceptable to ſome of our countrymen: that ſome of my predeceſſors had been ſcrutinous to bring this religion to light; but whether deterred with the fictions and chimeras wherewith Banian writings abound, that might make it unworthy of acceptation, or the ſhyneſs of the Bramins, who will ſcarce admit a ſtranger converſation, the work was left to him that would make a paſs through theſe impediments.

The preſident, Mr. Thomas Kerridge, was urgent with me to redeem their omiſſions, and to ſee if I could work ſomewhat out of this forſaken ſubject. The truth was, I was willing to earneſt his love to me by this injunction, who, to give this undertaking the better promotion, intereſted himſelf in the work, by mediating my acquaintance with the Bramins, whoſe eminence of place was an attractive to draw on this diſcovery and manifeſtation.

I that thought my obſervance would be well took, if I could preſent my countrymen with any thing new from theſe foreign parts, begun my work, and eſſayed to fetch ma-

* From Churchill's Collection, vol. vi. p. 313.

terials for the ſame out of their manuſcripts, and by renewed acceſs, with the help of interpreters, made my collection out of a book of theirs called the Shaſter, which is to them as their bible, containing the grounds of their religion in a written word.

If any therefore be affected to peruſe or reviſe the religion, rites, and cuſtoms of the ſaid Banians, leaving out for the moſt part ſuch prodigious fictions as ſeem independent on ſenſe and reaſon, here they ſhall meet with the beſt eſſence and ground of this ſect, digeſted into ſuch a form as ſhall beſt clear the knowledge thereof, and ſuch as I preſume never had a like diſcovery by any yet in the press. So handfeſting the readers with as good hopes as may be expected from a ſubject of this nature, I refer them to the proof of the following chapters.

CHAP. I. — *Of God; the Creation of the World; the Creation of the firſt Man and Woman, and the Progeny from them deſcending, as it is by the Banians delivered.*

THE great God (ſay the Banians) being alone, bethought himſelf how he might make his excellency and power manifeſt to others; for his great virtue, had been obſcured and hid, if it had not been communicated to his creatures. What means might then be better to give evidence of both theſe, than the creation of a world and creatures therein?

For this cauſe the Almighty conſulted with himſelf about the making of this great work, which men call the world or univerſe; and, as the ancients (ſay they) have delivered, the Lord made four elements as the ground work of this mighty frame, to wit, earth, air, fire, and water; which four elements were at firſt all mingled together in a confuſion, but the Almighty ſeparated them in manner following.

Firſt, it is delivered, that, by ſome great cane or like inſtrument, he blew upon the waters, which aroſe into a bubble, of a round form like an egg, which, ſpreading itſelf further and further, made the firmament ſo clear and tranſparent which now compaſſeth the world about.

After this there remaining the earth as the ſediment of the waters, and ſome liquid ſubſtance with the ſame; the Lord made of both theſe together a thing round like a ball, which he called the lower world, the more ſolid part whereof became the earth, the more liquid the ſeas; both which making one globe, he by a great noiſe or humming ſound, placed them in the midſt of the firmament, which became equi-diſtant from it on every ſide.

Then he created a ſun and moon in the firmament to diſtinguiſh the times and ſeaſons; and thus theſe four elements that were at firſt mixed together, became ſeparate and aſſigned to their ſeveral places; the air to his place, the earth to his place, the water to his place, and the fire to his place.

Theſe elements thus diſpoſed, each of them diſcharged his ſeveral parts; the air filled up whatſoever was empty, the fire began to nouriſh with his heat, the earth brought forth his living creatures, and the ſea his. And the Lord conveyed to theſe a ſeminal virtue that they might be fruitful in their ſeveral operations; and thus the great world was created.

This world as it had his beginning from four elements, ſo it was meaſured by four main points of the compaſs, eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth; and was to be continued for four ages, and to be peopled by four caſts or ſorts of men, which were married to four women appointed for them, of which we ſhall ſpeak as order may give occaſion.

God having thus made the world and the creatures thereto belonging, then God created man, as a creature more worthy than the reſt, and one that might be moſt capable

pable of the works of God. The earth then did at God's voice and command render this creature from his bowels, his head firſt appearing and after that his body, with all the parts and members of the ſame into whom God conveyed life, which as ſoon as he had received, witneſſed itſelf; for colour began to ſhew itſelf red in his lips, his eyelids began to diſcloſe the two lights of nature, the parts of his body betrayed their motion, and his underſtanding being informed, he acknowledged his maker and gave him worſhip.

That this creature might not be alone who was made by nature ſociable, God ſeconded him with a companion, which was woman, to whom not ſo much the outward ſhape as the likeneſs of the mind and diſpoſition ſeemed agreeing: And the firſt man's name was Pourous, and the woman's name was Parcoutee, and they lived conjoined together as man and wife, feeding on the fruits of the earth, without the deſtruction of any living creature.

Theſe two living in this conjunction had four ſons; the firſt was called Brammon, the ſecond Cuttery, the third Shuddery, the fourth Wyſe. Theſe four brethren were of natures diſtinct each from the other, the four elements claiming in each of them a different predominance: for Brammon was of an earthly conſtitution, and therefore melancholy; and Cuttery was of a fiery conſtitution, and therefore of a martial ſpirit; Shuddery was of a phlegmatic conſtitution, and therefore of a peaceable or converſable diſpoſition; Wyſe was of an airy temper, and therefore full of contrivements and inventions.

And becauſe Brammon was of a melancholy conſtitution and ingenious, God endued him with knowledge, and appointed him to impart his precepts and laws unto the people; his grave and ſerious look beſt fitting him for ſuch a purpoſe; for which cauſe he gave him a book containing the form of divine worſhip and religion.

And becauſe Cuttery was of a martial temper, God gave him power to ſway kingdoms with the ſcepter, and to bring men into order, that the weal-publick might thrive by united endeavours for the common good; as an emblem of which the Almighty put a ſword into his hand, the inſtrument of victory and domination.

And becauſe Shuddery was of a nature mild and converſable, it was thought meet that he ſhould be a merchant, to inrich the commonwealth by traffick, that ſo every place might abound with all things by the uſe of ſhipping and navigation. As a monitor to put him in mind of which courſe of life, he had a pair of balances put into his hand, and a bag of weights hung at his girdle, inſtruments moſt accommodate to his profeſſion.

Laſtly, becauſe Wyſe was of an airy temper, whoſe conceits uſe to be more ſubtle and apprehenſive, he was endowed with admirable inventions, and was able by his firſt thoughts to form any thing that belonged to the mechanick or handicrafts man: for which purpoſe he had a bag of tools or inſtruments, conſiſting of ſuch variety as were neceſſary to effectuate the works of his fancy or conceit.

Thus, you have the firſt man and woman, and the progeny from them deſcending according to Banians tradition; and a world to be raiſed of ſo few, the perſons (as they think) could not be better fitted to the ſame, the whole world being well conſidered, conſiſting of and ſubſiſting by ſuch four kinds of men.

The world began in this maiden purity, that the generations of men might not be derived from a polluted beginning of mankind: the Almighty gave not Pourous and Parcoutee any daughters, leſt ſome of theſe four ſons, preferring the need of propagation before piety and religion, ſhould have deflowered their ſiſters, and have blemiſhed the world with impurity: but providing better for this holineſs and ſanctity of our anceſtors,

that the work of generation might be agreeable to the work of creation, God made four women for theſe four men, and placed them at the four winds, one at the eaſt, another at the weſt, a third at the north, and a fourth at the ſouth; that thus being divided, there might be a better means for the ſpreading of their generations over the face of the earth: with which four women, how the four ſons of the firſt man met, ſhall be underſtood in the ſequel of the ſeveral ſtories in the chapters following.

CHAP. II. — *Of Brammon, the eldeſt Son of Pourous; his Travels towards the Eaſt; he meeteth with the Woman appointed for him; the Paſſages that happened in their Accoſt; their Marriage, and peopling of the Eaſt.*

THIS eldeſt ſon of the firſt man, called Brammon, grew in ſtature and had the pre-eminence of his birth, both in place and in reſpect, above the reſt of his brethren; as alſo in regard of his near relation to God in religious ſervices, was highly honoured of his brethren and was an inſtructor unto them; and the Almighty communicated himſelf to him in preſence and viſion. He gave himſelf therefore much to reading, and converſed with the book that God gave him containing the platform of divine worſhip.

Being therefore grown to man's age, and (as it ſhould appear by circumſtances) man being created in the midſt of the earth, in ſome pleaſant place where the ſun at high noon deprived ſubſtances of their ſhadows, (for it was fit that man ſhould be produced out of ſuch a place as might be the navel of the world), God, who would now diſperſe the brethren from the centre, as it were, to the circumference, for propagation, commanded Brammon to take his book in his hand, wherein was written the divine law, and to direct his journey towards the riſing of the ſun in the eaſt.

As ſoon as that glorious light of heaven had diſcovered his ſplendour from the tops of the mountains, he took his journey that way (for the eaſt being the moſt noble part of the world it was likely that had the pre-eminence in plantation) until he arrived at a goodly mountain, before the proud face whereof lay proſtrate a valley, through which there paſſed a brook, in the deſcent of which there appeared a woman ſatisfying her thirſt from the ſtreams of the river, and they were both naked, innocence not being then aſhamed to publiſh her retirements and privacies, nor having faulted ſo much with thoſe immodeſt parts, as to need a ſhroud to veil them from the ſight. This woman was of hair black, of complexion yellowiſh or ſaffrony, as on whoſe face the ſun had too freely caſt his beams, the remembrance of whoſe heat was too ſurely conſerved in her countenance. She was indifferently ſized, whoſe pitch could neither challenge the name of lowneſs or high ſtature; modeſt was her aſpect, and her eyes indexes of ſo melancholy ſoberneſs, and compoſed looks, as if ſhe ſeemed ſampled for him that met her.

But her eyes unaccuſtomed to view ſuch an object as was before her, having never ſeen a creature of proportion like herſelf, betwixt wonder and ſhame, ſhe was uncertain whether ſhe ſhould fly, or pleaſe her ſight with ſuch a viſion. But Brammon no leſs abaſhed at ſuch intruſion, which by retiring he could not well ſhun, with a down-caſt countenance ſuppreſſed with ſhame, they both aboad one another's preſence, with tongue-tied ſilence; whoſe backwardneſs gave encouragement to the woman to queſtion the cauſe of his coming thither; who anſwered, that by the command of him who had made the world, him, her, and all creatures viſible, together with the light that gave them the comforts of their meeting, he was ſent thither. The woman, to whom God had given that underſtanding, to be capable of the properneſs of his ſpeech, and inquiring further into this accident, ſaid, that there was an agreement in their likeneſs and compoſition, that declared they had one maker: that it may be, he that had made them

them, and had his ends in their diſpoſal, had thus brought them together, that ſome nearer bond might make them inſeparable from each other's ſociety; and caſting her eye upon the book that Brammon bare in his hand, aſked what it was? who acquainting her with the contents thereof, was deſired to ſit down, and communicate the religious counſels of the ſame unto her, whereunto he condeſcended: and being both perſuaded that God had a hand in this their meeting, they took counſel together from this book to bind themſelves together in the inviolable bond of marriage, and with the courteſies interceding betwix man and wife, were lodged in one another's boſom; for joy whereof the ſun put on his nuptial luſtre, and looked brighter than ordinary, cauſing the ſeaſon to ſhine on them with golden joy; and the ſilver moon welcomed the evening of their repoſe, whilſt muſic from heaven (as if God's purpoſe in them had been determinate) ſent forth a pleaſing ſound, ſuch as uſeth to fleet from the loud trumpet, together with the noiſe of the triumphant drum. Thus, proving the effects of generation together, they had fruitful iſſue, and ſo peopled the eaſt, and the woman's name was Sauatree.

CHAP. III. — *Of Cuttery, the ſecond Son of Pourous; his Travels and the Meeting he had with the Woman appointed for him; their Conflict, Appeaſement, Conjunction, and the peopling of the Weſt by them.*

SUCCESSIVELY the ſecond brother Cuttery was by the Almighty conſigned to the weſt, about the charge of making men; ſo taking the ſword in his hand that God had given him, the inſtrument on whoſe edge lay the hopes of a kingdom, rouſing up his courage, which hitherto wanted occaſion of exerciſe, from the heart and boſom of the earth, in which his youth had converſed, he turned his back on the riſing ſun every morning, whoſe ſwifter courſe overtook him, and every day in his decline preſented himſelf in his ſetting glory before him. As he thus travelled towards the weſt he chafed with himſelf as he paſſed along, that no adventure preſented itſelf that might provoke him to give a probate of his courage, wiſhing that an army of men, or a troop of wild beaſts, would oppoſe him, that he might ſtrew the ſurface of the earth with dead carcaſes, and give the fowls of heaven fleſh to feed on. And not knowing to what purpoſe God had directed him to bend his courſe that way, as only ſenſible of his own heroic ſtomach, he ſaid, "To what end hath God infuſed ſuch magnanimity into my breaſt, if it ſhall want a ſubject whereon to work my glory and renown? Shall I loſe the end of my creation? God forbid.

Thus carried on with the hopes of ſome adventure, he intended that whatſoever ſhould firſt cope with him, ſhould have the ſenſe of his fury; when being come to a mountain, whoſe height might make things far viſible to the eye, he might perceive a creature of goodly perſonage, like himſelf, ſtalking forward with a martial ſtep, no leſs ſlow than majeſtic in pace; which two approaching, as deſirous to make an experiment of each other's fortitude, upon their meeting together, it appeared to be a woman, whoſe treſſes in a comely fertility hung down by her ſhoulders, which, by motion of the air, turned into a careleſs diſorder; every blaſt that made an alteration in the ſame, gave a new grace to her excellent perſon, and made her preſence more full of majeſty. In her right hand ſhe bare a chuckery, which is an inſtrument of a round form, and ſharp edged in the ſuperfices thereof, ſo accommodate for offence, that by a hole in the midſt thereof, being whirled about the finger and ſlung off in the quickneſs of its motion, it is able to deliver or convey death to a far remote enemy. Courage diſplayed his banner

banner in her countenance, and majeſtic fury ſparkled in her eyes, bearing witneſs how much ſhe thirſted after conqueſt; and the woman's name was Toddicaſtree.

In the firſt encounter ſhe made her chuckery bear the meſſage of her diſpleaſure, giving entertainment with the inſtrument of battle, which was ſuch as Cuttery expected; and no kinder behaviour did he intend to proffer, as preferring the harſh effects of violence, before the mollifying power of beauty. With this hard greeting did they paſs the firſt day, giving wounds on each ſide, ſhe with her chuckery, he with his ſword; both being much ſpent in the conflict, and often breathing when extremity of exerciſe had languiſhed their powers, they renewed their battle by freſh aggreſſion and onſet, till darkneſs did prohibit the uſe of arms, leaving the firſt day as an indifferent arbiter of the battle, neither of them able to boaſt of advantage.

The light of the next day inviting them to a new experiment of valour, they accoſt one another, renewing the remembrance of their injuries with ſecond attempts of violence: the day well near ſpent in fight, Cuttery gaining ſome advantage with his ſword hewed her chuckery in two pieces; but favourable darkneſs, looking with a partial eye on the battle and patronizing the diſadvantage, ſhaded the woman with her broken inſtrument from the purſuer; by the benefit of which intermiſſion ſhe converted her broken chuckery into a bow, having provided arrows, to requite the force of the adverſary by this new ſtratagem, who was now big with the hopes of her overthrow.

The light being the beſt herald they had to call them to battle, a third time they met, hopeful to conclude this ſtrange duel or ſingle combat, which urged on her ſide by her new invented inſtrument, and on his by the thought of former advantage gained, made the aſſault more vehement; making therefore her enemy the butt into which ſhe meant to transfix her pointed ſhafts, ſhe freſhly encountered him. But he, perceiving her advantage, whoſe power was to wound far off, and his injuries were moſt forcible in little diſtance, expoſing himſelf to greater peril, that he might be owner of a better advantage, drew nearer, and in a cloſe, exchanging the loſs of weapons for hand violence, they thus proved their forces together, wearineſs having abated their vigours ſo equally, that neither of them was ſo ſtrong to overcome, nor ſo weak to yield, the balance of victory ſo juſtly poiſed between them, as inclined with partiality to neither, it was fit the tongue ſhould conclude that war, that the power of the hand was no longer able to proſecute.

Hereupon in this doubtful ſtrife, Cuttery having ſeized her by the treſſes of her hair to bring her to bondage; and exerciſe having put a freſh and lively colour into her cheeks, ſuch as in Cuttery's eyes made her rather ſeem lively, than one to be injured, he ſaid, "Oh thou wonder of living creatures for ſtrength and beauty! why ſhould fury manage ſo ſtrange a contention between us two? If I ſhould in this combat have ſlain thee, I ſhould have curſed this right hand, for bearing an inſtrument to ruin ſo goodly a proportion; and if thou hadſt ſlain me, thou ſhouldeſt but have laboured with anguiſh of ſoul for thine own diſcontents and diſcomforts, who knoweſt not what pleaſure thou mayeſt reap by my ſociety. Why ſhould one excellent creature ſeek the ruin of another? Will there not be one the leſs? And thy being will be nothing augmented by my diſannulment. Did God to this end confer boldneſs on us to make it the cauſe of one another's perdition, who are both worthy of preſervation? Surely courage in thee ſhall be nothing impaired by my friendſhip and aid; but united virtues make moſt powerful aſſaults, and are beſt muniments againſt injury. Beſides, the world, now an infant, and of ſhort ſtanding, ought rather by all means to have her iſſue multiplied, than impaired or diminiſhed. Eſpecially ſelf-love binds us to ſtudy our own preſervations; to which ſince unity did beſt confer, he would not follow the humour of his high ſpirit,

to

to ſeek glory ſo wickedly and unworthily, if he might purchaſe that peace he ſought by any reaſonable conceſſion."

The woman, attentive to the motion, proſecuted with ſo fair a carriage, after ſome pauſe of ſilence, and dejection of countenance that gave conſent to baſhfulneſs, replied, that though the marks of his violence were before her eyes, whoſe anguiſh were ſufficient to maintain the fuel of further paſſion, yet in that which he had felt trial of like rage, had firſt broke off violence, ſhe gave ſo good an ear to the motion as the ſhort time of deſiſting might permit; affirming, that ſhe was ſo far content to ſuſpend ſuch paſſages, as he, continuing that peaceful treaty, ſhould make his company acceptable, otherwiſe to renew the ſame violence, as ſhe found juſt occaſion of provocation.

Thus, with plighted hands, the form of their new-made amity, they became of inteſtine enemies reconciled and amorous friends, till prompt and intelligent nature, apprehenſive of her own ends, through ſome longer converſation together, made them prove the difference of their ſex, from whom plentiful generations were deſcended, indued with the fortitude of ſuch as are truly warlike. And thus the weſt came to be peopled from theſe two, from whoſe enmities love wrought ſo perfect and unexpected agreement.

CHAP. IV. — *Of Shuddery, the third Son of Pourous; his Travels: he findeth a Mine of Diamonds; meeteth the Woman appointed for him; they become conjoined together; and by their Iſſue the North is peopled.*

The third ſon, Shuddery, which was the merchant-man, according to his time and age, was ſent to the north, who taking his balance and weights with him, the inſtruments by whoſe juſtice he was to buy and ſell, tended him whither the Almighty had directed him. Having paſſed on ſome part of his way (as buſy nature loves to be in employment), he deſired he might meet with ſome affair or buſineſs ſuiting with his trafficking diſpoſition.

And being come to a goodly mountain, called Stachalla, there fell immoderate and exceſſive rains, he ſheltering himſelf in ſome hollow place of the mountain till the foul weather was paſſed; upon which there followed a clearneſs of the ſkies; but ſuch a deluge ſucceeded upon the fall of thoſe waters, that his journey was prohibited; for the rivers, not able to contain the ſtreams, that had in rolling currents from the tops of the ſteep mountains devolved into their channels below, began to make breaches in their banks; and returning their burthen into the lower grounds, had turned the valley of Stachalla into a broad river unpaſſable. Shuddery therefore reſted in the hollow of this mountain till the weather might be more propitious to his travel intended; when in ſome days the fair weather had made the thirſty earth to drink up part of the water, the ſun, to dry up the other part, and ſome were left to inherit the lower grounds, ſo that the way being free for him over the valley, he paſſed on; but in the bottom of the valley he found certain pearl-ſhells that had their precious treaſure within; which dividing to be made capable of their contents, he found in them that which contented his eyes with their ſhining, and promiſed in their beauties ſomething worth the prizing and preſervation, (though he was as yet altogether ignorant of their worth and value): ſo folding them up, he renewed his travel, till he came to a mountain on the other ſide of the valley, where the mountain, he, and dark night, met all together.

But as if the pearls had but borne the meſſage to him of a greater fortune, a rock or mine of diamonds diſcovered itſelf to his ſight, which the late waſhing of the waters had been as a midwife to bring to light, as if it had been unfit ſo great riches ſhould

be treaſured up in darkneſs, in the arms of ſo coarſe an element; which mine taking advantage by the darkneſs of the heavens, the better to ſet off his ſparkling luſtre, ſeemed to invite Shuddery to come and take knowledge of its admirable ſhining; who ſuppoſing it to be fire, began to move the looſe ſparkles of the ſame, but perceiving their glory nothing to decreaſe by their motion, grew enkindled with a great deſire to prove the ſtrangeneſs of the accident, by the touching of his finger; but the darkneſs, and his unacquaintance with the thing, rather begetting admiration than right information of his knowledge (ſince it had the light of fire, but wanted the heat), he was content with a patient abode to await the day's light to give him better inſtruction concerning theſe myſteries; which no ſooner appeared, but theſe diamonds concealed their glory, affording only a wateriſh coloured beauty to the eye. The diſannulment of this luſtre amazed him as much as the preſentation thereof made him admire; but deſirous to have this excellency made known to mankind, that ſeemed ſo wonderful to himſelf, he carried ſo great a quantity of the diamonds with him, as might be no impediment to him in the bearing, taking a remarkable obſervation of the place, that he might thereunto repair upon better proof of the diamonds excellence and worth.

Thus Shuddery continuing his progreſs foreward, at laſt arrived where the woman to which he was ſent, was wandering by the ſide of a wood, cloſe adjoining whereunto was an even plain, through which he made his path; of whom, when his eyes had gained ſight, and that ſhe preſented a perſon formed like himſelf, he diverted from his way towards her, to gain more perfect knowledge of her; ſhe no leſs filled with wonder and deſire in the view of him, yet ſometimes poſſeſſed with fear, ſometimes with joy, ſometimes with ſhame, in the variety of paſſions purpoſing many things, but really proſecuting nothing. Shuddery at length accoſted her, whoſe approach ſhe received doubtfully, as if ſhe ſought a means of evaſion into the wood; at which he ſaid, "Oh, thou worthy creature, moſt like unto myſelf, fly me not; who haſt cauſe to love me, becauſe I reſemble thee; ſhun not the converſation of him, that followeth thee not to give thee diſpleaſure, but that he might enjoy thy ſociety; things that have reaſemblance in ſhape ſhould embrace conſortſhip."

The woman then, whoſe name was Viſagundah, perceiving by the ſlowneſs of his pace, that he rather ſeemed to be a ſuer to her, than a purſuer of her, by the retardment of her flight witneſſing her contentment to ſtay, if ſhe might preſume of her ſafety, thus replied to his words, That if ſhe could as much preſume of his good uſage, as ſhe was contented to behold him, ſhe would grant his requeſt; who giving her aſſurance thereof, they entertained conference with each other, ſhe moving the queſtion how it might be that they two could be capable of one another's language, having never before ſeen each other. He made anſwer, that that God that had made them like in bodies, had alſo made them like in languages, that they might receive the comfort of one another's ſpeeches, and be acquainted with one another's thoughts, without which, converſation ſhould loſe the greateſt part of his comfort.

So receiving ſtronger gages of each other's love, they continued together, he not unmindful to impart the fortunes of his travels in finding of pearls and diamonds, wherewith he adorned her, till they in future times became a cuſtomary ornament, as alſo acquainting her with the works of the creation, together with his parents and brethren; they proved the comforts of the conjoined ſtate; from whom a generation deſcended, that became merchant-men, and followed Shuddery's profeſſion, who, with ſome of his ſons, did afterwards travel to the mine of diamonds by him diſcovered, and ſtored themſelves with them, which ever ſince have been merchandize of dear eſtimation; and thus the north became inhabited.

CHAP. V. — *Of Wyſe, the fourth Son of Pourous; his Travels over ſeven Seas; his Architecture; he meeteth with the Woman appointed; his Relations touching Religion; Conſummation of Love with the Woman; and their peopling of the South.*

Then Wyſe, the youngeſt of the four brethren, went to the north, having inſtruments neceſſary with him to effectuate any thing that his well conceited invention could find out: therefore whatſoever was convenient for man's uſe, he had a brain to think and contrive, that ſo the needs of the world might be ſerved by the deviſes of his ingenious fancy or conceit. Thus, he became the original of the handicrafts; for he knew how to rear the buildings of towns, cities or caſtles; to ſet, plant, and till the ground; how to make all things needful for the uſe of man; which various diſpoſition of his to meditate things for man's convenience gave him the name of Viſkermah, which is as much as the handſman, becauſe he could do any thing to be done by the hand.

Being indued with a genius fit for plantations, he (directed by God, travelled towards the ſouth, where he met with ſeven ſeas, all which he paſſed over, framing a veſſel for his convoy, and leaving in every place teſtimonies of his ingenuity: and paſſing over the laſt called Paſhcurbatee, he came to the land called Derpe; there by the ſea ſide he built him a fair houſe of ſuch timber as grew by the place, having engines of art to rear up timber. Thus, having made a comely habitation, with rooms lightſome, and broad terraces or roofs aloft, for pleaſure and proſpect delightful; where he might ſometimes pleaſe his eyes with the rolling ſea, which, with renewed aſſaults, ſmote againſt the banks of the ſhore; and directing his ſight the other way, might behold the pleaſant woods and fields: he thus for a time ſolaced himſelf after tedious travel.

But not long had he took ſuch comfort as his ſolitary condition could afford him, but the woman appointed for him wandering through the woods to the ſea ſide, and paſſing along the ſhore thereof, ſet her eyes upon this new edifice; and having never beheld any before, the rarity of it drew her nearer to ſatisfy her admiration with the views of the ſame; on whom Wyſe chancing to caſt his eye as ſhe thus came to look on his habitation, he deſcended to take a fuller contemplation of her beauty, whoſe feature deſerved his better notice; for ſhe was of a body amiably white, and her treſſes were ſcattered with powdered ſaunders, and other odours, the ſcent of which the blaſts of the wind diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that he became partaker of them by his approach, which enkindled his ſenſes with new deſires to be nearer her, who at ſuch diſtance gave him a ſmell of ſo great ſweetneſs; whoſe approach ſtruck her into a bluſh, but her ſhame giving place, ſhe moved the queſtion to him, how he came to that place where ſhe only had lived, to interrupt her in her free walks and wanderings? He made anſwer, that God the maker of light, that makes all objects viſible, had ſent him thither to admire her excellency, which was ſo rare, that it was not fit it ſhould be ſhaded in a place ſo ſolitary, but had reſerved it as a bleſſing for his eyes to view and admire; and becauſe it was pity deſolation and lonelineſs ſhould be a waſter of ſuch lovelineſs, he had, with hazard of his life, adventured over ſeven ſeas, to be bleſt with the enjoyment thereof, a labour and travel worthy of ſo rich a recompence, and a worthy recompence and ſatisfaction for ſuch a labour; intreated her therefore to accept of ſuch a bleſſing as God had provided for her by his ſociety.

But ſhe, that could not be brought to think of a courſe of life different from her former, told him, that in his abſence, ſhe found no need of his preſence, neither did ſhe at that preſent ſtand inclined to accept of his motion; that therefore he would leave her to the liberty of her own free diſpoſe. He, loth to loſe the happineſs of his eyes, importuned

her to view the rooms of his building, as if he meant to woo her with the fair works of his hands: but ſhe, taking his importunity in evil part, told him, that if he deſired her not to ſhun the place, he would diſmiſs her freely. So turning from him with ſome diſpleaſure, becauſe ſhe was by him unwillingly detained, ſhe fled from him with coy diſtaſte, he almoſt expiring with the ſadneſs of her departure, whoſe preſence he could not purchaſe, and his pleaſure therein, without her anger.

She having robbed his eyes of that ſight, that they would never willingly have loſt, he committed himſelf to the rack of penſive meditations, broke the quiet ſlumber of repoſe, thinking darkneſs unfavourable to him that ſuſpended and prorogued the chearful day from his appearance, in which he might renew his viſitations of her. So traverſing the woods to and fro, he at laſt came into a valley, where he found her cropping the flowers, and gratifying her ſenſes with their ſeveral odours; on whom intruding ere ſhe well perceived, he ſaid, "Oh, ſweeter than all flowers or ſcents that the field can boaſt of, whoſe lovelineſs hath drawn me to make a proffer of new kindneſs, fly me not, who haſt had a former trial of my behaviour towards thee!" So bearing with his preſence, he took occaſion to make known to her the creation of the world, and the parents from whom he was deſcended, the diſperſing of his brethren into the ſeveral parts of the world, the hardineſs and hazard of his voyages, the qualities with which he was indued, and the ſeveral monuments of his art which he had left in the places where he had been. Further, he conceived that the power above had not prompted him, with the jeopardy of a thouſand lives, to cut a path through ſeven rugged ſeas in a floating habitation, but even to that end that the bitterneſs of all thoſe evils might be ſweetened by his enjoyment of her.

She, deſirous to break off this ſpeech, as ungrateful to her ears, turned back this diſcourſe, deſiring him to take his contentments elſewhere than in queſt of her; that if ſhe could prevail with him in any requeſt, it ſhould be in this, to leave her, and never after to diſturb her with ſuch motions. So both departed, ſhe in diſdain, he in ſadneſs and ſorrow for ſuch diſmiſſion; giving him only this as a doubtful comfort at their parting, that if ſhe found herſelf inclined to his ſociety, ſhe knew where to find him, and to manifeſt to him ſuch alteration.

Upon this, having left the place that contained his bliſs, with oppreſſed thoughts, he was no ſooner got into a private place that might ſeem as counſel-keeper to his paſſions, but he humbled himſelf under the green trees, and ſaid, "Oh! thou to whom belongs the acknowledgment of my being, I have, by thy guidance, forſaken the ſociety of my parents, whom I know not whether I ſhall ever behold again, as alſo the fellowſhip of my brethren: I have coped with as many hazards as can make travel bitter and diſcomfortable: I have left company to come into ſolitude; nay, which is worſe, to behold one that might give me the wiſhed comforts of ſociety, by her refuſal to add degrees to my ſorrow. Oh! make me not void the end of my being! give not ſuch an evil recompence to my adventures; bury not all theſe qualities thou haſt put into this eſſence by this one diſaſter! Witneſs, O you heavens, under whoſe azured roof I now am, the ſorrows I ſuffer; and witneſs, O ye green trees, that, if ye were ſenſible of my complaint, would ſpend yourſelves in gummy tears, what agony perplexeth me! And if the Maker of creatures overlooks his works, let him now appear and redreſs the miſeries of his ſervant!"

With that a ſtill and quiet air breathed through the leaves of the trees, and a voice iſſued thereupon, and ſaid, "What requireſt thou, oh, thou ſon of Pourous?" And Wyſe made anſwer, That he only deſired that the woman with whom he had met, might afford him the comforts of ſociety in the copulations of marriage; which requeſt was granted

granted on theſe injunctions, that he ſhould erect pagods for God's worſhip, and adore images under green trees, becauſe God had under them manifeſted himſelf by viſion to him.

So Jeiunagundah (for ſo was the woman called) feeling the motions of affection to renew in her, at the next meeting gave ſuch expreſſions of love to Wyſe, as fully accompliſhed his demand: ſo converſing together they made good the nuptial ends, in a fruitful generation. So the ſouth, as the other parts of the world, became inhabited.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Meeting together of the four Brethren at the Place of their Birth; their Diviſions and Diſſentions; the great Evils among ſt their Generations bringeth a Flood which deſtroyeth them; and ſo the firſt Age of the World concludeth.*

EVERY thing by natural motion paſſeth to his own place; ſo the brethren having peopled the world in theſe four parts, turn their courſe to the place where they firſt breathed their vital air; for Brammon having peopled the eaſt, with all ſuch as was of his caſt or tribe, was carried with a natural deſire to go and conclude his days where he began, and to poſſeſs the people of that place with the true form of divine worſhip, that ſo all the world might retain one uniformity of religion, not rending God's worſhip into parts with the factions of unſettled opinions, as alſo not willing to loſe ſo great a joy as his eyes ſhould convey unto him in the ſight of his parents and his brethren, to the former of which religion had enjoined him, to the latter all expreſſions of a brother's love.

Cuttery alſo, the next that had accompliſhed the end of his travel, began to long after the ſight of the place that brought him forth, that he might there, to his father, mother, and brethren, ſhew the bleſſings of God, in his wife and progeny, and acquaint them with the ſtory of his occurrences, and leave a race of ſoldiers there alſo in his poſterity.

Shuddery, turned alſo by the ſame inclination, had his deſires bent to his birth-place, being big with the eminency of his accidental fortunes, which had loſt their greatneſs, if his parents and brethren had loſt the knowledge of them: to feed which humour, as accompanied with other reſpects formerly mentioned, drew him to give his appearance amongſt the reſt.

Laſtly Wyſe, to communicate his arts, whoſe adventurous travel was no leſs memorable than the reſt, tranſporting his ſons and daughters over the ſeveral ſeas, left them in ſeveral places, and repaired to his birth place, to pay his duty to his parents, and his love to his brethren.

It happened, that God, that would not croſs any part of their intentions with evil ſucceſs, did reſerve them to find the happineſs of their meetings in their ſeveral turns and ſucceſſions, as their works were in order accompliſhed, their ſeveral arrivals being congratulated with feaſtings and triumphs, meet welcomes for ſuch gueſts. It was not to be doubted but Pourous and Parcoutee grew young again, having ſuch a ſeaſon of happineſs reſerved to ſmile upon them, towards the ſunſet of their age, ſuch as were able to make their forewaſted powers, ſpent with years, to renew their vigour; every one of them when their joy grew ſtale, giving a freſh renewance of gladneſs to their parents by their ſucceſſive arrival. Neither could it be imagined, but that the brethren accounted that the bleſſed time that loſt all remembrance of trouble, which we think too importunate a diſturber of our joys.

But

But joy is never of long lasting, but after the passage of little time hath its abatement; this the brethren being sensible of, laid aside the thoughts of their travels, and the remembrance of their late comforts; and as men newly transplanted to bring forth the fruits of their being in that place, begetting new generations there, that the world might be completely populous, and instructed in their several qualities; by Brammon in matters of religion, by Cuttery in matters of rule and denomination, by Shuddery in matters of traffick and merchandizing, and by Wyse in the invention of the handicrafts: of which four casts the world consisted; every one of them living in his several quality, keeping his tribe free from confusion or interfering; and thus the world became peopled.

But multitude and concourse that useth to be the nurse of mischief, for where there are many men there will be many evils, and prosperity that maketh us forgetful of ourselves, and length of time that render to us the worst at our latter endings, began to confound all goodness, and turn every thing out of order: for Brammon grew neglectful of his piety; and Cuttery grew cruel and full of usurpation; and Shuddery grew deceitful in the weights and balances; and practised cozenage amongst his brethren; and Wyse lost his conscience in his dealings, and became a spendthrift, making the profits that came by his inventions, but the furtherers of riot and excess. And as they were thus evil in themselves, so they were evil one towards another; for Brammon stomached Cuttery's greatness, and Cuttery forgot to give Brammon the pre-eminence of his birth: and, as if his might had been sufficient to give him the right of priority, placing all excellency in rule and authority, condemned the still and solitary spirit of his brother, as unworthy of respect and eminence; yea, prized his own laws and government before God's laws, because they came from Brammon, whom he disesteemed. On the other side, he pleased himself with the slaughter of those that displeased him; laid taxations upon Shuddery, and drained the profit of Wyse's labours, and like a great tide, made all run along with his own current, whilst they requite his injuries in cozenage and griping upon their brethren; in fraud and circumvention. These evils of example were seeds of wickedness that no doubt would grow in their posterity. And this dissention among themselves did bode a breach of that sweet harmony that concurred to the world's first constitution.

Wyse likewise seing Brammon to lose his respect, the more to make him despised, sought to bring in a new form of religion, communicated to him in vision, concerning the worship of images, and bowing to pagods under green trees, with other new ceremonies, which since Brammon's book contained not, the dispute was great, whether they should be received as canonical; but upon Wyse's affeveration that they were received from God, they were received as part of the ceremonial laws.

Thus, every day presenting new platforms of wickedness and sins that made a noise, God grew angry, and the heavens were clothed with blackness and terror; the seas began to swell as if they meant to join with the clouds in man's destruction; great noise was heard aloft, such as useth to dismay mortal wretches; and thunder and lightning flashed from the poles, such as seemed to threaten a final wreck to the earth; but as if the world needed cleansing of his defilement and pollution, there came a flood that covered all nationsin the depths. Thus the bodies had their judgment, but the souls were lodged in the bosom of the Almighty: and so concluded the first age of the world, according to the tradition of the Banians.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the ſecond Age of the World, begun by Bremaw, Vyſtney, and Ruddery; of their Creation; Aſſignation to their ſeveral Works; their Time of Continuation upon Earth, and the Means uſed for the Reſtoration of the World again.*

IT had now (ſaith the Banian) been to little end for God to diſannul his own creatures, for now his wiſdom and power muſt have again laid obſcured; but though his juſtice, were ſo great, that he could not let wickedneſs go unpuniſhed, yet he would again have a new world of creatures, to whom his wiſdom, power, and mercy, might be declared.

Seeing therefore the firſt age miſcarried by their ſinfulneſs (for whoſe purity God had ſo well provided), the Almighty determined to begin the ſecond age by three perſons of greater perfection and excellency then the other, called Bremaw, Vyſtney, and Ruddery.

The Almighty thereupon deſcending from heaven upon a great mountain called Meropurbatee; upon the top of the ſame the Lord pronounced his word, and ſaid, riſe up Bremaw, the firſt of living creatures in the ſecond age. The earth then did render from her womb Bremaw at the voice of God, who did acknowledge and worſhip his maker; and by a ſecond and third command from the ſame place, raiſed Vyſtney, and Ruddery, who with no leſs reverence adored their maker likewiſe.

But God, that maketh nothing without his uſe or end, did not make theſe to live idle, but to be ſerviceable in the world's reſtoring; to the firſt therefore, which was Bremaw, he gave the power to make the creatures, becauſe (ſay the Banians) as great perſons do not their work but by deputies, ſo neither was it fit God ſhould be ſervile to the creatures, but give them their being by his inſtruments. To the ſecond, which was Vyſtney, he gave the charge to preſerve the creatures, for that as it was his mercy to cauſe them to be, ſo it was his providence to keep them in their being. But to the third, which was Ruddery, he gave power to deſtroy his creatures, becauſe he knew they would be wicked, and deſerve a judgment amongſt them.

Now as God had given to theſe perſons power to do theſe great works, ſo it was meet they ſhould be fitted with means capable for the diſcharge of their ſeveral charges. That Bremaw therefore might have power to make the creatures, he indued him with the abilities of creation and production. Secondly, that Vyſtney might preſerve the creature, the Lord gave all things into his power, that might tend to the preſervation of thoſe that Bremaw ſhould make; therefore he made him lord of the ſun and moon, of the clouds, ſhowers, and dews that fall upon the earth, lord of the hills and vallies, diſpoſer of the changes of the year, the conferrer of riches, health, and honour, and whatſoever tended to the well-being of man, and the reſt of the creatures. Laſtly, that Ruddery might be a fit executioner of God's juſtice, God gave unto his poſſeſſion whatſoever might tend to the deſtruction of living creatures; therefore Ruddery was made the lord of death and judgment, and whatſoever might tend to the puniſhment of man, whether it were ſickneſs, famine, war, or peſtilence, or any thing elſe that might be a plague for ſin.

According alſo to the ſeveral aſſignations of theſe perſons to their particular charges, they were allotted a determinate time of abiding upon earth. Becauſe the work of the creation was concluded in the ſecond of their ages, (which was a work aſſigned to Bremaw), therefore Bremaw was to be taken up to the Almighty in the concluſion of the ſecond age. And becauſe the other ages were multiplied with people by ſome that were reſerved from deſtruction, therefore Vyſtney was kept on earth till he had doubled Bremaw's term of time, as of whoſe preſervation there was longer need. And

becauſe

becauſe the world ſhould end in deſtruction, therefore the continuance of Ruddery was three times ſo long, that when the great day of judgment ſhould come, he might deſtroy all the bodies, and carry the ſouls with him to the place of glory.

Nought wanted now, but that they ſhould every one in their ſeveral turns ſhew the powers conferred upon them. So Bremaw conſulting with himſelf how he might fulfil the charge impoſed upon him, grew extraordinarily afflicted in his body; the ſtrangeneſs of which anguiſh vexing him in every part, boded ſome alteration or unexpected event; when to ſuch a travail as happeneth to women in labour ſeized him, and a certain tumour and ſwelling of his body withall, according to the ſudden ripeneſs of the burthen within, diſtended his bowels more and more, and gave newer and greater extremities to him in this agony, till the burthen (though Bremaw far exceeded the ſtature of common men) made two ruptures, the one on the right ſide, the other on the left; when behold two twins the one male, the other female, to wit, man and woman, did betray themſelves to the world in full growth and perfect ſtature; who thus produced and informed concerning God by the inſtructions of Bremaw, the man was by him named Manow, and the woman Ceteroupa. So giving worſhip to God the creator, and reverence to Bremaw their producer, with a bleſſing of multiplication pronounced upon them, they were ſent to the eaſt, to a mountain called Munderpurvool, thence to diſpread their generations to the weſt, north, and ſouth; ſo they departed, and Ceteroupa brought forth three ſons and three daughters; the eldeſt ſon was called Priauretta, the ſecond Outanapautha, the third Soomeraut: the eldeſt daughter's name was called Cammah, the ſecond Soonerettaw, the third Sumboo.

As theſe grew in years, they were in their ſeveral orders diſperſed ſeveral ways; namely Priauretta and Cammah to the weſt, to the mountain called Segund; Outanapautha and Soonerattaw to the north, to the mountain Bipola; Soomeraut and Sumboo to the mountain Supars; all which brought forth plentiful generations. Thus Bremaw made man and woman, and repleniſhed the earth with the reſt of the living creatures.

Vyſtney likewiſe did provide all things neceſſary that might be to the ſuſtentation and preſervation of the living creatures that Bremaw had made, giving them in enjoyment ſuch bleſſings as were needful to a well being.

To conclude, Ruddery did diſperſe afflictions, ſickneſs, death, and judgment, according as the ſons of men did by their wickedneſs invoke this ſmart upon themſelves. And this was the order God took for reſtoring of people to inhabit the earth in the ſecond age of the world. Now how God provided for the eſtabliſhment of religion in this ſecond age, that theſe that lived might fear and worſhip him, ſhall be declared in the chapter next following, as it is unfolded by the tradition of the Banians.

CHAP. VIII. — *How God communicated Religion to the World by a Book delivered to Bremaw; the particular Tracts of the ſame: the firſt Tract thereof touching the moral Law laid down, with the Appropriation of the ſame to the ſeveral Caſts; and a Confutation of the Errors thereof.*

GOD, knowing that there would be but evil government where there was not the eſtabliſhment of his worſhip and fear, after the world was repleniſhed anew, bethought himſelf of giving them laws to reſtrain that evil in them that was the cauſe of the deſtruction of the former age.

Deſcending, therefore, on the mountain Meropurbatee, he called Bremaw to him, and out of a dark and duſky cloud, with certain glimpſes of his glory, he magnified himſelf to Bremaw, telling him that the cauſe why he brought deſtruction on the former age,

was becauſe they did not obſerve the inſtructions contained in the book delivered to Brammon. So delivering a book out of the cloud into the hand of Bremaw, commanded him to acquaint the people with thoſe things contained therein. So Bremaw made known the ſanctions and laws unto the diſperſed generations.

Of the contents thereof, if any deſire to be informed, the Banians deliver, that this book, by them called the Shaſter, or the book of their written word, conſiſted of theſe three tracts. The firſt whereof contained their moral law, or their book of precepts; together with an explication upon every precept, and an appropriation of the precepts to their ſeveral tribes or caſts. The ſecond tract unfolded their ceremonial law, ſhewing what ceremonies they were to uſe in their worſhip. The third tract diſtinguiſhed them into certain caſts or tribes, with peculiar obſervations meet to each caſt or tribe: ſuch was the ſum of this book delivered to Bremaw; of which particulars, if any deſire more diſtinct knowledge, we ſhall propoſe the pith and ſubſtance of this in that which follows.

Firſt, then, the tract that containeth the moral law, and was by Bremaw publiſhed to the nations, compriſed in the ſame eight commandments; which are theſe following:

"The *firſt* commandment. Thou ſhalt not kill any living creature whatſoever it be, "having life in the ſame; for thou art a creature of mine, and ſo is it; thou art indued "with a ſoul, and it is indued with the ſame; thou ſhalt not therefore ſpill the life of "any thing that is mine.

"The *ſecond*. Thou ſhalt make a covenant with all thy five ſenſes. Firſt, with "thine eyes, that they behold not things that be evil; ſecondly, with thine ears, that "they hear not things that be evil; thirdly, with thy tongue, that it ſpeak not things "that be evil; fourthly, with thy palate, that it taſte not things that be evil, as wine "or the fleſh of living creatures; fifthly, with thine hands, that they touch not things "defiled.

"The *third*. Thou ſhalt duly obſerve the times of devotion, thy waſhings, wor-"ſhipping, and prayers to the Lord thy God, with a pure and upright heart.

"The *fourth*. Thou ſhalt tell no falſe tales, or utter things that be untrue, by which "thou mighteſt defraud thy brother in dealings, bargains, or contracts, by this cozenage "to work thine own peculiar advantage.

"The *fifth*. Thou ſhalt be charitable to the poor, and adminiſter to his need, "meat, drink, and money, as his neceſſity requireth, and thine own ability enableth "thee to give.

"The *ſixth*. Thou ſhalt not oppreſs, injure, or do violence to the poor, uſing thy "power unjuſtly, to the ruin and overthrow of thy brother.

"The *ſeventh*. Thou ſhalt celebrate certain feſtivals, yet not pampering the body "with exceſs of any thing; but ſhalt obſerve certain ſeaſons for faſting, and break "off ſome hours of ſleep for watching, that thou mayeſt be fitter for devotion and "holineſs.

"The *eighth*. Thou ſhalt not ſteal from thy brother any thing, how little ſoever it "be, of things committed to thy truſt in thy profeſſion or calling; but ſhalt content "thyſelf with that which he ſhall freely give thee as thy hire; conſidering that thou "haſt not right to that which another man calleth his."

Theſe eight commandments are beſtowed amongſt the four tribes, or caſts, appropriating to each two commandments in ſeveral.

Firſt, Brammon and Shuddery, the prieſt and the merchantman, are bound in the greateſt ſtrictneſs of religious obſervance, and hold the greateſt agreement in their

worſhip; and Cuttery and Wyſe, the ruler and the handicraftſman, do moſt correſpond in theirs.

To the Bramanes, which are the prieſts, they give the firſt and ſecond commandments, as placing the ſtricteſt parts of religion in theſe two things: firſt, in the preſervation of living creatures from deſtruction; next, in abſtinence from things forbidden, as in the eating of fleſh, or drinking of wine; to which obſervance they do alſo ſtrictly enjoin the merchantman.

Next, more particularly, they apportion to Shuddery, as moſt proper to his profeſſion, the third and fourth commandments; which two precepts enjoin to devotion, and bind from cozenage in their dealings, a ſin too incident to thoſe that are converſant in the balance and weights, who are ſo myſterious in that particular, as may well need an act of religion to reſtrain them from ſuch fraudulency.

To Cuttery, their rulers or magiſtrates, they attribute the fifth and ſixth commandments, as knowing oppreſſion to be a ſin moſt common to the mighty; and enjoining them to charity, who are beſt able to relieve the neceſſities of the poor.

To Wyſe, the handicraftſman, they refer the ſeventh and eighth commandments, who have need of ſome free times of enjoyment, yet given to laviſhment of their gettings, if they were not admoniſhed by their law; as alſo binding them from theft, a ſin to which they may be invited by opportunity, as they diſcharge the duties of their calling in other men's houſes.

In fine, to all theſe they owe a general obſervance, but are more particularly cautious in keeping the commandments appropriated to their own particular tribe or caſt.

Since then the laws or precepts of any religion are no further to be allowed, than they ſeem to be well grounded, and to carry truth and good reaſon with them; methinks, by the way, here is ſomething to be excepted againſt, in this Banian law, which, diſtinguiſhing them from men of other religions, may be examined, whether it may have allowance or no.

The principal part of their law, admitting nothing prodigious to opinion, we paſs over, only that which cometh into exception, is that which is laid down in the firſt and ſecond commandment, and is enjoined the Bramanes and Banians to obſerve, namely; firſt, that no living creature ſhould be killed. Next, that they ſhould not taſte wine, or the fleſh of living creatures.

Concerning the firſt, that they ſhould not kill any living creature; the reaſon by which they confirm this precept is, becauſe it is indued with the ſame ſoul that man is.

This we deny, for the Banians here ſeem to halt in their philoſophy, and the learning of the ancients, who have delivered that there is a three-fold kind of ſoul. Firſt, a vegetant ſoul, ſuch as is in herbs and plants. Secondly, a ſentient ſoul, ſuch as is in beaſts. Thirdly, a reaſonable ſoul, ſuch as is in man; which ſoul hath more noble acts to diſtinguiſh itſelf from the other two; as alſo, that when the other do *interire cum corpore*, "periſh with the body;" this ſurviveth, and therefore is not the ſame ſoul, as ſhall hereafter be proved.

But that this tenet of theirs, denying the ſlaughter of living creatures for man's uſe is nothing ſovereign, may appear by ſcripture, which after the flood declareth God's allowance in this particular, Gen. ix. 3. "Every moving thing that liveth ſhall be meat for you, even as the green herb have I given you all things." Next, by the cuſtom of nations who differenced in other points of religion, yet old conſent in this ſlaughter of living creatures, add unto this the practice of Pythagoras, one whoſe name they adore, and who did lay the ground whereon this ſect leaneth, he killed an ox, as Athenæus evicteth, lib. 1. Dipnoſoph in this diſtichon:

Inclyta

Inclyta Pythagoræ cum primum inuenta figura eſt,
Inclyta, propter quam victima bos cecidit.

Neither have they been abhorrent to this practice themſelves, if the report of hiſtory may be credited, for Cœl Rhodigin reporteth, that the ancient Indians (which are the people now in mention) when Liber Pater diſcovered thoſe parts, were clothed with the ſkins of wild beaſts, which were before by them ſlaughtered. Neither is this obſerved by the Cutteries now, and therefore may ſeem to be a tradition of their own deviſing, neither from the beginning by them practiſed, nor by authentic law enjoined, that it ſhould be an eſſential part of their religion.

And ſo we come to their ſecond commandment, which containeth in it two prohibitions to be excepted againſt. The firſt, forbidding to drink of wine. The next, the eating of fleſh.

To the firſt, whereas the Bramanes and the Banians abſtain from wine by a religious kind of forbearance, at all times and ſeaſons, without the abſolute uſe of the creature; we anſwer, that this is a tradition void of ground or reaſon.

Firſt, it is againſt the common end and uſe of the creature, which God hath made to comfort the heart of man, obſerving theſe cautions. Firſt, that men drink not too much for the quantity. Secondly, for the manner, not in boaſting or oſtentation. Thirdly, for the time, that it be not when religious faſts require forbearance. Fourthly, for the place, that it be not where the uſe of the creature may bring ſcandal.

Next, thoſe that have abſtained from wine, have abſtained for divers ends, but not preciſely obſerving the points of this Banian injunction. The Romans did forbid their ſervants the drinking of wine, but it was becauſe they might not forget the bonds of duty towards their maſters. They did alſo enjoin their women to abſtain from wine, but it was as Valer. Max. reports, lib. 2. cap. 1. *Ne in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur, quia, proximus à libero patre intemperantiæ gradus ad inconceſſam venerem eſſe conſuerit.* "Leſt they ſhould fall into defame; for that the next neigbour to intemperance is unbridled luſt." The Carthaginians forbad their ſoldiers the juice of the grape, but it was leſt drowſineſs ſhould oppreſs them in their watch to a public peril. The Egyptian prieſts, called Sarabaitæ, did for temperate ends abſtain from wine, but it was not for ever; that falſe prophet, Mahomet, by his law forbad the drinking of wine, but it was a tradition and impoſture of his own, and the very Mullæs and prieſts do not obſerve it always at preſent, as I myſelf have beheld. The Levites were forbid to drink wine, Levit. x. 9. but it was only before their entrance into the ſanctuary; that, as Tremelius obſerveth, they might not deliver the counſels of the Lord with a troubled mind, but know what was fit for their adminiſtration: this was no perpetual prohibition. The Nazarites vow was to drink no wine, but this was not ever, but in the days of ſeparation. Numb. vi. 2, 3. The Rechabites vowed to drink no wine, but this was arbitrary, and not by religious obligation, and not for ever, but for thirty years, the ſpace between Jehu and Joachim the latter, and Zedekiah King of Judah. The civil abſtinence, nevertheleſs, is not to be condemned, but this abſolute diſannulment of the uſe of God's creature.

Again, the confirmations of men, moſt temperate, do condemn this interdiction of wine. Galen called it the nurſe of old age: Mneſytheus allowed men *laxare hebenas*, to looſe the reins in merry and harmleſs potations. Rigid Seneca ſaid, though a man ought not by drinking to drown his ſenſe, yet he might by drinking drown his cares. Plato, that leaned to ſome of the opinions that this people hold, ſaid that wine was a remedy of God againſt old age, that a man might have *uſum liberaliorem vini*, "a more liberal uſe of wine;" and others think that Pythagoras did not altogether abſtain from

the Greek wines. To conclude, hiſtory reporteth of theſe ancient Indians that they were namely, *vini amatores*, "lovers of wine." Coel Rhodigin, lib. 18. cap. 31. reporteth, that at the death or funeral of one Calanus, there was a ſtrife or contention managed Acratopoſive, of healths drinking, and he that gained the victory, who was called Promachus, emptied four great drinking bowls. So that this law, prohibiting the uſe of this creature, was not from the beginning, neither is obſerved of all, and therefore ſeems no prohibition worthy of obſervance or injunction.

To the ſecond prohibition, laid down in their ſecond commandment, concerning the eating of fleſh, we thus make our entrance.

Firſt, it is certain, that theſe Bramanes or Banians, will not eat the fleſh of living creatures that have either had life in them or the likeneſs thereof: eggs therefore come within the precincts of their abſtinence, becauſe they ſuppoſe the life to be in the ſhell, by which they become hatched or animate: roots alſo that are red are abſtained from, becauſe they hold conſanguinity with the colour of blood. Neither will they cure their fevers by phlebotomy, but by faſting, becauſe they ſuppoſe ſome of the life iſſueth with the blood. The reaſon why they would deter men from eating of fleſh, is becauſe they ſuppoſe there is a kind of metempſychoſis, or paſſage of ſouls, from one creature to another; that the ſouls of men did enter into other living creatures, which ſhould make men to abſtain from taſting of them. Which opinion of theirs, that it may appear to be vain, we will ſhew, Firſt, who were the authors of this opinion, concerning ſuch metempſychoſis, and how it hath had his ſucceſſion of maintainers. Secondly, what is the effect and ſubſtance of this opinion. Thirdly, ſhew the reaſons, by which it is maintained. And laſtly, proceed to the refutation of the ſame.

Firſt, then, for the original of this opinion, though certainly theſe Indians are a people ancient, yet may it not be thought, that this opinion began firſt among them: firſt, becauſe hiſtory, that is the light of times, affirmeth them to be ſlaughterers of living creatures: next, becauſe Plato and Pythagoras, that have names for defending this metempſychoſis or metempſomatoſis, have an honoured mention amongſt the people; it is likely, therefore, that they have met with ſome of their writings, in this particular, by which they have become known to them. Thirdly, becauſe Jamblichus, with Chæremon, the Stoic, think it to be firſt maintained amongſt the Egyptians: that from the Egyptians then it came to the Grecians; that after it had been rife amongſt them, it was made more tenable by the wits and learnings of Pythagoras, Plato, Empedocles, Apolonius, Tyanius and Proclus, and might, in Liber Pater's diſcoveries of thoſe parts, be diſperſed amongſt this people, as well as by a ſcholar of Pythagoras, who ſpread it in Italy, where it found favour with Numa Pompilius, that ſuperſtitious Emperor, and was maintained by the Albanienſes and Albigenſes, confuted by Athanaſius.

Secondly, touching the ſubſtance of this opinion, that gained the patronage of ſo great ſcholars; they did hold that there was a paſſage of ſouls of one creature into another, that this tranſmigration was of the ſouls of men into beaſts, and of beaſts into men: hence Pythagoras averred himſelf to be Euphorbus, and Empedocles in his verſe affirmed himſelf to be a fiſh. This made it an abominable crime to eat fleſh, leſt, as ſaith Tertullian in Apologet. Cont. Gent. cap. 48. *bubulam de aliquo proavo quiſpiam obſonaret*, "ſome ſhould eat up the ox-fleſh that had ſwallowed up his great grandfather's ſoul." This opinion gained propugnation and defence by Pythagoras and Plato, by this means; becauſe that believing the ſoul's immortality, it might gain aſſent with others by this thought of its ſurviving in other bodies, after its relinquiſhment of the deceaſed, as Greg. Tholoſs. affirmeth in his Syntax. Art. Mirab. lib. 8. cap. 12.

Thirdly, the reaſons by which they do induce aſſent to this tranſanimation of ſouls, were theſe; becauſe the ſoul was impure by the ſins and corruptions of the body, therefore it was needful it ſhould be ſublimed from this corruption, by ſuch tranſmigration out of one body into another, as chemical ſpirits gain a purer eſſence by paſſing through the ſtill or limbeck divers times; every diſtillation taking away ſome of his groſs part, and leaving it more refined. Again, becauſe it was meet the ſoul ſhould make a ſatisfaction for the filthineſs it had contracted, by remaining in the priſon of the body, an exile from bleſſedneſs a longer time, till this paſſage from one body to another had ſo purified them, that they might be fit to enter into the Elyſium, or place of bliſs.

Laſtly, in confutation of this opinion for prohibition of eating of fleſh, from ſuppoſal of a metempſychoſis, we maintain, that there is no ſuch metempſychoſis, or tranſanimation of ſouls.

Firſt, the immortality of the ſoul we evince without this chimera of the fancy, by an argument drawn from man's diſſolution: this is the nature of all things that are compounded; that they ſhould be reſolved into that which they were at firſt, before their conjunction. Man is compounded of ſoul and body; the very diſſolution of theſe two in death declareth this, for that cannot be ſeparated that was not before conjoined. This compoſition was by life, and a creature without life, being in the ſoul alone, it is manifeſt that the ſoul had it before ever it came to the body; or elſe that which was dead could never have lived by the means of that which was likewiſe dead. If the ſoul had this life before the body, it muſt need have the ſame after in his ſeparation, and by conſequence is immortal.

Next, in confutation of their reaſons for this opinion, we anſwer; firſt, that the ſoul is not cleanſed by ſuch tranſmigration from body to body, but rather defiled by that filthineſs thoſe bodies contract, as water becometh defiled by infuſion into an unclean veſſel. Much more, ſince they affirm the ſouls of men enter into beaſts, which are creatures of greater impurity. Beſides, thoſe ſpirits that are ſubtiliated by ſtills and limbecks, the fire is effectual to their ſubliming, but the bodies have not the goodneſs in them that may tend to the ſoul's greater purity in ſuch tranſmigration. To conclude, it is improbable the ſoul ſhould be enjoined to ſuch a ſatisfaction for ſin, as tendeth to its greater defilement. Theſe reaſons, therefore, avail little to confirm the ſoul's tranſmigration in the manner premiſed.

We, in the laſt place, ſhall prove this metempſychoſis to be no other than a vain imagination, by the reaſons following:

1. Then, that the ſouls are not derived from one another *per traducem*, "by way of traduction," appeareth by Adam's ſpeech to Eve, Gen. ii. 23. "This is bone of my bone, and fleſh of my fleſh:" he doth not ſay, ſoul of my ſoul, and ſpirit of my ſpirit. It appeareth then that, though ſhe received her body from Adam, yet ſhe had her ſoul from God. And this is that which Zachery affirmeth, Zach. xii. 1. "The Lord formeth the ſpirit of a man within him; whence Auguſtine ſaith, *Eam infundendo creari, et creando infundi*, "That the ſoul being put into man was created, and by creating, was into man infuſed;" if therefore God created ſome, why not all?

2. Of ſpiritual things and corporal, there ſhould ſeem the ſame manner of increaſe; but the bodies have new beings, therefore the ſouls.

3. If the ſouls were purified by their paſſage from one body to another, then that man that had the ſoul laſt, ſhould be capable of all that knowledge that was enjoyed by them that had it before, and ſo the infant ſhould be an experienced creature in paſt occurrences: but we diſcern no ſuch extraordinary ripeneſs of knowledge in one more than

than another, but that all our habits are gained by induſtry; which whilſt Plato would excuſe, ſaying, that the wandering ſouls did receive from the devil, a draught of the cup of oblivion, and ſo were forgetful of that which is paſt; Irenaeus thus taunteth him: If Plato had trial that his ſoul was obtuſed with ſuch a draught, I wonder that he could remember that his ſoul had loſt her remembrance.

Laſtly, if this were true, it would follow, that the ſouls of beaſts ſhould be immortal, which would be abſurd to think in theſe better-knowing times. Having, therefore, proved this opinion of paſſage of ſouls out of one body into another to be a fancy, and nothing real, this may be no juſt cauſe to detain them from eating the fleſh of creatures that have had life in them; neither would they, if there were great reaſon to the contrary, permit it as they do in the caſts of Cuttery and Wyſe, whom if they pleaſed, they might reſtrain by the like injunction. All which thus evidenced, this already delivered may be ſufficient to publiſh concerning the firſt tract in the book delivered to Bremaw touching the moral laws.

CHAP. IX. — *Of the ſecond Tract of the Book delivered to Bremaw, containing the Ceremonial Law, in the Waſhings, Anointings, Offerings under green Trees, Prayers, Pilgrimages, Invocations, Adorations; together with the Forms of their Baptizings, Marriages, and Burials, cuſtomary amongſt them.*

THE ſecond tract of the book delivered to Bremaw, compriſed certain ceremonial injunctions by them to be obſerved in the particulars following; the knowledge of which being ſomething material to ſet forth the religion of this people, ſhall be the ſubject of this preſent chapter.

Firſt, then, they are enjoined to frequent waſhings of their bodies in rivers; the original of which cuſtom, they ſay, began with this ſecond age of the world, and was made a part of their worſhip, to keep in memory the deſtruction that was brought upon the world for their defilement and ſin. The ceremony obſerved in their waſhings is this; firſt to beſmear their bodies in the mud of the river, the emblem of man's filthineſs and corruption by nature; then walking into the river and turning their faces towards the ſun, the Bramane utters this prayer: "Oh Lord, this man is foul and polluted as the clay or mud of this river, but the water hereof can purge off the defilement; do thou in like manner cleanſe away his ſin;" ſo diving and plunging himſelf three times in the river, whilſt the Bramane iterateth the name of the river wherein he waſheth, called Tappee, with the names of other rivers in India, celebrated for theſe cuſtomary waſhings, as Gonga and Nerboda, with other like rivers, the party ſhaking in his hand certain grains of rice, as his offering on the water, receiving abſolution for ſins paſt, is there diſmiſſed.

Secondly, they uſe a certain unction in the forehead, of red painting, that, having certain grains ſtuck in the glutinous matter, is as their teſtimony that God hath marked them for his people: this is no other then to keep in mind the memory of their baptiſm, which accordingly as the mark vaniſheth, is daily by them renewed, according to their waſhings, with the utterance of certain words accompanying the action, to put them in mind to be ſuch as becometh God's mark.

Thirdly they are enjoined to tender certain offerings and prayers under green trees: the original of which cuſtom they derive from Wyſe, to whom, they ſay, God appeared by viſion under a tree, as is formerly mentioned, with injunction of worſhip in thoſe places; ſo that the Bramanes, under ſuch green tree, erect temples to pagods, in which they give attendance to perform religious rites and ceremonies, to ſuch as repair thither,

thither. The tree peculiariſed for this worſhip, is called by ſome, as by Pliny and others, Ficus Indica, the Indian fig-tree: and by Goropius Becanus, affirmed to be the tree of life, that grew in the garden of Eden; how far forth to be believed, I refer to Sir Walter Raleigh's firſt book of the hiſtory of the world, part 1. chap. 4. par. 1, 2, 3., where the mere probable opinion is given. Certain it is, that to this tree much is attributed by them, and they ſuppoſe ſome notable miſchance ſhall happen to that party that violateth or injureth the leaſt bough or branch of the ſame. It is a tree of fertile growth, whoſe branches be ſpreading, ample and ſpacious; from whoſe boughs ſo diſpread, do deſcend certain ſtems, that, rooting themſelves anew in the earth, propagate an offspring, and ſo dilate it, that it ſeemeth beyond the cuſtom of other trees to be capacious. To this tree when they repair, they thither bring offerings; there they receive unctions, and there are ſprinklings of ſeveral coloured powders; there they pay their adorations, which they number by the clapper of a little bell; there they pray for health, for riches, for fruitfulneſs of iſſue, for ſucceſs in affairs; there they often celebrate their feſtivals with great concourſe. In which May-game of ſuperſtition to make further enquiry, would be but vain and fruitleſs.

Fourthly, they are enjoined to certain prayers in their temples, which may hold ſome reſemblance of common ſervice, were it purged of ſuperſtitious ceremony; the ſum of which devotion, is the repetition of certain names of God, dilated and explained; where alſo they uſe proceſſions, with ſinging and loud tinkling of bells; which chanting is of their commandments, with offerings to images, and ſuch like impertinent ſervices.

Fifthly, they are enjoined to pilgrimages to rivers far remote, as to the river Ganges, there to waſh their bodies, and to pay their offerings, that the concourſe of people repairing thither is great, and the golden offerings of treaſure and jewels thrown into his ſilver waves, invaluable. He is likewiſe eſteemed bleſſed and purified from ſin, that can die with a palate moiſtened with that water.

Sixthly, another portion of their worſhip they beſtow is invocation of ſaints, to whom they attribute the powers of giving ſucceſs to ſeveral affairs; they therefore that would be happy in marriage, invoke Hurmount; they that are to begin the works of architecture, Gunneſe; they that want health, Vegenaut; the ſoldier in his aſſault in feats of arms, cries, Bimohem; the miſerable invoke Syer; and they that are in proſperity give their oriſons to Mycaſſer.

Seventhly, their law binds them to give worſhip to God, upon ſight of any of his creatures, firſt preſented to the eye after the riſing ſun: eſpecially they pay their devotion to the ſun and moon, which they call the two eyes of God: as alſo to ſome beaſts which they hold more clean then others, they give extraordinary kind uſage; as to kine and buffaloes, to whom they attribute ſo much innocence and goodneſs by the ſouls of men entering into them, that they beſmear the floors of their houſes with their dung, and think the ground ſanctified by ſuch pollution.

In the eighth place, touching their baptizings or naming of their children, the ceremony thereof is different in the caſt of the Bramanes, and other caſts; for thoſe that are of the other caſts, are only waſhed in water; then ſome of the kindred of the party delivered, menaceth the point of a writing pen againſt the forehead of the child, with this ſhort prayer, that God would write good things in the front of that child. All thoſe then that are preſent, ſaying, Amen to that prayer, they give to the child the name by which he ſhall be called; and ſo putting an unction of red ointment in the midſt of his forehead, as a ſign that the infant is received into their church, and marked for one of God's children, the ceremony is diſſolved. But then the children

that

that are of the caſt of the Bramanes, are not only waſhed with water, but anointed with oil, with certain words of conſecration, in this manner: "Oh Lord, we preſent unto thee this child, born of a holy tribe, anointed with oil, and cleanſed with water;" unto which adding the former ceremonies, they all pray that he may live a righteous obſerver of the law of the Bramanes: ſo enquiring out the exact time of the child's birth, they calculate his nativity, gathering by the poſition of the twelve ſigns of heaven the chances or miſchances that may happen unto him; all which they conceal, and at the day of the child's marriage (which they account one of the happieſt days in his life) publiſh the dangers paſt, and the conjectural evils to come in the ſequel of his life.

In the ninth place, concerning their marriages, it is conſiderable, that the time is different from the cuſtom of other nations, for they marry about the ſeventh year of their age, becauſe they account marriage one of the moſt bleſſed actions of man's life; to die without which they account it a great unhappineſs, which often happeneth by protraction or delay of time; as alſo that the parents might, before their death, ſee their children diſpoſed, which cometh to paſs by theſe early conjunctions. Next, for their contract in marriage; the parents of the children do prepare the way by private conference, the intention and purpoſe being made known, and betwixt them agreed upon; then there are meſſengers and preſents ſent to the parents of the maid to be married, with the noiſe of trumpet and drum, and the ſinging of ſongs in the praiſe of the perfections of the bride, which may truly give her the merit of one worthy to be coveted and ſought unto: which preſents being accepted, then there are gifts ſent back to the bridegroom, in token of their acceptance of the nuptial proffer, with like ſinging of encomiaſticks in praiſe of the bridegroom, ſetting him forth to be ſo well compoſed, as may well deſerve acceptation. So the Bramanes appointing a day for the ſolemnization of the marriage, then there is a certain ſhew, to publiſh to the whole town this marriage intended. This ſhow is firſt by the bridegroom, who, in nuptial pomp, attended with all the men's children in the town, of the ſame tribe, ſome on horſeback, ſome in palanquins, ſome in coaches, all adorned with jewels, ſcarfs, and pageant-like habiliments, make their curſitation round about the moſt public ſtreets in the town, with trumpets and kettle-drums, and gilded pageants. The bridegroom is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a crown on his head, decked with jewels very rich. And having thus publiſhed himſelf, the next day followed the bride in like pomp crowned, attended with all the girls of the ſame tribe, in no leſs bravery and triumphant accommodation, expoſed to view of the ſpectators. The day drawing to his decline, they repair home to accompliſh the full rites of marriage. The ceremony obſerved in their marriage, is, that they never are conjoined together but at the going down of the ſun, at which time a fire is made, and interpoſed between the married couple, to intimate the ardency that ought to be in their affections; then there is a ſilken ſtring that encloſeth both their bodies, to witneſs the inſoluble bond of wedlock, that in marriage there ought to be no deſertion or forſaking one another. After this bond there is a cloth interpoſed betwixt them, ſhewing that before marriage they ought not to make their nakedneſs known one to another. This cuſtom, they ſay, was taken from the meeting of Brammon with Sauartree, who, becauſe they were naked, covered their immodeſt parts till the words of matrimony were uttered. So the Bramanes pronouncing certain words, enjoining the man to afford all things convenient to the woman, and charging the woman to loyalty in the marriage vow, with pronunciation of a bleſſing of fruitful iſſue to them both; the ſpeeches concluded, the cloth interpoſed, reft away; the bond by which they were engirt, unlooſed; and after that, full freedom to communicate themſelves to each other. Dowry there is none given, that the drifts of marriage might not be

be mercenary, ſave the jewel ſworn on the bridal day; and to the feaſt none repair but thoſe of the ſame caſt. To conclude, in marriage they have ſome particular legal injunctions, by which the tribes are differenced; as firſt, that no woman may be admitted to ſecond marriage, except in the tribe of Wyſe which are in the handicrafts-men. Secondly, that men in all tribes are admitted to ſecond marriages, except in the Bramanes. Thirdly, that every tribe do marry of ſuch as are of his own caſt: therefore the Bramanes muſt marry with ſuch as are deſcended from the Bramanes; and the Cutterys with ſuch as are deſcended from the Cuttterys; ſo likewiſe the Shudderys. But the Wyſes are not only enjoined to match into their own tribe, but into ſuch as be of their own trade; as a barber's ſon to a barber's daughter, and ſo of others, to keep their tribes and trades from commixion.

Laſtly, as for their burials, this is their cuſtom: when any man is deſperately ſick, and paſt hopes of recovery, they enjoin him to utter Narraune, which is one of the names of God, importing mercy to ſinners, of which mercy at that time he ſtandeth moſt in need. His ſpirits languiſhing, they ſtretch out his hand, pouring fair water into it, as the offering of his life, praying to Kiſtneruppon, the god of the water, to preſent him pure to God, with this offering of his hand. His life being departed, they waſh his body as a teſtimony of his cleanlineſs and purity; this is the ceremony obſerved in the viſitation of their ſick. After this, for the burial of their dead — it is after this manner; firſt, they bear the dead body to a river ſide appropriate to ſuch purpoſe, where ſetting the corpſe down on the ground, the Bramane uttereth theſe words; "Oh, earth! we commend unto thee this our brother; whilſt he lived thou hadſt an intereſt in him: of the earth he was made, by the bleſſing of the earth he was fed, and therefore now he is dead we ſurrender him unto thee." After this, putting combuſtible matter to the body, accended and lighted by the help of ſweet oil, and aromatical odours ſtrewed thereon, the Bramane ſaith; "Oh, fire! whilſt he lived, thou hadſt a claim in him, by whoſe natural heat he ſubſiſted; we return therefore his body to thee, that thou ſhouldſt purge it." Then the ſon of the deceaſed taketh a pot of water, and ſetteth it on the ground, upon which he ſetteth a pot of milk, when throwing a ſtone at the lower pot, he breaketh it to ſheards, which rendereth the water to loſs, and periſhing; the veſſel of milk above, defrauded of his ſupport, poureth forth his humidity on the ground likewiſe: upon which the ſon thus moraliſeth the action; that, as the ſtone by his violence cauſed the veſſels to yield forth their humour, ſo did the aſſault of ſickneſs ruin his father's body, and bring it to loſs, as milk and water that is ſpilt on the ground, never to be redeemed. The body then being incinerated or burnt to aſhes, they diſperſe the aſhes abroad into the air, the Bramane uttering theſe words; "Oh, air! whilſt he lived by thee he breathed; and now having breathed his laſt, we yield him to thee." The aſhes falling on the water, the Bramane ſaith; "Oh, water! whilſt he lived, thy moiſture did ſuſtain him; and now his body is diſperſed, take thy part in him." So give they every element his own; for as they affirm man to have his life continued by the four elements, ſo they ſay he ought to be diſtributed amongſt them at his death. After this funeral ſolemnity, the Bramane preſenteth to the ſon, or neareſt kindred of the deceaſed, a regiſter of the deceaſes of his anceſtors, as alſo readeth to him the law of mourners; that for ten days he muſt eat no beetle, nor oil his head, nor put on clean clothes, but once in every month throughout the whole year, on the day of the month in which his father deceaſed, muſt make a feaſt, and pay a viſitation to that river that drunk up his father's aſhes. Since theſe laws and injunctions, there hath ſprung up a cuſtom among them, that the women that ſurvive their huſbands, ſhould offer

themſelves up alive to be ſacrificed in the flames with them, which to this day is obſerved in ſome places, and for ſome perſons of greater worth, though the examples be more rare now than in former times; of which cuſtom Propertius thus ſpeaketh;

Fœlix Eois lex funeris una maritis,
Quos Aurora ſuis rubra colorat aquis:
Namq; ubi mortifero jacta eſt fax ultima lecto,
Uxorum fuſis ſtat pia turba comis;
Et certamen habent lethi, quæ viva ſequatur
Conjugium; pudor eſt non licuiſſe mori.
Ardent victrices et flammæ pectora præbent,
Imponuntq; ſuis ora peruſta viris.

THE ENGLISH.

A happy funeral law theſe Indians hold,
Where bright Aurora ſhines with beams of gold;
For when in fiery brands the huſbands lie,
The women ſtand with hanging treſſes by;
And ſtrive who to their huſband firſt may turn,
A body chaſte into the flaming urn;
Whilſt to the fire they yield a conſtant breaſt,
And with parch'd mouths do kiſs their loves to reſt.

But though Propertius maketh this to be a witneſs of their conjugal chaſtity, yet Strabo maketh the ground thereof to be the Indian women's diſloyalty to their huſbands; who in former times, by ſecret means, untimely poiſoned them, to enjoy their paramours. The Rajahs therefore, to reſtrain this practice, did procure the Bramanes to make it an act of religion to interdict ſecond marriages to the women, and that after the deceaſe of the huſband, the woman ſhould no longer ſurvive, that ſo they might become more careful of their preſervation. The chaſter ſort, to gain an honour out of the infamy caſt upon their ſex, did, by voluntary ſufferance, remove all ſuſpicion of ſuch machination of evil, ſince they were ſo ready to cope with the terror of death, to confirm their love; the ceremony whereof is this: when their huſbands die, they array themſelves in their beſt ornaments and jewels, and accompany the body to the funeral pit, ſinging all the way encomiaſtick ſongs in praiſe of their deceaſed huſbands, expreſſing a deſire to be with them. The body then being laid in the grave, the woman with a chearful countenance imparteth her jewels to her deareſt friends, leapeth in to the corpſe, whoſe head ſhe layeth in her lap; the muſic ſounding aloud, the pile is kindled by the fire, and ſet on a flame, whilſt ſhe maketh herſelf a martyr to approve her love.

Theſe obſervances, partly enjoined by their law, and by themſelves inſtanced in their preſent practice, may have been ſufficient to give you information what might be the ſubſtance of the ſecond tract of the book delivered to Bremaw. What the third tract imported, and how it is confirmed by their preſent manners and cuſtoms, we ſhall glance at in the following chapters.

CHAP. X. — *Of the third Tract delivered to Bremaw, concerning the four Tribes or Caſts; their Injunction to follow that Order of Government, and ſo touching the firſt of thoſe Tribes called the Bramanes; the Derivation of the Name, their Kinds, the Number of their Caſts, their miniſterial Diſcharge, Studies, and ſchool Diſcipline.*

AFTER the conſideration of the ceremonies enjoined and obſerved by them in matters of their worſhip, as it was the ſubject of the ſecond tract of the book delivered to

Bremaw, now followeth the third tract, declaring in what manner of order or diſtinction they ſhould live, and what was meet for every one to obſerve in his own particular tribe.

And becauſe there could be no invention more commodious for the government of the world, than was uſed by the four tribes in the firſt age, as to have Bramanes to inſtruct the people in matters of religion; to have Cutterys that ſhould ſway the ſcepter, and keep men in obedience; to have merchant-men that ſhould uſe traffic and trade, as did Shuddery; to have ſervile and manufactory-men that ſhould ſerve the uſe of the world in the handicrafts, as did Wyſe; therefore they were by this tract bound to keep their own peculiar tribe or caſt, and to obſerve what was proper to the faculties of each in ſeveral; which accordingly was done, and is yet continued ſo far as it lieth in their power, to conſerve this ancient form of government and policy; wherein, if I ſhall ſomewhat digreſs from their injunctions, which for the moſt part preſent things leſs pertinent to be known, to a more particular diſplay of their manners, I ſhall better diſcharge the parts required in this tract.

The Bramanes, then, being the firſt of theſe tribes, ſomething ſhall be noted in particular touching them; and firſt of the name Bramane. Suidas is of opinion, that they are called Bramanes, of one Brachman that was the firſt preſcriber of their rights. Poſtellus, lib. de origin. cap. 13 and 15, affirmeth them to be deſcended from Abraham by Cheturah, who ſeated themſelves in India, and that ſo they were called Abrahmanes; the word ſuffering a ſyncope, they in the tract of time, for brevity of pronunciation, became called by the name of Bramanes. But they neither know of any ſuch as Brachman, neither have they heard of Abraham, but affirm they receive this name of Bramanes from Brammon, which was the firſt that ever exerciſed their prieſtly function, as they find by record; or elſe from Bremaw, by adjection of this particle (nes), who was the firſt of the ſecond age, to whom the law was delivered.

Touching the kinds of theſe Bramanes, taking them for ſuch as diſcharge the prieſtly office amongſt the people, they are of two ſorts; firſt, the more common Bramanes, of which there are a great number in India; or the more ſpecial, of which there be fewer; and theſe be called by the Banians, Verteas; by the Moors, Seurahs.

The common Bramane hath eighty-two caſts or tribes, aſſuming to themſelves the names of that tribe; which, were ſo many wiſe men or ſcholars famed for their learning amongſt them, called Augurs, or ſooth-ſayers, of ſuch a place of dwelling. Thus the prime of them was called Viſalnagranauger, that is, the augur of Viſalnagra; the ſecond Vulnagranauger, that is, the augur of Vulnagra, a town ſo called; and ſo of the reſt, according to theſe eighty-two caſts to be diſtinguiſhed, being Bramanes of the diſcipline of ſuch an augur.

Theſe Bramanes, as they diſcharge their miniſterial function in praying with the people, or reading their law, have ſome peculiar injunctions; as firſt, that they ſhould ſtrain their bodies into certain mimical geſtures, ſo as may moſt face the people to gaze upon them and liſten to them; that they pray with both their hands open to heaven, as ready to receive the things they pray for; that they pray with demiſſive eyelids, and ſitting with their knees deflected under them, to ſhew their fear and reverence. Next that they muſt never read of the book delivered to Bremaw, but it muſt be by a kind of ſinging, and quavering of the voice, which, they ſay, was not only practiſed by Bremaw when it was publiſhed, but was alſo enjoined by God, that they might make his law as the matter of their rejoicing.

The Bramanes are likewiſe the ſeminaries of diſcipline amongſt the younger ſort of that caſt, whoſe orders, both in their initiation and entrance into that manner of learn-

ing, is obſervable; as alſo, no leſs in their confirmation, and ordination to the prieſthood: for firſt, about the ſeventh year of their age, they are received to diſcipline, being clean waſhed, to intimate the purity of that caſt; then they are received naked, to ſhew that they have ſtripped off all other cares, to apply themſelves to ſtudy; then their heads are ſhaven, a long lock being only left on the hinder part of the head, to ſhew that they muſt not forſake their ſtudy; if they do, by that lock they ſhall be drawn back again. They are bound to a Pythagorean ſilence and attention, and prohibited haulking, ſpitting, or coughing; wearing about their loins a girdle of an antelope's ſkin, and another thong of the ſame about their neck, deſcending under the left arm. About the fourteenth year of their age, (if they be capable,) they are admitted to be Bramanes, exchanging thoſe leather thongs for four ſealing threds that come over the right ſhoulder, and under the right arm, which they ſleep withal, and never put off, but wear them in honour of God, and the three perſons Bremaw, Vyſtney, and Ruddery, and as the badge of their profeſſion. In which ordination they are enjoined, firſt, not to alter their caſt or tribe; next to obſerve all things enjoined in the Bramanes' law; laſtly, not to communicate the myſteries of their laws to any of a different religion. Theſe be the moſt of the principal things obſerved by theſe Bramanes.

Now for the more ſpecial Bramane, by them called the Vertea; he is ſome man of the caſt of the Shudderies, or merchant-men, who for devotion taketh this condition on him: he is one, that for his habit weareth a woollen garment of white, deſcending to the middle of his thigh, leaving the lower parts naked: his head is always uncovered, as a witneſs of his perpetual reverence of God above. They do not ſhave, but pluck off all the hair on their head, ſave ſome ſmall remainder on the crown: the like they do from their chin alſo.

Of this ſort of Bramane there be ſeveral caſts likewiſe; one is called the Soncaes, and theſe go not to church, but perform divine rites at home. Another is of the Tuppaes; theſe go to church to pray. A third, is of the Curthuns, and theſe pray by themſelves, without ſociety. A fourth, called the Onkeleaus, and theſe indure not images. A fifth called the Puſhaleaus, the moſt ſtrict of them all.

Theſe kind of Bramanes have a feſtival called Putcheſon, which is kept once every month, by five days ſolemnization, but betwixt each day of the five they keep a feaſt: this feaſt is kept at the ableſt men's houſes; and commonly at thoſe times a penſion is given, to reſtrain the death of cattle, or other living creatures.

More ſtrict they ſeem to be in many things than the common Bramanes, for the other are not forbidden marriage as theſe are; more abſtinent they are in diet, for out of the former feaſts they eat nothing but what is given them, and reſerve nothing for another meal; more cautious they are for the preſervation of things animate, for they will drink no water but boiled, that ſo the vapour, which they ſuppoſe the life of the water, may go out. They diſperſe their very dung and ordure with a beſom, leſt it ſhould generate worms that be ſubject to deſtruction; and they keep an hoſpital of lame and maimed flying fowl, redeemed by a price, which they ſeek to reſtore: they have all things common, but place no faith in outward waſhings, but rather embrace a careleſs and ſordid naſtineſs. And this is ſufficient to note concerning this kind of Bramane.

CHAP. XI. — *Concerning the ſecond Tribe or Caſt, called the Cutterys; preſenting them in their flouriſhing Eſtate, their declining Eſtate, and their preſent Eſtate.*

THE ſecond caſt or tribe, being the Cutterys, had their denomination from Cuttery, the ſecond ſon of Pourous, who, becauſe domination and rule was committed unto him,

therefore all ſoldiers and kings are ſaid to be of his tribe. That particular of Bremau's book that concerned this caſt or tribe, contained certain precepts of government and police; the knowledge of which being but of common import, I rather chooſe to omit, and proceed to ſhew ſome other things notable concerning this tribe, touching their ſtate or condition. Theſe Cutteries may then be conſidered, either according as they were in their flouriſhing eſtate, or elſe in their declining eſtate, or in their preſent eſtate.

As they were in their flouriſhing eſtate, they were the ancient kings and rulers of India, eſpecially of that part called Guzzarat, and were called by the name of Rajahs, which ſignifieth a king, whereof ſome were of greater dominion than others, according as they were of greater force. Theſe Rajahs had principally four men about them of eminency. The firſt of which were the Bramanes, who by ſoothſaying and augury did ſhew the kings what time was moſt meet to begin their deſigns to proſecute them with ſucceſs. The ſecond was one called the Pardon, which was a man of policy in the carriage of ſtate buſineſs, and diſpatched all matters of judicature, having reference to the King for juſtice. The third was one that was called the Moldar, or the King's chamberlain, who was moſt commonly preſent with the King, as the companion of his converſation. The fourth was the general of the King's armies in the field, called Diſnacke, who was ſent abroad about all expeditions of war. Theſe were the four that had chief eminency about the King. Furthermore, theſe Rajahs are ſaid to have thirty-ſix tribes, as the noble families whence they were deſcended; ſome were of the caſt or tribe of Chaurah; ſome of the Solenkees; ſome of the tribe of Vaggela; ſome of the Dodepuchaes; ſome of the Paramars; that ſo no man of obſcure birth might preſs to dignity, but being deſcended from ſome of the thirty-ſix families: thus the Rajahs lived in their flouriſhing eſtate.

Now touching their declining eſtate: it is recorded in their hiſtory, that one Rannedevill, a virtuous woman, did at her death propheſy the decline of the Banian ſtate, in the time of Raviſaldee, chief Rajah; the beginning of which decline ſhould be in his next ſucceſſor's days; which they ſay accordingly happened, as ſhall appear by the ſtory following:

It is then delivered in their hiſtory, that there was a Rajah called Raviſaldee, who had a ſon called Syderaijſaldee: Raviſaldee ſuffering the common change of mortality, his ſon was careful to expreſs his duty to his deceaſed father, in a coſtly monument, at a place called Sythepolalpore, which being finiſhed with great curioſity of art, and coſt correſpondent to that curioſity, being pleaſed with the work, and deſiring to keep his father's memory and his own laſting by that monument, he conſulted with the Bramanes, to know whether that temple ſhould long abide; or if that pile of goodly workmanſhip ſhould ſuffer ruin, by whom it ſhould be defaced. It was divined to him by one Madewnauger, one famous in the diſcipline of the Bramanes, that one Sultan Alaudin, a Patan, King of Delee, ſhould deface the ſame; as alſo gain ſome great conqueſt in Guzzarat. Syderaijſaldee hopeful to prevent the defacement of this temple, by ſome timely compoſition, diſpeeded his Bramane Madewnauger, and his Pardon to Delee, to enquire out the ſaid Alaudin, and by a ſum of money to procure the peace of his father's bones, and the ſparing of the temple. But coming thither they could find ſo ſuch man of any eminency, but another in the goverment: only by ſtrict inquiſition they met with a wood-gatherer there, who had a ſon ſo called: thither they repair to the amazement of Alaudin's poor parents; they make known the reaſon of their coming, and find the boy adminiſtering food to a young kid in his father's backſide. The Bramane propoſing to him the high fortunes that ſhould betide him in being

being King of Delee, and in the conqueſt of Guzzarat; as alſo the end of their meſſage, that Syderaijſaldee did greet him, and did deſire him, that when thoſe things ſhould happen, and he ſhould invade Guzzarat, that he would forbear to deface the temple and monument of his father, erected at Sythepolalpore; as a motive to which favour Syderaijſaldee did freely preſent him with a ſum of money, which ſum they tendered to Alaudin. Alaudin boldly anſwered, that he was not in appearance capable of any ſuch fortunes, but if the heavens had ſo ſet it down in their great volume, he could not alter it, but muſt lay waſte the temple; and in the majeſty of his nature refuſed the gift and treaſure brought him. His parents, better inſtructed by their own neceſſity what was meet for him to do than his heroic diſpoſition would be taught, importuned him to take the treaſure, urging their own needs, and how convenient a help it might be to raiſe him to theſe fortunes that were to him divined. So apprehending the counſel to be but reaſonable, he took the treaſure, and give an eſcript, or writing, that albeit the heavens had decreed that he ſhould ſcatter ſome ſtones out of that building, yet he would pick them out of the corners thereof in ſuch manner as ſhould fulfil his fortune, and make good his promiſed favour to Syderaijſaldee, in the ſparing of that temple and tomb of his father. By this money of compoſition, Alaudin gathered ſoldiers, and betook himſelf to arms, wherein he proved himſelf ſo reſolute, that he gained great fame, whereunto his divining fortunes became ſuch a ſpur, that he was made King of Delee, and after that made invaſive conqueſts on Guzzarat, fulfilled his promiſe to Syderaijſaldee in treaty, on the fore-mentioned buſineſs. In which conqueſt he overthrew many Rajahs, to the great ruin and decline of the Banian ſtate. But growing weary of this long war, and many Rajahs flying to places inacceſſible, led with a deſire to return to Delee, his native place, he committed the further managing of theſe wars to one Futtercon, that was his cupbearer in this manner: For Alaudin conſidering how great he was grown from nothing, (and that accidentally,) he determined as accidentally to heap this fortune upon another; purpoſing over night with himſelf, that whoever did firſt preſent him the next with any gift, on him to confirm the government of that part of Guzzarat he had conquered. It ſo fell out, that whilſt this ſecret was lodged up in the King's breaſt, that the fore-mentioned Futtercon, the King's wine-keeper, by the riſing ſun tendered a cup of wine to the King's hand, who ſmiled and looked favourably upon him, and in the preſence of his army, confirmed him his ſucceſſor in the government of that he had won, enjoining them alſo to acknowledge him, and to do whatſoever he ſhould command in the further proſecution of that conqueſt. So Suttan Alaudin departed to Delee, and the ſaid Futtercon did further invade Guzzarat, and ſo did the reſt of the Mahometans that ſucceeded him, to the decline of the Banian ſtate and regiment.

Now for their preſent eſtate; ſome of the Rajahs yielded, others flying to retirements impregnable, lay in the maw of the country, and could not be conquered even to this day; but making outroads, prey on the Caffaloes paſſing by the way; and ſometimes come to the ſkirts of their ſtrongeſt and moſt populous towns, having many reſolute ſoldiers to go on in theſe attempts of rapine, called Raſhpoots, which implieth as much as the ſons of Kings; for being of the caſt of the Cutteries, it is like they were nobly deſcended, and ſome of the progeny of thoſe that were overrun in the Guzzarat conqueſt. Of thoſe that live unconquered at this day, ſuch a one is Raiah Surmalgee, living at Raſpeeplaw; Rajah Berumſhaw, at Molere; Rajah Ramnager; Rajah Barmulgee, and the great Rannah, who hath fought many ſet battles with the Mogul's forces. This may be obſervable concerning the caſt of the Cutteries.

CHAP. XII. — *Of the third Tribe or Caſt, called the Shudderies; of the Meaning of the Name Banian; of their Caſts, and the Form of their Contracts in buying and ſelling.*

THE third ſon of Pourous being called Shuddery, and the profeſſion appointed him to follow being merchandize, all ſuch as live in the nature of merchants are compriſed under this name, and belong to this caſt: that which the book delivered to Bremaw contained concerning this tribe, was no other than a ſummary of religious advertiſements, proper to the carriage of this profeſſion, enjoining them to truth in their words and dealings, and to avoid all practices of circumvention in buying and ſelling. What may be further worthy of note concerning this tribe (being thoſe that are moſt properly called Banians) at preſent, is either concerning the name Banian, the number of their caſts, or the form of their contracts of buying and ſelling.

Firſt, under the name of Banians is compriſed either ſuch as are merchants only, or brokers for the merchants; for nothing is bought but by the mediation of theſe, who are called Banians, which importeth as much in the Bramane's language, wherein their law is written, as a people innocent and harmleſs, becauſe they will not endure to ſee a fly or worm, or any thing living injured, and being ſtrucken, bear it patiently without reſiſting again.

Next for the number of their caſts: they are equal to the Bramanes, being the ſelf ſame caſts, chuſing either to be under their diſcipline, that are Viſalnagranaugers, or Vulnagranaugers, from the peculiar inſtruction of which Bramanes they are guided in matters belonging to religious worſhip; for being moſt like unto the Bramanes in their law, they more ſtrictly follow their injunctions than the other tribes.

Laſtly, their form of contract in buying and ſelling is ſomewhat notable, and diſtinct from the cuſtom of other nations; for the broker that beateth the price with him that ſelleth, looſeth his pamerin, that is folded about his waiſt, and ſpreadeth it upon his knee, with hands folded underneath, by their finger ends the price of pounds, ſhillings, or pence is pitched, as the chapman is intended to give; the ſeller in like manner intimateth how much he purpoſeth to have, which ſilent kind of compoſition, they ſay their law enjoineth as the form of their contract.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of the fourth Caſt called the Wyſes; the Meaning of the Name; their Kinds and ſeveral Caſts; Bremaw's Time is expired; he is took up to Heaven; the ſecond Age is concluded by the Deſtruction of Wind and Tempeſt.*

LASTLY, as the fourth ſon of Pourous was called Wyſe, and was the maſter of the mechanics or handicrafts, ſo all manufactory men were to belong to the caſt of the Wyſes. Thoſe directions that were in Bremaw's book for theſe, were in precepts touching their behaviours in their callings.

This name Wyſe implies as much as one that is ſervile or inſtrumentary; for this cauſe, as it may be ſuppoſed, becauſe they are ſervile or helpful to ſuch as need their art; as was Wyſe, and thoſe deſcended from him, who were indued with divers inventions: theſe people are at this preſent moſt ordinarily called by the name of Gentiles.

Which Gentiles are of two ſorts, or kinds: firſt, the purer Gentile, ſuch as liveth obſervant of the diet of the Banians, abſtaining from fleſh and wine, or uſing both very ſeldom: or elſe the Gentile Viſceraun, called the impure or unclean Gentile, which taketh a greater liberty in diet, eating fleſh or fiſh, or things animate; ſuch are the huſbandmen or inferior ſort of people, called the Coulees.

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The purer ſort of Gentile, as they hold greateſt relation in their religious liberty with Cutteries, ſo they agree in the number of their caſts, having ſix-and-thirty, according to the number of the trades or profeſſions practiſed amongſt them. In the particular of their handicrafts this is obſervable, that they make as few inſtruments ſerve for the effectuating of divers works as may be; and whatſoever they do is contrary to the Chriſtian form of working, for the moſt part. Such is the ſubſtance of the third tract of the book delivered to Bremaw, concerning the four tribes or caſts, ſomewhat accommodate to their preſent manners.

This book, compriſing in it the platform of religion and government, thus delivered to Bremaw, was by him communicated to the Bramanes of thoſe times, and by them publiſhed to the people, ſhewing what religion they ſhould obſerve, and how they ſhould live in their ſeveral tribes or caſts. After which, according to the preſcriptions therein, the rulers did keep the people in the order of government; the prieſts or Bramanes did give advice in matters of religion; the merchants did follow traffic and merchandizing; and the handicraftſmen did follow their ſeveral profeſſions, ſerving the need of all men that had uſe of them. All things having a good beginning in this ſecond age, religion was embraced, prayers were made to God, and the three perſons, Bremaw, Vyſtney, and Ruddery; the banks of the river were frequented, and daily waſhings were not neglected.

But after the people were multiplied, the ſucceeding generations were not of the primitive integrity; but the lower the times grew, the worſe they were at the bottom. The Bramanes grew hypocritical and lip-laborious; the Cutteries, or rulers, ſwelled with pride and ambition, cried out for larger territories, meditating unjuſt amplifications of government; the merchants grew full of fraudulency in their dealings; and the handicrafts grew idle and overvaluing their labours.

In this uproar of ungodlineſs, the Lord grew angry and full of indignation, and deſcended on mount Meropurbatee, acquainting Bremaw with the wickedneſs of the world, who deſcended and premoniſhed them of the judgment to come, which awhile huſhed the cry of their wickedneſs; but they fell to their old evils again. Bremaw then interceded for them; but the Almighty would not be pacified, but took Bremaw up into his boſom, the time of his abode on earth being expired, that he might not behold the evils of the time to come.

Then the Lord made known his purpoſe of deſtroying the world to Vyſtney, whoſe nature and office being to preſerve the people, did intercede for them; but the Lord would not be pacified, but gave charge to Ruddery, whoſe office was to bring judgment and deſtruction on ſinners, to cauſe the bowels of the earth to ſend out a wind to ſweep the nations as the duſt from the face of the earth.

So Ruddery enraged the winds in the bowels of the earth, which burſt forth into eruptions, and the great body of the world had her trepidations and waverings; the day ſeemed to change colour with the night, the mountains and hills were hurled from their foundations, and, as ſome report, the river Ganges was carried from her wonted route to run in a new channel; ſo the tempeſt deſtroyed all people, ſaving a few that the Lord permitted Vyſtney to cover with the ſkirt of his preſervation, reſerved to be the propagators of mankind in the third age: and ſo this age concluded.

CHAP. XIV. — *Shewing the Beginning of the third Age; the Reſtoration of the ſame by Ram; new Evils bring a Judgment, concluding the third Age by an Earthquake or Chaſma.*

RUDDERY having reſtrained the winds from their former violence, all now was huſhed; but miſerable and lamentable it was to behold the earth ſo deſolate and void of inhabitants, more miſerable to ſee the carcaſes that were ſcattered on her ſurface, ſome blown from the tops of high mountains, others bruiſed to maſh, all ruined and deſtroyed; ſo that the Almighty repented him of his own work, and Ruddery was ſorry that he ſhould be an inſtrument of ſo great fury and deſtruction.

But becauſe the head of all the former diſorders was from the wickedneſs and ill government of the kings and rulers, therefore the Lord utterly raſed out all of the tribe or caſt of the Cutterys; thoſe that were preſerved from deſtruction by the ſkirt of Vyſtney's preſervation, being ſome few of the other three caſts or tribes.

Now, becauſe theſe four caſts were ſo neceſſary to the world's government, that it could not ſubſiſt without them, though the caſt of the Cutterys periſhed entirely for their wickedneſs; yet that they might be renewed again from a holier beginning, the Lord appointed that from the Bramanes the line of the kings ſhould be renewed. So the chief of the Bramanes that was then preſerved by Vyſtney, was called Ducerat; the next child that was born after this deſtruction, and which was the youngeſt of four, was choſen to propagate the race of their kings and rulers, who being religiouſly educated, might as well favour piety as policy, and with holineſs and prudence govern men in their ſeveral tribes.

So he did many worthy acts, and exceedingly maintained religion, was a patron to the Bramanes and churchmen, and his name was Ram; who became ſo memorable for his worthy deeds, that his name is made honourable in the mention amongſt them, even to this day, that whenſoever they meet and ſalute one another, they cry Ram! Ram! as a word importing the wiſhes of all good.

It is like that after him there ruled many worthy kings; but tract of time rendering every thing worſe at the latter ending than at the beginning, brought forth ſuch as followed the courſe of the ancient wickedneſs, and new ambitions, and new hypocriſies, and new frauds and circumventions, and daily breaches of the law delivered in Bremaw's book began afreſh to make intruſion amongſt them.

So the Almighty was again angry, that after ſo many judgments, the people would not be warned to his fear, therefore by God's appointment, Ruddery cauſed the earth to open and ſwallow them up alive, reſerving only ſome few of the four tribes, as a laſt trial for the new peopling of the world again. And ſuch was the concluſion of the third age of the world.

CHAP. XV. — *The fourth and laſt Age of the World; Viſtney's Rapture to Heaven; the Banian's Opinion touching the final Concluſion of the World, and in what Manner they ſuppoſe it ſhall be.*

AFTER this, the Almighty again commanded, that the world ſhould be peopled by thoſe that were reſerved, among whom there was one Kyſtney, a famous ruler and pious king, of whoſe virtues they have ample record, as being one moſt notable in the laſt age, which they think now by the courſe of time to be devolved upon us; he did wonderfully promote religion, upon which there was a reformed beginning of goodneſs.

By this, Vyſtney's time (as they ſay) being expired, in this place and vale of mortality, the Lord took him up to heaven, there being no further need of his preſervation, for when this age is concluded there ſhall be a final end of all things.

But the Bramanes, though they ſuppoſe time to be running on the fourth age of the world, yet they ſuppoſe this age ſhall be longer than any of the reſt, in the end whereof they ſay Ruddery ſhall be rapt up into heaven. Theſe ages they call by four names: the firſt, Curtain; the ſecond, Duaper; the third, Tetraioo; the fourth, Kolee.

Concerning the manner of this final judgment, they hold it ſhall be more dreadful than any of the reſt, and that it ſhall be by fire; that Ruddery then ſhall ſummon up all the power of deſtruction; that the moon ſhall look red; that the ſun ſhall ſhed his purling light like flaming brimſtone; that the lightning ſhall flaſh with terrors, the ſkies ſhall change into all colours; but eſpecially fiery redneſs ſhall overſpread the face of heaven; that the four elements of which the world at firſt was conſtituted, ſhall be at oppoſition and variance, till by this agony ſhe be turned to her firſt confuſion.

And that the final conſummation of the world ſhall be by fire, they gather hence; of ſuch as was the beginning of the world, of ſuch ſhall be her diſſolution; but the principles of the world's conſtitution, were theſe four, Earth, Air, Water, and Fire; therefore by them ſhall ſhe be deſtroyed, which alſo they gather by the deſtruction of the ſeveral ages: for the people of the firſt age were deſtroyed by water; the people of the ſecond age were deſtroyed by wind, which they account the air; the people of the third age were deſtroyed by earth; and the people of the laſt age ſhall be deſtroyed by fire.

Then (ſay they) ſhall Ruddery carry up the ſouls of all people to heaven with him, to reſt in God's boſom, but the bodies ſhall all periſh. So that they believe not the reſurrection, for they ſay heaven being a place that is pure, they hold it cannot be capable of ſuch groſs ſubſtances.

The Author's Concluſion to the Reader; together with a Cenſure on the material Parts of this Relation.

THUS, worthy reader, thou haſt the ſum of the Banian religion, ſuch as it is; not void of vain ſuperſtitions, and compoſed forgery, as well may be judged by the precedent diſcourſe, wherein, as in all other hereſies, may be gathered how Satan leadeth thoſe that are out of the pale of the church, a round, in the maze of error and gentiliſm. I might leave the particulars to thy cenſure, as well as to thy reading; but ſince I have detected ſuch groſs opinions in this ſect, I cannot let them paſs without a rod truſt at their backs, as a deſerved penance for their crime.

To help thy memory therefore in a ſhort reviſe of their forementioned vanities; What ſeemeth their firſt age to preſent, but a figment of their own deviſing, to confirm them to be the moſt ancient of all people? as if, like the Egyptians, in the ſecond book of Juſtin, they would only boaſt of antiquity; and to lay the firſt ground of religion and government, when the Scythians had better arguments to plead than they. How fabulous and like an old woman's tale ſeems their deviſed medium for the world's propagation, in placing four women at the four winds? And for the ſecond age and the world's reſtoration therein, if by thoſe three perſons, Bremaw, Vyſtney, and Ruddery, they glance on the Trinity, how prodigious have they made that myſtery; making it rather a quaternity, than a trinity? What a monſtrous fancy have they formed and ſhaped for the peopling of that age; and if they aim not at a mark ſo ſublime, what

men

men ſhall deſerve the attributes to them appropriate? Touching their law, the main pillars thereof have been demoliſhed in its confutation: "The kingdom of God conſiſts not in meats and drinks." For other their ceremonies and rites, contained in their ſecond tract of the book, what man of reaſonable underſtanding doth not wonder at their ſuperſtitions, which place their faith in outward waſhings, lotions and ſprinklings? in worſhip of ſun, moon, and other living creatures, in paintings, unctions, and gariſh proceſſions, in offerings under green trees, in cringings, beckings, and bowings to images, and other multifarious ceremonies? All evidences of brains intoxicate with the fumes of error and polytheiſm. As for their four tribes, or caſts, as in all things elſe, how Pythagorically they ſtand upon the number of four? The world was formed of four principles; divided into four points of the compaſs; to endure for four ages; planted by four men, matched by four women; reſtored again by four; and to be demoliſhed by four ſeveral deſtructions; in four ſeveral elements; and, to conclude, like Sadducees, denying the reſurrection, in which conſiſteth the hopes of the bleſſed: of which of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 15. 29. "If in this life only we have hope of Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable."

All theſe declare how they have made their religion a compoſed fiction, rather than any thing real for faith to lean on. Though, then, the novelty of this relation may make it grateful to any, who like an Athenian deſireth to hear ſome ſtrange thing or new, I know not wherein it may be more profitable than to ſettle us in the ſolidneſs of our own faith, which is purged of all ſuch levities; for the vainneſs of error makes truth's greateſt opinion, which duly conſidered may well move us to ſay,

——— Micat inter omnes
Julium Sydus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores.

"That our great light outſhines all theſe, as far
"As ſilver moon outſhines each leſſer ſtar."

THE RELIGION OF THE PERSEES.

THE INTRODUCTION.

HAVING declared the religion, rites, cuſtoms, and ceremonies of a people living in the Eaſt Indies, called the Banians, a ſect not thoroughly publiſhed by any heretofore, whilſt my obſervation was beſtowed on ſuch inquiry, I obſerved in the town of Surrat, the place where I reſided, another ſect called the Perſees; who, becauſe I did diſcern them to differ both from the Moor and Banian in the courſe of their living, and in the form of their religion; as alſo that the ſcripture, Dan. vi. 15. ſpeaketh of the law of the Medes and Perſians that might not alter; finding theſe to be that ſame people that are linked with the Medes, I thought it would not be unworthy of my labour to bring to the eyes of my countrymen this religion alſo, eſpecially ſince I never read of any that had fully publiſhed the ſame, but that it hath remained obſcure and hid from common knowledge. For this cauſe, deſirous to add any thing to the ingenious that the opportunities of my travels might confer upon me, I joined myſelf with one of their churchmen, called the Daroo, and by the interpretation of a Perſee,

whose long employment in the Company's service, had brought him to a mediocrity in the English tongue, and whose familiarity with me, inclined him to further my inquiry: I gained the knowledge of what hereafter I shall deliver, as it was compiled in a book writ in the Persian character, containing their scripture, and in their own language, called their Zundavastaw. But because we should be better informed concerning the people spoken of before we lay down their religion, we will first declare who these Persees are, and then proceed to their worship.

CHAP. I. — *Declaring who these Persees are; their ancient Place of Abode; the Cause of relinquishing their own Country; their Arrival in East India, and their Abode there.*

THESE Persians, or Persees, of whose religion we are now to speak, are a people descended from the ancient Persians in times not long after the flood, who then had their native kings and governors; but war, that causeth an alteration in states and empires, brought upon them a foreign sceptre.

About nine hundred and ninety-six years ago, one Yesdegerd was native king of Persia, who had his residence in the city of Yesd, near unto the old city of Spahaun, which is somewhat remote from the new city known by that name; this city of Yesd was a goodly city in those times, (as those use to be where kings keep their courts,) spacious for circuit, sumptuous in buildings, and populous for inhabitants, where this people lived in flourishing prosperity.

What time the Arabian captains of the sect of Mahomet made invasion into his country, about the nineteenth year of his reign, who having before been newly assaulted by a great multitude of Turks, that came from Turquestan, he was forced to fly to Karason, where he died suddenly, in the twentieth year of his reign; being the five-and-fortieth king that descended from the race of Guiomaras, and the last in whom the ancient Persian monarchy concluded.

The Mahometans, upon the death of Yesdegerd, carried all in conquest before them, and subjected the natives of the country as vassals unto them; and as new lords bring in new laws, they contented not themselves to bring them to their form of government in state subjection, but also in matters of religion, to live according to Mahomet's constitutions, compelling them to be circumcised according to the Mahometan custom, contrary to the form of their own religion and worship.

These Persees, not enduring to live contrary to the prescript of their own law, and less able to reject their yoke, many of them by privy escape, and as close conveyance as they might of their goods and substance, determined on a voyage for the Indies, purposing to prove the mildness of the Banian Rajahs, if there; though they lived in subjection for matter of government, they might obtain liberty of conscience in regard to religion.

So repairing to Jasques, a place in the Persian Gulph, they obtained a fleet of seven juncks, to convey them and theirs, as merchantmen bound for the shores of India, in course of trade and merchandise. It happened that in safety they made to the land of St. John's, on the shores of India, and arrived together, at or near the port of Swaley, the usual receptacle of such ships as arrive there. Treaty was made by some of them with a Rajah living at Nuncery, publishing their aggrievances, and the cause of their coming thither, as also their suit to be admitted as sojourners with them, using their own law and religion, but yielding themselves in subjection to their government; upon payment of homage and tribute, they were admitted to land the passengers contained in five of their juncks.

The

The other two juncks remaining, one of them put into the road of Swaley, and treated with a Rajah that then reſided at Baryaw, near unto Surat, who entertained them on like conditions to the former; but the Rajah of that place having wars with a neighbouring Rajah, who got the conqueſt, the Perſees that reſided with the conquered, were all put to the ſword as adherents to the enemy.

The laſt junck coaſted along the ſhores, and arrived at Cambaya, were they were received upon the pre-mentioned conditions, ſo that howſoever this people have been diſperſed in India ſince their arrival, it hath been from ſome of theſe places. Thus, they lived in India till tract of time wore out the memory of their original, and the records of their religion being periſhed they became ignorant whence they were, being aſſigned to the profeſſion of huſbandry, or the dreſſing of the palmetoes or toddy trees; till being known by the name of Perſees, they were recognized by the remnant of their ſect abiding in Perſia, who acquainted them with the ſtory of their anceſtors, and communicated to them both their law and inſtructions in the worſhip according to which they were to live. And theſe be the Perſees, of whoſe religion we are to treat in the chapters following.

CHAP. II. — *Containing the Opinion of the Perſees touching the Creation of the World, and the Creatures therein; together with a ſhort Mention of the Flood, and the general Diviſion of the following Diſcourſe.*

Now, after the conſideration of theſe Perſees, of whoſe religion we are to ſpeak, we proceed more particularly to the ſubject of this book, which is their worſhip and religion; wherein firſt cometh to be rendered their opinion touching the creation.

Touching this, the Perſees affirm, that before any thing was there was a God, that was the Maker of all things, who, when he did determine to make himſelf known by his works in the creation of the univerſe, and the creatures therein, did divide this great work of the creation into a ſix-fold labour.

Firſt then, they ſay, he made the heavens with their orbs, a place moſt glorious and pleaſant, which he adorned with great lights and leſſer; as the ſun, moon, and ſtars; as alſo he did make the angels, which, according to their ſeveral dignities, he placed in their ſeveral orders one above another, which place he made a habitation of bleſſedneſs, for ſuch as ſhould live holily in this life; and having thus done, that he might teach us to do great deſigns with conſideration and advice, he reſted five days from the works of further creation.

Next, he made hell in the lower parts of the world, from which he baniſhed all light and comfort; that as heaven might be a place of happineſs to thoſe that are good and pleaſe the Almighty, ſo this might be a place of horror and puniſhment to ſuch as offend his majeſty; wherein as in heaven, ſo God had made ſeveral manſions that exceeded each other in dolour, which were proportioned according to the degrees of offenders; about which time Lucifer, the chief of angels, with others of his order, conſpiring againſt God, to gain the ſovereignty and command over all, God threw him from the orb of his happineſs, together with his confederates and accomplices, damned, him to hell, the place that was made for offenders, and turned them from their glorious ſhapes into ſhapes black, ugly, and deformed, till the times of the world ſhould be conſummate, when all offenders in general ſhould receive their ſentence of puniſhment and condemnation. So God having accompliſhed this ſecond labour, deſiſted from the work of the creation five days more.

After

After this, the Almighty began the third labour of the creation, which was to make the earth, which, together with the waters called ſeas, make this lower world like a globe or ball, ſo agreeing together, that the ſea's humidity maketh the earth fruitful, and the earth's ſolidity boundeth the waters in their due confine; which work thus finiſhed, God ſuſpended the work of the creation for five days more, and reſted.

The fourth labour was to make the trees, plants, and herbs, that ſo the earth might bring forth fruits pleaſant to the eye and taſte, and for the comfort of the creatures living in the earth; this alſo done, God reſted, and gave the former reſpite to his labours.

The fifth work was to make creatures fit to abide in the places forementioned, as beaſts of all ſorts, to forage in the green paſture; fowls to cleave the air with their nimble pinions; fiſhes to ſwim in the unknown depths of the watery oceans. The world thus repleniſhed with creatures, God reſumed his wonted reſt and intermiſſion from this labour.

And laſtly, undertook his ſixth labour, which was the forming of man and woman, to whom the reſt of the creatures were made miniſtratory and ſervile, whoſe names their records deliver to be Al Adamah, and Evah, who being the firſt two by whom the multitudes of mankind ſhould be propagated, God, as they affirm, did cauſe Evah to bring forth two twins every day; for a thouſand years together, death did diminiſh none of the numbers of mankind by mortality.

But Lucifer, thus depoſed with the reſt of his orders, grew malignant both to God and man; and as God did good, ſo he laboured to do evil, and to perturb his actions, and tempt men to ſin and wickedneſs, labouring to make man odious to his Maker, as alſo making himſelf an enemy to all goodneſs, which God yet did not fully revenge, as knowing nothing but evil to be in him and his confederates.

But the better to prevent his miſchief, ſet certain ſuperviſors over his creatures, to preſerve them in that ſtate wherein they were at firſt created. Thus, to one Hamull was commited the charge of the heavens; to Acrob the overſight of the angels, that they relapſed not as Lucifer had done; to Joder the overſight of the ſun, moon, and ſtars; to Soreh the care of the earth; to Joſah the command of the waters; Sumbolah had the charge of the beaſts of the field; Daloo of the fiſh of the ſea; Rocan of the trees; Cooz of man and woman; and Sertan and Aſud, to whom God had given ſtrength and power, were made the guardians of Lucifer, and the evil ſpirits, to maſter and conjure them from miſchief to God's creatures, who yet, notwithſtanding the watch of Sertan and Aſud, did much miſchief in the world by ſuggeſtion and temptation to wickedneſs; which made God offended with mankind for their wickedneſs.

The ſins of men growing great, they ſay it appeareth in their record that there came a flood or inundation, which overflowed the earth and the inhabitants thereof; ſome few only God preſerved to propagate the generations of the times following; that ſo there might not be an utter ruin of mankind. Theſe generations were diſperſed to people the earth again, from which all nations have had their deſcent. As, as their hiſtoriographer Mircond reporteth, in times not long diſtant from the flood, theſe Perſees had a race of kings that were their proper governors, continued for above a thouſand years by the ſucceſſion of five-and-forty kings. The firſt whereof was Guiomaras, who, as Mercond reports, was the ſon of Aram, the ſon of Sem, the ſon of Noah, by the Perſees called Adam Aſſeny, that is the ſecond Adam; the laſt, in whom the monarchy of this people concluded (as is before ſhewed), was Yeſdegerd. The abridgment of which chronicle I would have gathered from them, but that I found it

to agree punctually, both in matter and order, with that tranſlation of Mr. Grimſtone's, called Eſtates and Empires, &c. in the chronicle of the Kings of Perſia, to whom I refer thoſe that deſire information therein.

What religion this people had in the reigns of Guiomaras, Syameck, Ouchang, Thamull, Jimſhed, Zoack, Traydhun, and Manoucher, unto Loraſph, which was their fifteenth king, is not the ſcope of this preſent work, though then they had a peculiar kind of worſhip. But the religion that is the ſubject of this book, is a religion that was received in the reign of Guſtaſph, the ſon of Loraſph, their ſixteenth king in ſucceſſion, concerning the worſhip of fire: in the defence of which religion Guſtaſph was ſo zealous, that he made war againſt Ariaſeph, King of Turron, for that he reprehended him in a letter about this worſhip.

Having then limited this book to its proper ſubject, three things in general are to be treated of in this work: firſt, to declare who was their lawgiver, how their law was delivered, and came to be received of Guſtaſph, King of Perſia. Next, to ſhow the ſubſtance of their law. Laſtly, to proceed to other ceremonies obſerved by them, not improper to this preſent tract.

CHAP. III. — *Concerning Zertooſt, the Lawgiver of the Perſees; his Parents; the Omens that did forerun his Nativity; their Interpretation; his Perils in his Birth-place; his Eſcape into Perſia, and the Accidents happening in his Travels thither.*

CONCERNING the lawgiver of this people, it is left recorded in their old writings, that there lived in China two poor people, of honeſt fame and reputation, married together as man and wife; the man was called Eſpintaman, the woman Dodoo; theſe two having long lived in the ſtate of marriage without iſſue, the woman earneſtly prayed that God would give her a ſon; her requeſt was heard, and much time paſſed not ere ſhe conceived and grew pregnant.

About the time of this woman's conception, ſhe ſaw a viſion preſented to her in a dream, that filled her with great fear and terror; for ſhe conceived that the heavens were of a light fire over her head, and that a flaming redneſs had overſpread the firmament, which drove her into a great agony; when on a ſudden there ruſhed into her ſight four griffins, of grim and horrid appearance, who, ſeizing on her body, did from her womb ſeem cruelly to tear out the child ſhe had conceived, to her great fear and deſpair of life; when on a ſudden ſtepped in a man, of perſon goodly, and of warlike aſpect, with a truncheon in his hand, in reſcue of her, who with fury and reſolution vindicated and recovered the child from the griffins, that would have torn it in pieces, and with gentle hand putting the child into the womb of his mother, did by ſovereign art cloſe up the rupture, that was by the griffins torn and dilacerated; whoſe agony thus mitigated by this worthy perſon, the griffins were driven away, the fierineſs of the heavens altered, and Dodoo awaked out of her dream and ſlumber.

But the paſſion ſhe ſuffered in this viſion fixing the forepaſt occurrences more ſtrongly in her mind, ſhe related to her huſband the particulars of her dream, the paſſages of which being ſo remarkable, ſhe conceived it to be an omen either for good or evil, touching the child in her womb; whereof being deſirous to be ſatisfied, ſhe with her huſband repaired to one that was a ſoothſayer, to be informed touching the ſignificance of this viſion. The diviner informed them, that this viſion partly foretold good, partly evil, that ſhould happen to the child that was in her womb; that by the fire which gave light was imported ſome ſtrange revelation that ſhould be ſhewed to the child, even to the enlightening of the whole world, which in that it did ſhine in heaven, the relation ſhould

ſhould be touching ſome heavenly buſineſs; by the griffins, was ſet out enemies that ſhould endanger the life of the mother, but principally endeavour the deſtruction of the child; by the man, was ſignified God above, who ſhould repreſs the might of thoſe enemies, that they ſhould neither effect their cruelties on the mother or child, but alſo thoſe dangers ſhould be driven away, as appeared by the reſtitution of the heavens to their wonted eſtate, and the driving away of the griffins from the woman: with which interpretation Eſpintaman and Dodoo being highly ſatisfied, they returned home, awaiting the hopes that lay folded up in this child.

Time having his accompliſhment, played the midwife and brought forth this child, who was no ſooner brought from the dark womb to open light, but he foretold the joys he was to bring to the world in open laughter; ſo the time coming that he ſhould receive his name, they called him Zertooſt, which importeth as much as a friend to the fire, becauſe the ſoothſayer had prognoſticated ſuch good to him by the fire his mother beheld in the viſion. But theſe notable things concerning this child could not be concealed, but that they were bruited to the ears of the King of China; who, fearing leſt he was born to deprive him of his kingdom, or ſome of his ſucceſſors, did, underhand, ſend the griffins dreamed of, that is, certain conſpirators to betray Zertooſt to deſtruction; who attempting evil againſt him, had their ſinews ſhrunk up, and came to untimely end; ſo that every one was diſcomforted in attempting evil againſt one whom God had ſo miraculouſly preſerved. But about twelve or thirteen years of age, a great ſickneſs took him, which the King hearing of, he wrought ſecretly by a certain obſcure phyſician to adminiſter to him poiſoned phyſic, if by ſuch means he might rid away his life; but Zertooſt, ſenſible of their evil practices towards him, refuſed both the intruding phyſician and his baneful medicines; and, weary of the wickedneſs of the place, ſolicited his parents to fly into Perſia, by which means they ſhould avoid thoſe miſchiefs that the King intended towards them, which would at ſome time or other either bereave them of him, or him of them. They, chary of their hopes in him, hearkened to his advice, and did, by the riſing of the next ſun, betake themſelves to eſcape away. The various accidents that befel them by the way we omit, only it is delivered, that meeting with deep rivers which impeded his paſſage, he congealed them with hard froſts, and ſo paſſed over; and after long travel arrived at the King of Perſia's court, in the reign of Guſtaſph lately mentioned; his parents applying themſelves to ſuch courſes as might beſt procure the ſupplies of living, and Zertooſt wholly dedicating himſelf to the ſervice of God and religious devotions, as to which from his infancy he ſeemed inclined.

CHAP. IV. — *Shewing Zertooſt's Meditation of the World's Wickedneſs; he goeth out to enquire of God ſome Revelation for the World's better Government; he meets an Angel, is carried to Heaven; his Requeſt of the Almighty; his Viſion; he receiveth a Book from the Lord, and returneth back from Heaven again.*

ZERTOOST thus arrived in Perſia, and there making his abode, upon a time went into the fields, and revolving in his mind the world's wickedneſs, how one followed his luſts, another his pride, another his belly and epicuriſm, another his cruelty; that one ſought the depopulation of countries, another the oppreſſion of inferiors, and none obſerved good government, or had a good religion or worſhip amongſt them; he began to examine the cauſes of all this wickedneſs that thus reigned amongſt men below, and found it partly becauſe Lucifer had laboured to corrupt and make nought that which

God had made good; next, becauſe men had received no laws or good inſtitutions, in thoſe parts, to reſtrain them from ſin, but every man lived according to his own deviſe, liberty, and liking, whether it were evil or good.

Hereof Zertooſt more ſeriouſly conſidering, deſired God to give him ſome revelation for the world's better government, and the eſtabliſhment of religion amongſt men; and conceiving the public place where he was not fit for ſuch excellent communications, he went out further till he came to the point of a valley where two mountains joined together, when ſuddenly there deſcended before him, as his face was bent towards the earth, an angel whoſe wings had glorious pinions, and whoſe face gliſtened as the beams of the ſun, ſaying, "Hail, Zertooſt, beloved of God, what is it thou requireſt?" Zertooſt replied, that he deſired to enter into God's preſence to receive ſome divine laws to deliver to the nations, that ſo they might live in a better obſervance of his fear.

So the angel adminiſtering ſomething to him to cleanſe and purify his body, to make it capable of entrance into ſo pure a place, bade him cloſe up his eyes, and he would tranſume and carry him up into that place of glory, where he ſhould come into God's preſence; whither being carried by the angel, he beheld ſuch joys as were too mighty for his feeble ſenſes; ſo that unable to ſuſtain them, he fell into a trance, till God gave him power to endure the height of thoſe pleaſures; and being returned to himſelf, beheld the glory thereof, and heard the Almighty ſpeaking as one encompaſſed with flames of fire, and revealing to him the ſecret works of the creation, in what order he made his creatures; and revealed to him things to come, ſhewing him that he ſhould receive laws for the world's better government, and the eſtabliſhment of religion, with many other things not fit to be uttered, neither by Zertooſt ever publiſhed.

Then Zertooſt, ready and willing to publiſh to all people what might be needful to bring them to God's better worſhip, did deſire of God that he might live ſo long as the world ſhould endure, a publiſher of that religion which the Lord had promiſed to divulge by him, till he ſhould make all nations believe the contents of that book. But the Lord anſwered, that if he ſhould live ever ſo long, Lucifer would do more harm than ever he ſhould do good; but if upon better conſideration he would deſire to live ſo long, his requeſt ſhould be granted.

So the Lord preſented to Zertooſt, in a viſion, the ſtate of all things paſt, preſent and to come, where he ſaw the troubles, ſickneſſes, and afflictions of man, more particularly, the ſtate of the Perſian monarchy, how Ouchang was ſlain by a ſtone; how Thamull died of a peſtilence; how Timſhed was ſlain by one of his own Captains; how men followed divers religions, and moſt their own ways, overlabouring themſelves in the works of vanity. Over and above, God preſented to his eyes the ſeven ages, or times of the Perſian monarchy; the firſt was the golden age, that was in the days of Guiomaras; the ſecond the ſilver age, that was in the days of Fraydhun; the third the brazen age, in the time of Kaykobad; the fourth the tin age, in the time of Loraſp; the fifth the leaden age, in the time of Bahaman; the ſixth the ſteel age, in the days of Darab Segner; the ſeventh the iron age, in the reign of Yesdegerd. So Zertooſt perceiving time to render every thing worſe and worſe, deſired to live no longer than till he ſhould diſcharge the meſſage about which the Lord ſhould ſend him, and that then he might be tranſlated to the ſame place of glory again. So God reduced him to his own proper ſenſe, from which he was raviſhed to godlike ſpeculations.

Being thus, as he was before, of human capacity, after he had remained in heaven many days, the Lord delivered to him the book before mentioned, containing in it the form of good government, and the laws of religion that the Perſians ſhould follow;

conferring likewise on Zertoost the heavenly fire, and other gifts that were never bestowed upon any man before or since. So Zertoost taking the heavenly fire into his right hand, and the book that God gave him in his left, he was delivered to the conduct of the angel that brought him thither, who was called Bahaman Umshauspan, who taking up Zertoost, did cleave the air with his golden wings, till he had surrendered him to the place where he found him, and so left him.

CHAP. V. — *Shewing what happened to Zertoost, after the Angel left him; the Devil meeteth him and revileth him; he cometh to Gustasph's Court; the Joy of his Parents for his Return; the Infamy Gustasph's Churchman seeketh to put upon him; the Miracles whereby Zertoost doth vindicate his Fame; Gustasph's four Demands, and his four Grants.*

ZERTOOST was no sooner left by his heavenly guardian, but, Lucifer, an enemy to all goodness, met him, and called him a seeker after novelties and delusions, and told him, that God did not love him in such a manner as he believed, otherwise he would have kept him in heaven still, and not have sent him away; or else he would have granted him to live to the end of the world, when he desired it; that the book which he had, was stuffed with falsehoods; that he should come to trouble, danger, and shame about the publishing of it; as also that he should be laughed at for his fire, as being a creature of destruction, and a consumer of the works of man, and that there was no need thereof in hot climates; but that if he would depend on him, he could give him a book of better instructions, and present to him objects of better delight; could give him long life and honour, and power to work great miracles; that if he did not believe him, he was a senseless man, and deprived of his wits by his late vision.

But Zertoost, having placed his confidence better, told Lucifer, that, having lost that glory that his eyes beheld, he could not speak well of his Maker, nor be pleased with that great favour God had shewn him; but envying at it, sought not only to disannul his, but every man's happiness; charged Lucifer by the great name of his Creator, that put him into the dark dungeon of hell, under the custody of Sertan and Asud, and by the truth of that book, by which he should in the end of the world be arraigned and condemned, and by that fire in his right hand, by which he should be burned and tortured, to avoid his presence as a black-mouth defamer of God and goodness: at which Lucifer vanished with great horror and fear from him.

Lucifer, thus conjured from Zertoost's presence, he proceeded on his way to the city where Gustasph had his residence, and so to the place where his parents had their abode, who with no small sorrow had bewailed the absence of their son, and with vain inquest had sought him, but could not find him in whom their hopes were reposited; who now, to their strange joy and admiration, told them of his enthusiasms and raptures, wherein he had received that book and heavenly fire, that was so long before prognosticated by his mother's vision, and so truly interpreted by the augur and soothsayer. His parents blessed him, and became instructed in this new religion how to worship, as God had revealed to Zertoost.

These things could not be long hid; for the joys of mothers are not silent, but in every year did Dodoo pour forth her visions in her son's conception, and the soothsayer's interpretation of them; how true the particulars had fallen out; the late raptures her son Zertoost had in heaven; his revelations there, whereof a book written by God's own hand, and the strange fire he brought from thence, were lively evidences. These rumours being strange to all ears, and not testified by hearsay, but confirmed by one

one whoſe eyes had beheld the things averred, got paſſage, and were carried to the ears of Guſtaſph, then King of Perſia, who therefore ſent for Zertooſt, of whom he enquired the further truth of this matter, who affirmed the ſame to be ſuch as it was reported, that God had delivered him a book concerning his worſhip, and other ſecret knowledge inducing the worſhip of fire, whereof he gave ſome touches in particular to the King. The King admiring theſe things, and yet ſo certainly informed in the circumſtances, grew wavering in his former worſhip and religion, and ſomewhat inclined to Zertooſt, ſo that he divers times ſent for him, and had much conference with him.

Guſtaſph's churchman then perceiving his ſovereign to hearken to this new religion, wherein he had no knowledge, and that by degrees he loſt that grace he had wontedly from him, did ſeek to put ſome infamy on Zertooſt, by which the King might become alienated from him and that new-ſprung religion, wherein he had no knowledge, and that by degrees began, as he thought, to ſink too faſt into the breaſt of the King; for this cauſe he ſuborned the porter that kept the door of Zertooſt's houſe, which was a Perſian, to convey under the bed of Zertooſt, the bones of dead men, and the dead carcaſes of dogs, a creature loathſome to the Perſians; of which whilſt Zertooſt was utterly ignorant, the King's churchman put himſelf into the preſence of Guſtaſph, with ſome other of his nobles that did not favour Zertooſt's innovation, ſaying, "Oh, King! what new religion is this to which thou ſtandeſt ſo much inclined? or what is this new and ſtrange lawgiver Zertooſt whom thou ſo favoureſt? who the other day came in a poor manner into this land, as a fugitive from his native country, who, as I hear alſo, was hateful to his prince and the king of his people; that he ſhould find ſuch grace in bringing up a new religion, falſe and fictitious, and not of that authority it is pretended to be, being, as I alſo am informed, a man of unclean and beaſtly living, in whoſe houſe, at this time, and under whoſe bed whereon he hourly lieth, thou ſhalt find the bones of human bodies, the carcaſes and limbs of dead dogs, and filthy carrion, an abomination to the eyes of any clean perſon; continue thou then, Oh, King! in the law of thy fathers, and liſten not to this noveliſt!" This ſpeech being ſeconded with ſome of the great ones, and the act reported being ſo odious and abominable, Guſtaſph commanded Zertooſt's habitation to be ſearched; and it being (as the churchman of Guſtaſph had reported) effected by the wicked conſpiracy of Guſtaſph's churchman and Zertooſt's ſervants, Zertooſt was caſt into priſon, deſpiſed and hated of all people.

It happened in this time of Zertooſt's impriſonment, that Guſtaſph had a horſe which he much prized that fell very ſick, and there was not any found that knew his diſeaſe, or how to cure him: this being told the jailor that had Zertooſt in cuſtody, and the King publiſhing great rewards to him that could reſtore him, Zertooſt came to the knowledge of it; who told the keeper, that if the King pleaſed, he would cure the horſe, or elſe be liable to the King's diſpleaſure. The keeper ſo favoured Zertooſt, that he made known his words to the King; ſo Guſtaſph ſent for Zertooſt, who, according to his promiſe, did reſtore the beaſt; which ſervice was ſo acceptable to Guſtaſph, that he was had into new eſtimation again; and maintaining his innocency touching that ſame plot that was laid upon him, the King gave him liberty and great rewards, and by often conferences became nearly in reſpect with the King, ſo that a way was again afforded to publiſh this religion of Zertooſt's; who working ſtrange miracles among them, gained credence to be a man come from God.

This book of Zertooſt's gaining every day a better opinion, and his great works really demonſtrated ſhewing him to be a man of more divine endowments than was found in ordinary men; upon a time the King ſent for him, and told him, that if he would

grant him four demands which he would propound to him, he would believe his law, and be ever a profeſſor of that religion contained in the book he brought with him. Zertooſt then bade him propoſe his demands, and, if they were ſuch as were reaſonable, they ſhould be granted. The King then propoſed them. The firſt whereof was, that he might aſcend to heaven, and deſcend from thence when he liſt. The ſecond was, that he might know what God would do at preſent, and in time to come. The third was, he might never die. The fourth was, that no inſtrument whatſoever might have the power to wound him or hurt him,

Zertooſt thus replied, that theſe were difficult and high demands; neither did ſo great a power reſt in him as to grant them; neither was it meet that any one man ſhould have them all, for that therein he ſhould rather ſeem to be a God than a man; yet difficult though they were, that the book of laws he had brought might be known to proceed from God, he would procure that theſe requeſts might be granted to ſeveral perſons, but not all to one: So the firſt, which was to aſcend to heaven and deſcend from thence at pleaſure, was obtained for Guſtaſph, who, they ſay, had this power granted him. The ſecond, which was to know what would fall out at preſent or hereafter, was granted to the King's churchman, that ſo he might direct the King in his deſigns, what ſhould be undertaken, what ſhould be left undone. The third, which was to live for ever, was granted to Guſtaſph's eldeſt ſon, called Piſchiton, who yet liveth (as they ſay) if we will believe them, at a place in Perſia called Demawando Cohoo, in a high mountain, with a guard conſiſting of thirty men, to which place all living creatures elſe are forbidden to approach, leſt they ſhould live for ever, as they do that abide there, who never ſuffer mortality. The laſt, which was never to be wounded with inſtrument or weapon, was granted to the youngeſt ſon of Guſtaſph, called Eſpandier, who, they ſay, by Zertooſt's prayers was made invulnerable, that he might put himſelf into the danger of battle, without fear or hazard.

So Guſtaſph and the three other mentioned, proving the power of theſe ſeveral gifts, they all determined to live according to the precepts in Zertooſt's book; wherein that they might be informed, Zertooſt unfolded to them the contents thereof: the matter or ſubject of which book, of what nature it was, ſhall be declared in the chapter following.

CHAP. VI. — *Wherein is ſhewed the main Contents of the Book delivered to Zertooſt, and by him publiſhed to the Perſians, or Perſees.*

HAVING ſhewed who Zertooſt was, that was the lawgiver of theſe Perſees, in what manner, according to their aſſertion, he received the book by ſtrange revelation; with what wonders, as they affirm, he wrought aſſent thereunto, and belief thereon, by Guſtaſph and his nobles; after this it will perhaps be deſired to know, what this book contained, that this ſect deliver to be received after ſo wondrous a manner, which will be the drift of that which followeth.

They affirm then that this book contained in it three ſeveral tracts. The firſt whereof treated of that which we call judicial aſtrology, foretelling the events of things to come by judgment of the ſtars, which by them is called Aſtoodeger.

The ſecond did treat concerning phyſick or the natural knowledge of things, with their cauſes, and the cures of the diſeaſes incident to man.

The third was called Zertooſt, becauſe Zertooſt was the bringer thereof, and this contained their law and matters that concerned religion; which books, according as their matters was divers, ſo they were delivered to men of ſeveral ſtudies and learning.

The

The firſt of theſe books, called Aſtoodeger, which treated of judicial aſtrology, was committed to their Jeſopps, or wiſe men, which are known by the name of Magies.

The ſecond, which treated of phyſic, was given to their phyſicians to inſtruct them in that ſcience.

The third, which contained their law, and matters of religion, called Zertooſt, was delivered to their Daroos or churchmen, that they might know how to worſhip God themſelves, and alſo inſtruct others in the knowledge of the ſame worſhip; of ſuch three tracts did this book or volume conſiſt.

Theſe tracts were likewiſe divided into certain chapters, whereof ſeven were contained in the wiſeman's, or Jeſopp's book, ſeven in the phyſician's book, and ſeven in the Daroos or churchman's book.

But becauſe that which was given to the augur or ſoothſayer, as alſo that which was given to the phyſician, containeth nothing concerning the religion to be declared, the uſes of the former whereof are unlawful, and the knowledge of the latter in theſe experient times, ſeemeth unneceſſary, we make addreſſment to the third tract, called Zertooſt, which layeth down their law or religion, as moſt appurtenant to our preſent drift, in that which followeth.

CHAP. VII. — *Containing the Particulars of the Book of their Law, as they are apportioned; firſt to the Behedin, or Layman; ſecondly, to the Herbood, which is the ordinary Churchman; and laſtly, to the Diſtoore, which is their Archbiſhop.*

THE common diviſion of men being of ſuch as are of the laity, or ſuch as are of the clergy; and thoſe of the clergy being either ſuch as are ordinary, or ſuch as are extraordinary, it pleaſed God, ſay the Perſees, to apportion and divide his law amongſt theſe three ſorts of men.

Firſt, Then, unto the layman, or Behedin, God gave five commandments; who being by ſecular occaſions drawn from the ſervices of religion, had, therefore, a leſs difficult injunction laid upon him.

" *Firſt*, To have ſhame ever with them, as a remedy againſt all ſin; for a man would never oppreſs his inferiors if he had any ſhame; a man would never ſteal if he had any ſhame; a man would never bear falſe witneſs if he had any ſhame; a man would never be overcome with drink if he had any ſhame; but becauſe this is laid aſide, men are ready to commit any of theſe, and, therefore, the Behedin, or layman, muſt think of ſhame.

" *Secondly*, To have fear always preſent with them, and that every time the eye twinkled or cloſed his lids together, they ſhould ſtand in fear at thoſe times of their prayers, leſt they ſhould not go to heaven, the thought of which ſhould make them fear to commit ſin, for that God ſees what manner of ones they are that look up towards him.

" *Thirdly*, That whenſoever they are to do any thing, to think whether the thing be good or bad that they go about, whether commanded or forbidden in the Zindavaſtaw; if prohibited, they muſt not do it; if allowed by the book of religion, they may embrace and proſecute the ſame.

" *Fourthly*, That whoſever of God's creatures they ſhould firſt behold in the morning, it ſhould be a monitor to put them in mind of their thankſgivings to God, that had given ſuch good things for men's uſe and ſervice.

" *Fifthly*, That whenſoever they pray by day they ſhould turn their faces toward the ſun; and whenſoever they prayed by night they ſhould incline towards the moon, for that

that they are the two great lights of heaven, and God's two witneſſes, moſt contrary to Lucifer, who loveth darkneſs more than light."

Theſe be the five precepts enjoined to the layman or Behedin; now follow thoſe that are to be obſerved by the ordinary or common churchman, called their Daroo, or Herbood, who, as his place required a greater holineſs than the layman's, ſo his charge was greater; for not only is he by the book of their law enjoined to keep the Behedin's precepts without violation, but alſo to fulfil theſe eleven precepts more, as particular to himſelf.

" *Firſt*, To know in what manner to pray to God, obſerving the rites preſcribed in the Zundavaſtaw; for God is beſt pleaſed with that form of prayer, that he hath given in his own book.

" The *ſecond*, To keep his eyes from coveting or deſiring any thing that is another's, for God hath given every man what he thinks meet for him; and to deſire that which is another's is not only to diſlike of God's diſpoſure of his own gifts, but to challenge to himſelf that which God hath denied him, and whereof he ſeeth him unworthy.

" The *third*, To have a care ever to ſpeak the truth, for all truth cometh from God, and as it is moſt communicated to men of God, ſo they ſhould moſt ſhew it in their words and actions; but Lucifer is the father of falſehood, and whoſoever uſeth it, it may be a ſign that the evil ſpirit is powerful with ſuch an one; the Herbood, therefore, ſhall ſhew himſelf to be contrary to him by his ſpeaking the truth, for all men muſt give credit to his words.

" The *fourth*, To be known only in his own buſineſs, and not to enquire after the things of the world; it belonging only to him to teach others what God would have them do. Therefore the Behedin or layman ſhall ſee that he want nothing needful, but ſhall afford it him, and he ſhall ſeek nothing ſuperfluous.

" The *fifth*, To learn the Zundavaſtaw by heart, that he may be ready to teach it to the Behedin, or layman, whereſoever he meeteth him; for from him muſt the people fetch their knowledge concerning God.

" The *ſixth*, To keep himſelf pure and undefiled from things polluting, as from the carcaſes of the dead, or touching meats unclean, for God is pure, whoſe ſervant he is, and it is expected he ſhould be ſuch, abhorring the ſight of all things that are foul and loathſome, and ſtopping the paſſages of his breath, leſt their corrupted air ſhould enter into him to defile him.

" The *ſeventh*, To forgive all injuries, ſhewing himſelf the pattern of meekneſs, that he may be thought one that cometh from God; for we offend God every day, yet he giveth us things that are good, when we deſerve that he ſhould recompenſe evil for evil.

" The *eighth*, To teach the common people to pray, according to the directions in the book of their law; to go and pray with them for any good they deſire to obtain; and when they come to the place of worſhipping, to join in common prayer together.

" The *ninth*, To give licence for marriage, and to join the man and woman together; and that no parents match their children without the conſent and approbation of the Herbood.

" The *tenth*, To ſpend the greateſt part of their time in the temple, that he may be ready for all that come to him; for to that God hath appointed him, and to that he muſt bind himſelf.

" The *eleventh* and laſt injunction is, upon pain of damnation, To believe no other law than that which was brought by Zertooſt; to add nothing to it, to take nothing

form it, for therefore was it ſo miraculouſly delivered, and ſuch gifts given to Zertooſt, that it might be believed to come from God."

Theſe are the precepts that are to be obſerved by the Herbood, or ordinary churchman, contained in the book of their law. Now their Diſtoorée, or high prieſt, whereof they have never but one, to which all the Herboods pay their obſervance, as he is above the reſt in dignity, ſo he is enjoined to be above the reſt in ſanctity; his injunctions, therefore, are tranſcending; for not only is he bound by their Zundavaſtaw, or book of religion, to obſerve all that is commanded the Behedin, or layman, in his five precepts, and all that is commanded the Herbood in his eleven precepts, but alſo to fulfil thirteen precepts more as peculiar to himſelf.

"The *firſt* is, That he muſt never touch any of a ſtrange caſt or ſect, of what religion ſoever, nor any layman of his own religion, but he muſt waſh himſelf, becauſe God hath made him eſpecially holy to himſelf, for which cauſe he muſt not approach to God in prayer with the touch of others uncleanneſs.

"The *ſecond* is, That he muſt do every thing that belongeth to himſelf with his own hand, both to witneſs his better humility, as alſo the better to preſerve his purity; namely, to ſet the herbs in his own garden, to ſow the grain of his own field, to dreſs the meat that he eateth, unleſs he have his wife to adminiſter to him in that, which is not ever uſual.

"The *third* is, That he take the tythe or tenth of all things from the Behedin, as the Lord's dues, and employ it to ſuch uſes as he thinketh meet, ſince the Lord hath made him as his almoner and diſpenſer of charity.

"The *fourth* is, That as he muſt uſe no pomp or ſuperfluity; ſo of that great revenue which cometh yearly to him, he muſt leave nothing overplus at the year's end, that muſt not be beſtowed in good uſes, either in charitable contributions to the poor; or in building of the temples of God.

"The *fifth*, That his houſe be near adjoining to the church, where he muſt keep and make his abiding, continuing in prayer and abſtinence, not oſtentating himſelf to public view, but living recluſe and retired from the world, as a man wholly dedicate to God.

"The *ſixth*, That he muſt bind himſelf to greater purity than others, both in his frequent waſhings and alſo in his diet, in feeding on meats accounted more pure by the law, as alſo that he live ſequeſtered from his wife in time of her pollutions.

"The *ſeventh* is, That whereas the Herbood is enjoined only to be known in the law or book called Zertooſt, that the Diſtoree be acquainted with all the learning contained in the Zundavaſtaw, both in that part which treated of judicial aſtrology, committed to the Jeſopp, or wiſe man, as alſo in that which concerneth the phyſician, and moſt eſpecially in the book of the law; for it is expected that he ſhould inform all men, and none ſhould be found like him therein, before he be admitted to be high prieſt.

"The *eighth*, That he muſt never eat or drink exceſſively, for theſe are enemies to the high ſpeculations required in a high prieſt.

"The *ninth*, That he ſtand in fear of nobody but God, nor fear any thing but ſin; for he is ſo to truſt in God, that he muſt not fear what Lucifer can do unto him.

"The *tenth*, That God hath given him power over all men in matters of the ſoul, that therefore when any man ſinneth he may tell him of it, be he ever ſo great, and every man is to obey him, as one that ſpeaketh not in his own cauſe but God's.

"The *eleventh*, That according to the wiſdom that God hath given him, he be able to diſcern in what manner God cometh to reveal himſelf; in what manner Lucifer; and how to decide between falſehood and truth.

"The

" The *twelfth*, That when God manifeſteth himſelf to him in viſion of the night, and ſheweth him in what manner he made his works in the creation; he ſhould not reveal God's ſecrets, but keeping them to himſelf ſhould admire his power, for God doth not publiſh himſelf to any as he doth to his Diſtoree, or high prieſt.

" The *thirteenth*, That he keep an ever living fire, that never may go out, which being kindled by that fire which Zertooſt brought from heaven, may endure for all ages, till fire ſhall come to deſtroy all the world, and that he ſay his prayers over it, according as it is enordered by the book of the law."

This is a ſummary of thoſe precepts contained in the book of their law, that Zertooſt by them is affirmed to bring from heaven, and that religion which Guſtaſph with his followers embraced, perſuaded by the forementioned miracles by Zertooſt wrought amongſt them.

CHAP. VIII. — *Declaring other Ceremonies amongſt theſe Perſees, in their Feaſts and Faſts; in their idolatrous Worſhip of Fire, Baptiſms, Marriages, and Burials.*

THE third particular concluding this tract, conſiſteth in the diſplay of certain rites and ceremonies obſerved by this ſect, differencing them from others in the contents above mentioned; the particulars follow in their order.

Firſt, then, Touching their liberty in meats and drinks, and their cuſtoms obſerved in their feaſts and faſts. Their law alloweth them great liberty in meats and drinks; but becauſe they will not give offence to the Banians, amongſt whom they live, nor diſpleaſe the Moors, under whoſe government they are; they eſpecially abſtain from eating of kine and hog's fleſh, meats prohibited by the laws of the two former. It is obſervable alſo amongſt them, that they eat alone, as a means for greater purity and cleanneſs; for they ſuppoſe they participate of another's uncleanneſs by eating with him: they likewiſe drink every one in ſeveral cups, proper and peculiar to their own uſes, for the ſame cauſe; and if any chance to drink in another man's cup, they waſh it three times, and abſtain from the uſe thereof for a certain ſeaſon after.

Secondly, For their feſtivals enjoined by their laws, they obſerve ſix in the year; and theſe feaſts are celebrated for five days together, each of them according to the ſix works of the creation. The firſt is called Meduſerum, which is upon the fifteenth of their month called Fere, which is our February, for joy that the Lord made the heavens to be a place of glory, to entertain ſuch as fear him. The ſecond is called Petuſahan, which is upon their month Sheruar, our April the ſix and twentieth: for that the Lord had made hell to be a place for the devil and his angels. That feaſt, therefore, is a memorial to put them in mind that they take heed of that evil that may bring them thither. The third is Yatrum, celebrated upon the ſix-and-twentieth of their month Mahar, which is our May, in memory that the Lord made the earth and ſeas, to bring forth creatures for the uſe of man. The fourth is Medearum, kept upon the ſixteenth of their month Deh, which is our Auguſt, in memory that God made the plants and trees, by whoſe fruits man is ſuſtained and nouriſhed. The fifth is Homeſpetamadum, upon the month Spindamud, which is our October, beginning on the thirtieth day, in remembrance that God made the beaſts, fiſh, and fowl, creatures ordained for the ſuſtenance of man. The ſixth is called Meduſan, falling on the eleventh of their month Ardebeſt, which is December, for joy that then the Lord made man and woman, from whence all mankind had their original.

In the third place, touching their faſts. After every one of their feaſts they obſerve a five days abſtinence, eating but one meal a day, in memory that the Lord after every

one of theſe labours, reſted five days, and whenſoever they eat of any fowl or fleſh, they carry ſome part of it to the eggaree, or temple, as an offering to appeaſe God, that for the ſuſtenance of man they are forced to take away the life of his creatures: and theſe are the rites moſt notable touching their meats and drinks.

Now, in the ſecond place, for their worſhip of fire, becauſe this is an idolatry moſt notably diſtinguiſhing their worſhip from the worſhip of other ſects: Firſt, for the ground of this their worſhip of fire, it is fetched from the lawgiver Zertooſt, who, as they affirm, being rapt up to heaven, had fire delivered unto him from God, and brought it thence, together with the book of their law, as the worſhip by them to be embraced, and by their law enjoined. Moreover, they affirm that Zertooſt, being in the fore-mentioned rapture in the place of glory, did not ſee God, but heard him ſpeaking to him out of the fire; and when the fire was delivered, received it as the virtue of God, and his firſt-born of exeellence; and for theſe cauſes to be worſhipped and reverenced.

Next, for the nature or quality of this fire. The firſt fire thus worſhipped and idolized was that Zertooſt brought from heaven with him, which was a living fire, that nothing could extinguiſh; but whether this has certainly been preſerved in the ſucceſſion of time, to be communicated to all, is unknown; upon defect hereof they are licenſed to compoſe a fire of divers mixtures, to be kept living from time to time, to which they are to perform their enjoined worſhip. Such is that which is idolized in India, where this ſect remaineth, in a place called Nuncery, that hath not been extinguiſhed for the ſpace of two hundred years, as they affirm. Firſt, then, this fire conſiſteth of that fire that is made by the ſparks flying from the flint, by the ſmiting of a ſteel. Secondly, of that fire that is made by the rubbing of two pieces of wood together, a cuſtom much uſed amongſt the heathens of ruder manners, by which they kindle their fires in all places where they need. Thirdly, of ſuch fire as is occaſioned by lightning falling on ſome tree or thing accendible. Fourthly, of ſuch fire as is called wild-fire, which flying from place to place, and lighting on matter combuſtible, conſumeth it. Fifthly, of artificial fire made by coals or wood moſt ordinary in uſe. Sixthly, of the fire wherewith the Banians uſe to burn the bodies of their dead. Seventhly, of the fire that is made by burning-glaſſes, and the beams of the ſun: of all theſe ingredients they compoſe their idolatrous fire, which they call their Antiſbeheraun, or religius fire. Laſtly, for their ceremony or rite beſtowed about this fire ſo variouſly compoſed, and by their Diſtoree, or high prieſt, ſo tended, that it may not extinguiſh: whenſoever the Perſees aſſemble themſelves together to this worſhip, the Doſtiree, or, in his abſence, the Herbood, together with the aſſembly, encompaſs the fire about, and ſtanding eleven or twelve feet diſtant therefrom, (for they hold it ſo holy that they fear to approach too near,) the Diſtoree or Herbood uttereth this ſpeech: "That foraſmuch as fire was delivered to Zertooſt, their lawgiver, from God Almighty, who pronounced it to be his virtue and his excellency, and that there was a law delivered for the worſhip of this fire, confirmed by ſo many miracles, that therefore they ſhould hold it holy, reverence and worſhip it as a part of God, who is of the ſame ſubſtance; and that they ſhould love all things that reſemble it, or were like unto it, as the ſun and moon which proceeded from it, and are God's two witneſſes againſt them, if they ſhould neglect that religion and worſhip ſo enjoined: as alſo to pray to God that he would forgive them, if, in the ordinary uſes of this element, ſo ſerviceable to man's need, they ſhould either ſpill water, which might in ſome manner quench it, or ſpit in it unawares, or put ſuch fuel to it to keep it burning as was impure and unworthy of that holineſs that was in that

element, or whatſoever abuſes elſe they ſhould do, as they uſed it in the neceſſary ſervices of their life." And this is the ſum of their worſhip touching the fire.

In the third place, for their baptiſm or naming of children, when they enter them into the church, this is their form; as ſoon as ever the child is born, the Daroo, or churchman, is ſent for to the party's houſe, who, obſerving the punctual time of his birth, calculateth his nativity; after that, conſidering about the name of the child, at laſt the parents and friends approving the ſame name that the churchman giveth, the mother in the preſence of them all giveth the name to the child, there being no ceremony but the naming of the infant as then uſed. After this the kindred of the child, together with the infant, accompany the churchman to the eggaree or temple, where he taketh fair water, and putting in into the bark or rind of a tree called holme, which groweth at Yeſd in Perſia, and is admired in this one particular, as they affirm, for that the ſun of heaven giveth it no ſhadow: he then poureth the water into the infant, uttering this prayer, "That God would cleanſe it from the uncleanneſs of his father, and the menſtruous pollutions of his mother;" which done he departeth. About the ſeventh year of the child's age, when the ſame is more capable of his entrance into their church, he is led thither by his parents, to have a further confirmation, where he is taught by the churchman to ſay ſome prayers, and to be inſtructed in religion: wherein when he is prompt, he uttereth his prayers over the fire, having a cloth faſtened about his head, and over his mouth and noſtrils, according to their general cuſtom in that worſhip, leſt their breath iſſuing out of their ſinful bodies, ſhould taint that holy fire. Then after prayers be concluded, the Daroo giveth him water to drink, and a pomegranate leaf to chew in his mouth, to cleanſe him from inward uncleanneſs; ſo waſhing his body in a tank with clean water, and putting on him a linen caſſock, which he weareth next his ſkin, called ſhuddero, which deſcendeth to his waiſt, as alſo a girdle of camels hair called cuſhee, which he ever weareth about him, and is woven like incle by the preacher's own hand, he uttereth theſe prayers over him, "That God would make him a true follower of the religion of the Perſees all the days of his life, of which thoſe garments are the badge or ſign; that he might never believe in any law but that which was brought by Zertooſt; that he might continue a worſhipper of their fire; that he might eat of no man's meat; nor drink of any man's cup, but in all things might obſerve the rites and cuſtoms of the Perſees. All which tranſacted, he is held a confirmed Perſee, and one of their own ſect.

Fourthly, touching their marriages, and the rites in them obſerved. They have a five-fold kind of marriage diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral names. The firſt they call Shauſan, which is the marriage of a man's ſon and a man's daughter together in the time of their youth, where the parents agree without the knowledge of the children; to this they attribute much, and ſuppoſe them to go to heaven that are married in this ſtate. The ſecond is called Chockerſoro, when the party once widowed, is married again. The third, Codeſherahaſan, when a woman enquireth out a huſband for herſelf, according to her own free choice. The fourth, Eckſan, when a young man or maid dying before they be married; then they have a cuſtom to procure ſome man's ſon or daughter to be matched to the party deceaſed, attributing the ſtate of marriage to be a means to bring people to happineſs eternal in another world. Thoſe that commonly uſe this, are the richer ſort, who by a price hire the parties to ſuch a contract with a ſum of money. The fifth is called Ceterſon; when the father having no ſon, a daughter of his own having ſons, he adopteth ſome of them to be his, and marrieth them as if they were his own children; for they account that man unhappy that hath not a male or female, a ſon or a daughter to join in the ſtate of marriage.

Now for the rite or ceremony obſerved in their marriages; it is this: the parties being agreed and met together for the purpoſe of contracting, about the time of midnight the parties to be married are ſet upon a bed together (for they are not married in their churches:) oppoſite to the parties to be married, ſtand two churchmen, the one in the behalf of the man, the other in behalf of the woman, with the kindred of each by the Herbood or churchman to either deputed; holding rice in their hands, an emblem of that fruitfulneſs they wiſh to them in their generations. Then the churchman that ſtandeth in the man's behalf, moveth the queſtion to the woman, laying his forefinger on her forehead, ſaying, "Will you have this man to be your wedded huſband?" who giving conſent, the churchman deputed in the woman's behalf, laying his forefinger on the man's forehead, moveth a like queſtion, of which receiving anſwer, they join their hands together: the man making a promiſe to her, that he will give her ſo many dinaes of gold, which is a piece worth thirty ſhillings, to bind her to him, implying by that promiſe to maintain her with all things neceſſary; the woman again promiſeth that all ſhe hath is his: ſo the Herboods or churchmen ſcattering the rice upon them, pray God to make them fruitful and ſend them many ſons and daughters, that may multiply as the ſeed in the ears of harveſt; that they may live in unity of mind, and many years together in the ſtate of wedlock. Thus, the ceremony being done, the woman's parents give the dowry, for the men give none, and the marriage feaſt is celebrated for eight days after; when ſuch time is expired, they are all diſmiſſed. And this is all that may be obſervable about their marriages or matrimonial ceremony.

In the laſt place, for the burial of their dead, two things are notable: firſt, the place of their burial; ſecondly, the ceremony uſed therein, differing them from others. Firſt, for the place of their burial, they have two places or tombs built of a round form, a pretty height from the ground, ſufficiently capacious and large; within they are paved with ſtone, in a ſhelving manner; in the midſt of them a hollow pit, to receive the bones conſumed and waſted; about by the walls are the ſhrouded and ſheeted carcaſes laid, both of men and women, expoſed to the open air. Theſe two tombs are ſomewhat diſtant one from the other, the one is for all thoſe that are of commendable life and converſation, but the other is for ſuch as are notorious for ſome vice, and of public defame in the world for ſome evil, by which they are branded. Touching the ceremony obſerved in the burials of their dead, whenſoever any of them are ſick unto death, the Herbood or churchman is ſent for, who prayeth in the ear of the ſick man in this manner, "O Lord, thou haſt commanded that we ſhould not offend; this man hath offended: that we ſhould do good; this man hath done evil: that we ſhould worſhip thee; this man hath neglected: Lord forgive him all his offences, all his evils, all his neglects." When he is dead the churchman cometh not near him by ten feet, but appointeth who ſhall be the naceſſelars or bearers: they then carry him on an iron bier, for the law forbiddeth that the body of the dead ſhould touch wood, becauſe it is a fuel to the fire they account moſt holy: and thoſe that accompany the dead are interdicted all ſpeech, becauſe the grave or place of the dead is a place of reſt and ſilence. Being come to the place of burial, the Naceſſelars or bearers lay the body in, and the churchman ſtanding remote from the place, uttereth the words of burial in this manner: "This, our brother, whilſt he lived conſiſted of the four elements; now he is dead, let each take his own; earth to earth, air to air, water to water, and fire to fire." This done, they pray to Sertan and Aſud, to whom was given the charge over Lucifer and the evil ſpirits, that they would keep the devils from their deceaſed brother, when he ſhould repair to their holy fire, to purge himſelf: for they ſuppoſe

the ſoul to be vagrant on earth for three days after his deceaſe, in which time Lucifer moleſteth it: for ſecurity from which moleſtation it flieth to their holy fire, ſeeking preſervation there: which time concluded, it receiveth juſtice or reward, hell or heaven Upon this opinion, they all (as their buſineſs will permit) aſſemble themſelves for three days together, and offer up their prayers at morning, noon and evening, that God would be pleaſed to be merciful to the ſoul departed, and remit the ſins that the party committed in his lifetime. After the three days are expired, and that they think the definitive ſentence is paſt, what ſhall become of him, they on the fourth day make a feſtival and conclude their mourning.

The Author's Concluſion to the Reader.

SUCH in ſum (worthy reader,) is the religion which this ſect of the Perſees profeſs: I leave it to the cenſure of them that read, what to think of it. This is the curioſity of ſuperſtition to bring in innovations into religious worſhip, rather making devices of their own brain, that they may be ſingular, than following the example of the beſt in a ſolid profeſſion. What ſeem theſe Perſees to be like in their religious fire, but thoſe ſame gnats that, admiring the flame of fire, ſurround it ſo long till they prove *ingenioſi in ſuam ruinam*, "ingenious in their own deſtruction?" And if the Papiſts would hence gather ground for purgatory, and prayers for the dead, and many other ſuperſtitions by them uſed, to be found in theſe two ſects, we can allow them, without any ſhame to our profeſſion, to gather the weeds of ſuperſtition out of the gardens of the Gentile idolaters. But the Catholic Chriſtian, indeed, will make theſe errors as a ſea-mark to keep his faith from ſhipwreck. To ſuch I commend this tranſmarine collection, to beget in good Chriſtians the greater deteſtation of theſe hereſies, and the more abundant thankſgiving for our calling, according to the advice of the apoſtle, Epheſ. iv. 17. "This I ſay, and teſtify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their mind, having their underſtandings darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, becauſe of the blindneſs of their hearts:" but rather that we may pray, that God would eſtabliſh us in his truth; his word is that truth.

A JOURNEY FROM MADRAS

THROUGH

THE COUNTRIES OF MYSORE, CANARA, AND MALABAR.

*By FRANCIS BUCHANAN, M.D.**

CHAPTER I. — *From Madras to Conjeveram, Arcot, Vellore, Paligonda, Satgudam, Pedda Naikena Durga, Vencataghery, Baydamungulum, Waluru, Catcolli, Tayculum, Bangalore, and Seringapatam.*

MY inquiries could not commence, with proper effect, till after my arrival at Seringapatam, nor until I had there procured ſufficient authority from the Raja's Dewan; I truſt, however, that my obſervations on the appearance of the country, as I paſſed along, will not be conſidered as entirely uſeleſs.

In the afternoon of the 23d April 1800, I ſet out from Madras, in the very hot dry weather, which uſually prevails at this ſeaſon. After leaving the plain occupied by the houſes of Europeans, I entered a country then ſcorched up by a powerful ſun, yet containing little waſte land; for the ſoil, being fine, produces a very good crop of rice, provided, in the wet ſeaſon, the uſual quantity of rain falls. In ſome places, the induſtry of the natives cauſes a verdure that is highly refreſhing, by watering a few fields, that are near tanks, or reſervoirs of water. Theſe fields are now covered with rice, approaching to maturity; and in the rainy ſeaſon they will yield another crop. The appearance of the country, however, at this time of the year, is dreary. It is almoſt as level as Bengal: and in general forms a naked, brown, duſty plain, with few villages, or any thing to relieve the eye, except a ridge of abrupt detached hills toward the ſouth. The roads are good; and many of the huts being built of mud, and neatly covered with tiles, have a better appearance than thoſe in Bengal: but the roofs of ſuch as are thatched look ragged; as the thatch is not compoſed of ſmooth ſtraw, but of Palmira leaves, which never can be put on with neatneſs.

Near the road, charitable perſons have built many reſting-places for porters, who here carry all their burdens on the head. Theſe reſting-places conſiſt of a wall about four feet high, on which the porters can depoſit their burdens, and from which, after having reſted themſelves, they can again, without aſſiſtance, take up their loads. The inns, or choultries, which are common on the road, evince an attention to travellers not to be found in Bengal. At theſe places, the pooreſt, without expence, have ſhelter from the inclemencies of the weather; and the richer traveller, can purchaſe both for himſelf and for his cattle, at least the neceſſaries of life.

* London 1807, 3 vols. 4to The long agricultural and commercial details are omitted.

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This part of the country, although at present naked, seems capable of raising trees and hedges; and shows evident appearances of its being in a state of improvement, there being in view many new plantations, especially of fruit-trees, and coco-nut palms.

Leaving on the right the road to Poonamalee, I went to Condaturu, near which the country assumes a very different and a very pleasing aspect. Numerous small canals, from the Saymbrumbacum tank, convey a constant supply of water to most of the neighbouring fields, and fertilize them without the trouble of machinery. They consequently yield every year two crops of rice. The one at present on the ground will be reaped in June, and has a very promising appearance.

Instead of preventing the crops from being cut down, till the rent is paid, as is usual in Bengal, the custom here is, to collect the grain in stacks, or heaps, after it has been thrashed out on the field. In order to guard against embezzlement, several pieces of clay, stamped with a seal, are then put on the surface of the heap; and, to prevent injury from the weather, it is thatched. The grain continues in these heaps, till the cultivator is able to satisfy the renter, either by advancing money, or by dividing the produce. In every village a particular officer, called Talliari, keeps watch at night, and is answerable for all that may be stolen.

The cattle in the neighbourhood of Madras are of the species which is common to the Decan; but much smaller than those which are brought from the northern parts of that country. They seem, however, to be larger than the cattle produced in the southern parts of Bengal. They are mostly light-brown, or white, and, notwithstanding the apparent want of pasture, are in better condition than the labouring cattle of Bengal, owing, probably, to the superior care that is taken of the rice straw by the inhabitants of Madras. Milch cows are fed entirely on grass; grain, or pulse, is rarely given to such cattle as are not employed in hard labour.

Near Madras, buffaloes are in general use, and are often yoked in the same cart with bullocks, although the paces of the two animals are very different. The buffaloes here are much smaller than in Bengal.

24th April.—I set out early, and soon arrived at Saymbrumbacum tank, which is of great extent. It has not been formed by digging, like those in Bengal; but by shutting up, with an artifical bank, an opening between two natural ridges of ground. The sheet of water is said to be seven or eight miles in length, and three in width; and in the dry season is let out in small streams, as wanted for cultivation. In the rainy season it receives a supply of water from the river Chir-nadi, and from several small streams that are collected by a canal. As at times the water overflows, and would break down the bank by falling over it, and sapping its foundations, the natives in different places construct what they call codies, or sluceis of stone. These are twenty or thirty feet wide, and are lower by some feet than the other parts of the bank. On the surface, they are strongly fortified by large stones placed in a sloping direction; so that the water rushes over without undermining the bank, and is conveyed away from the fields by a canal. This is a matter of the utmost importance; for there are instances where, the banks of these large tanks having given way, whole villages have been destroyed by the torrent. In order, however, that when there is plenty of rain, the tank may be completely filled, a row of stone pillars is placed on the top of the sluice; and, on the water rising to a level with their base, a temporary wall is formed of mud, sticks, and straw, placed between the pillars, so as to confine the water till it rises as high as the top of the bank. People watch this night

night and day, in order to break down the temporary bank, ſhould any additional rain endanger the whole. The water is let out, to ſupply the fields, by a ſluice lined with cut ſtone, or bricks, and placed under the bank, on a level with the country. The inner end of this ſluice is covered by a flat ſtone, in which is cut a circular opening, that can be ſhut or opened by a plug fixed to a bamboo, and ſecured in its place by two pillars of ſtone, which riſe above the level of the water. The proper name for a tank of this kind, in the Tamul language, is Eray. Saymbrumbacum tank is ſaid to be ſufficient to ſupply with the water lands of thirty-two villages (ſhould the rains fail) for eighteen months. In theſe villages, it is ſaid, there are five thouſand perſons employed in agriculture. In a country liable to famine from want of rain, a reſervior, ſuch as this, is of ineſtimable value.

The late collector, Mr. Place, although he augmented the revenue conſiderably, by the repairs made on this tank during his adminiſtration, gave great ſatisfaction to the inhabitants. Another of Mr. Place's meaſures ſeems to have been very well judged. He cauſed each village to be ſurrounded by a hedge of bamboos, with two ſmall towers at each gate. By this meaſure, in caſe of any invaſion, ſmall parties of plundering cavalry may be kept off, and a great quantity of that moſt valuable plant, the bamboo will in time be raiſed. At preſent it is brought from the neighbourhood of Tripetty, and ſells three-fold dearer than at Calcutta: for from ten to ſixteen Bamboos coſt here a pagoda, or 7s. 4¼d.

The remaining part of my journey to Sri Permaturu tank was along the high grounds that bound it, and the Saymbrumbacum reſervoir on the ſouth. The land is no where ſo ſteep as to prevent the uſe of the plough; but in moſt places the ſoil is very indifferent. The rocks, or large detached maſſes of granite, project in many fields; and almoſt every where the country is overrun with low prickly buſhes, ſuch as the *Rhamnus circumſciſſus* of Linnæus, *Rhamnus ſcendens* of Roxburgh, *Paulinia Aſiatica*, and *Monetia Barlerioides*. Except in a few fields, which in the rainy ſeaſon are ſown with ragy (*Cynoſurus corocanus*), and other dry grains, there is here no cultivation; and I am aſſured by the natives, that in moſt places the crop would not be worth the ſeed. It appears too dry for any uſeful purpoſe, except giving a ſcanty paſture. Perhaps ſome foreſt trees might be planted on it with advantage, ſuch as the Gurgions of Bengal, and the *Lagerſtromia reginæ*. The Palmira. thrives on it without trouble; but the produce is ſo cheap and abundant, from thoſe which ſpring forth almoſt ſpontaneouſly, that, I am aſſured, the planting them on a large ſcale would not be profitable. The wild date (*Elate ſylveſtris*) is in a ſimilar predicament.

The tári, or fermented juice, and the jagory, or inſpiſſated juice of the Palmira tree (*Boraſſus flabelliformis*), are in this country more eſteemed than thoſe of the wild date, which is contrary to the opinion of the Bengaleſe. The people of the Carnatic alledge, that the produce of the latter is very heating. They pretend to be very moderate in the uſe of the tári, but conſume much of the jagory. It ſells in the country for 30 vees, a pagoda, or about 9s. 5d. a hundred-weight. Could it be converted into either a palatable ſpirituous liquor, or ſugar, the barren plains of the Carnatic might rendered productive. The former appears not to be improbable, and ſeems to be an object worth trying. If it ſhould anſwer, the whole of the grain diſtilled in Europe might be ſaved for food.

A native of Bengal, who accompanies me as a painter, is delighted with the plenty of milk and dhui in this part of the country. The dhui, or ſour curds, is made of buffalo's milk; and is much ſuperior, he ſays, to that of Calcutta, and conſiderably cheaper.

cheaper. On account of the comparatively high value of provisions, he has hitherto been rather depressed in spirits.

Throughout the Carnatic the ass is a very common animal. The breed is as small as in Bengal; but there is a singular variety among them in their colour; some are of the usual ash colour, whilst others are almost black, in which case the cross on their shoulders disappears. Milk-white asses are also to be found, but they are rare. These are not varieties as to species; for black individuals have sometimes ash-coloured colts, and, on the contrary, black colts are sometimes produced by ash-coloured dams. They are kept by five classes of people, who are all of low cast, for the higher ranks disdain the use of an animal so impure. The ass is kept, 1st. by washermen, called Venar; 2d, by a people called Caravar, that carry salt from the sea-coast to the interior parts of the country; 3d, by tinkers, called Cunnar, who go up and down selling brass utensils; 4th, by people called Vaylacarar, who sell the glass rings worn on the wrists by the women of this country; lastly, by a wretched kind of people called Chensu Carir.

I have as yet obtained but an imperfect account of this tribe. They are said to have neither house nor cultivation; but catch birds and game, part of which they sell for rice. One common article of their food is the white ant, or termes. They travel about from place to place, conveying their baggage and children on asses. Every man has also a cow, instructed like a stalking horse, by means of which he approaches his game, and shoots it with arrows.

The Chensu Carir, who preserve their native manners, and never come among the villages, are said to speak an unintelligible jargon, and have no clothing but the leaves of trees. Those, who occasionally wander about in the cultivated country, understand many Telinga words, and wear a small slip of cloth to cover their nakedness.

April 25th. — Early in the morning I went from Sri Permaturu to an inn, or choultry, erected by Vira Permal Pillay, who was Dubash to Sir Charles Oakley. The country is high and barren, like that eastward of Sri Permaturu, but it has more Palmira trees, and in the neighbourhood of several tanks have been planted tamarind, Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), Banyan (*Ficus indica*), and mast trees (*Uvaria altissima*), all of which thrive well, if they are watered for two or three years after being planted. The only trees that grow spontaneously are the *Melia Azadirachta*, and the *Robinia* mitis; the last of which flourishes both on the arid hills of the Carnatic, and on the muddy banks of the Ganges. Very little of this soil, at the usual rent, will repay the expence of cultivation; and in the present state of population it perhaps would not be proper to let it low, as by that means useful labourers might be taken away from more valuable lands. The same reason prevents the fields near the inn from being cultivated. They are level, but too poor to produce rice. The inhabitants would willingly bring them into cultivation for dry grains, were they allowed the two first years free of rent: but then part of the rice fields must remain uncultivated.

The inn, choultry, or chaturam, or Vira Permal Pillay consists of two square courts enclosed by low buildings, which are covered with a tiled roof, and divided into small apartments for the accommodation of travellers. The buildings on the outside are surrounded, by a colonnade, and are constructed of well-cut, whitish granite, brought from the distance of twenty miles. Although said to have cost 15,000 pagodas, or 5515l. 8s. 1d. they are very mean structures.

April 26th. — In the morning I went from Vira Permal's choultry, to the greater Conjeveram, called by the natives, Kunji. The country is in general level, but the

ſoil is wretched. It conſiſts chiefly of a coarſe ſand, ſeemingly deriving its origin from decompoſed granite, and at this ſeaſon of the year is almoſt deſtitute of vegetable covering; nor is it, perhaps, capable of being ever converted to uſe. Some ſpots poſſeſs a tolerable ſoil, and in theſe have been formed rice fields, that in the rainy ſeaſon produce a crop, but at preſent they look quite deſert. Near Conjeveram, many of the fields, receiving a ſupply of water from a large reſervoir on the north ſide of the town, were covered with a thriving crop of rice, which diſplayed a verdure highly refreſhing to the eye.

In one of the moſt deſert places of the country, a very fine tank has been dug by a Dewan of the late Mahomed Aly. It is ſquare, and lined all round with ſtones of cut granite, which deſcend to the bottom in ſteps. The water is ſaid to be very deep. At two of the ſides of this tank are choultries, built alſo of cut granite. Each conſiſts of a room divided by two rows of pillars, that ſupport a flat roof conſiſting of long ſtones. This apartment, which is ſhut up on three ſides by a wall, and entirely open in front, is ſurrounded by a colonnade, or veranda, which in front is double. The pillars are very rude and inelegant, but are covered with figures, in baſſo relievo, of the Hindu deities, of fiſhes, and of ſerpents.

It muſt be obſerved, that there are two diſtinct kinds of buildings confounded by Europeans under the common name, choultry.

The firſt is called by the natives chaturam, and built for the accommodation of travellers. Theſe, like that of Vira Permal Pillay, have in general pent roofs, and commonly are built in form of a ſquare encloſing a court in the centre.

The other kind, like thoſe here, are properly built for the reception of images, when theſe are carried in proceſſion; although, when not occupied by the idols, travellers of all deſcriptions may take up their quarters in them. Theſe have flat roofs, and conſiſt of one apartment only, and by the natives are called mandapam.

The inhabitants here diſtinguiſh alſo two kinds of tanks.

The firſt is the eray, which is formed by throwing a mound, or bank, acroſs a valley, or hollow ground; ſo that the rain water collects in the upper part of the valley, and is let out on the lower part by ſluices, for the purpoſes of cultivation.

The other kind of tank is the culam, which is formed by digging out the earth; and is deſtined for ſupplying the inhabitants with water for domeſtic purpoſes. In this country the culams are very frequently lined on all the four ſides with cut ſtone, and are the moſt elegant works of the natives. By making tanks and choultries, the wealthy Hindus endeavour to procure a laſting good name; and they certainly deſerve it, as the ſums they expend in this way are very conſiderable, and the utility of the works is very great.

In paſſing through the Company's Jaghire, I have found very little inclination among the natives to oblige a European traveller. It appears to me, that their condition is better than that of the people in Bengal; but this is entirely contrary to the opinion of my painter. He has, no doubt, better opportunities than I can have of knowing the truth, the houſes of the natives in both countries being inacceſſible to a European. I ſuſpect, however, that he is not exempt from prejudice in favour of his native land.

The town of Conjeveram is of conſiderable ſize, and very regularly built; but it appears to be by no means populous, as many of the lots for building are unoccupied, and none of the houſes are more than one ſtory high. The ſtreets are tolerably wide and clean, and croſs one another at right angles. On each ſide is a row of cocoa-

nut-trees, encloſed by a ſmall mud-wall, painted vertically with red and white ſtripes.

The houſes have mud-walls, and are roofed with tiles. Each is built in the form of a ſquare, with a ſmall court in the centre. They certainly appear to be much more comfortable than the houſes in the country towns in Bengal. Moſt of them are inhabited by the Bráhmans belonging to two large temples, that are dedicated to Iſwara, and to his wife Cámachuma. Of theſe Bráhmans there are one hundred families; a hundred dancing girls are kept for the honour of the deities, and the amuſement of their votaries; and any familiarity between theſe girls and an infidel would occaſion ſcandal. About three miles off, at the leſſer Conjeveram, is another grand temple, dedicated to Viſhnu, who has here a mandapam, for his reception at the two viſits which he makes in a year to Iſwara. Siva returns the viſit once a year only. At theſe viſits the worſhippers of the two gods, who are of different ſects, are very apt to fall into diſputes, occaſioning abuſive language, and followed by violence; ſo that the collectors have ſometimes been obliged to have recourſe to the fear of the bayonet, to prevent the controverſy from producing bad effects.

I have no occaſion to deſcribe the covils, or pagodas, that having already been done with ſufficient accuracy. I ſhall only remark, that they are great ſtone buildings, very clumſily executed both in their joinings, and carvings, and totally devoid of elegance or grandeur, although they are wonderfully crowded with what are meant as ornaments. The rat'hs, tær, or chariots, on which the images of the gods are carried in proceſſion, are much ſuperior to thoſe I have ſeen in Bengal. There are here three tær, one for Iſwara, a ſecond for his wife, and a third for his ſon Ganéſra. In Bengal, the images of Viſhnu only, and of this family, are conveyed in rat'hs; Mahádéva, or Iſwara, is never carried in proceſſion.

At Cunji there is a ſmall moſque of very neat workmanſhip. The Hindoos ſay, that it was originally a covil, or pagoda; but if it has been ſuch, great alterations have been made on it for the better.

The diviſions of the Bráhmans here, are different from thoſe found in Bengal.

The moſt numerous claſs here, and which comprehends about one half of all the Bráhmans in the Lower Carnatic, is called the Smartal ſect, and its members are followers of Sankara Achárya. They are commonly ſaid to be the ſect of Siva; but they conſider Brahmá, Viſhnu, and Iſwara, to be the ſame god, aſſuming different perſons, as the creator, preſerver, and deſtroyer of the univerſe. They conſider their ſouls as being portions of the divinity, and do not believe in tranſmigration as a puniſhment for ſin. They are readily diſtinguiſhed by three horizontal ſtripes on the forehead, made with the aſhes of cow-dung.

The next moſt numerous ſect of the Bráhmans here, are the followers of Ráma Anuja Achárya, who form about three-tenths of the whole. They are called Sri Vaiſhnavum and A'ayngar, and may readily be known by three vertical marks on the forehead, connected by a common line above the noſe, and formed of a white clay. They abhor Iſwara, calling him the chief of the Rákſhaſa, or devils, and worſhip only Viſhnu, and the gods of his family. They form two ſects; the Wadagalay, who believe in tranſmigration, and the Tangalay, who do not.

The Madual form the remaining two-tenths of the Bráhmans. Theſe uſe the vertical marks on the forehead, which are appropriate to the followers of Viſhnu; but they worſhip Siva alſo; they believe in the generation of the gods in a literal ſenſe, thinking Viſhnu to be the father of Brahmá, and Brahmá to be the father of Siva.

All these sects admit the authority of the same Puráns; but each sect explains some obscure passages so as to confirm its own doctrines.

Each sect of Bráhmans has here a number of followers, in proportion nearly to its own comparative strength. This, I am told, is not the case in Bengal, where the sect of Iswara or Mahadáva prevails among the Bráhmans, while that of Vishnu is the most common among the vulgar.

27th April. — In the morning I went to Oular Sát-ghadam, which is a choultry, or inn, with hardly any houses in its neighbourhood; but it is remarkable for having formerly had seven hill-forts in its vicinity; and from this circumstance it derives its appellation, Sát-ghadam. In the Decany dialect of the Mussulman language, Ghadam signifies a fortress situated on a hill, while Kilah is applied to one built on a plain. In the Sanscrit language, Patanam or Patana is analogous with Kilah, and Durga or Durgam, is analogous with Ghadam. In the Tamul language a fort of either kind is called Cotay.

Besides the chaturam and mandapam, there is another kind of building, which by Europeans is called choultry; in the Tamul language it is called tany pundal, or water shed. These are small buildings, where weary travellers may enjoy a temporary repose in the shade, and obtain a draught of water or milk. In some of the inns or chaturams, provisions are sold; in others, they are distributed gratis, at least to Bráhmans or other religious mendicants, as is the case in the choubaries of Bengal.

When a man erects a building of any of these kinds, the natives add its name to his, as a title of honour; thus any person speaking of Vira Permal, would call him Vira Permal Chaturam. Others derive a similar title from having dug a culam, or constructed an eray.

28th April. — In the morning I made a long journey to Arcot. From Oulur to Kávary-pák, the barren ridge on which the road leads is very narrow; and the country, being abundantly supplied with water from the Kávary-pák tank, has a fertile delightful appearance: and with its distant hills, verdant fields, and running streams, would afford a most beautiful prospect, were it somewhat better wooded. The great eray, or tank, is about eight miles long and three broad, and fertilizes a considerable extent of country. I never viewed a public work with more satisfaction, a work that supplies a great body of people with every comfort which their moral situation will permit them to enjoy. Kávary-pák is a large but dirty village, with a stone mosque in its centre. The fort by which it was protected, is also built of stone, but is now ruinous.

After passing Kávary-pák, I found the barren ridge more extensive, reaching almost from the Palar to the northern hills, and in most places consisting of immense beds of granite, or of that rock decomposed into harsh coarse sand. The whole country is almost destitute of verdure, but a little withered grass affords sustenance to a few wretched sheep. Other parts have somewhat of a better soil, and in the rainy season may produce some of the dry grains; several reservoirs have been formed in the waste, the water of which produces crops in a few narrow strips of land chiefly near the river. The bed of the river Palar at Arcot, where we crossed it, is above half a mile wide, but at present is quite a dry loose sand, except in two narrow channels, containing a stream not sufficient to turn a mill.

Arcot, or Arrucate, is the nominal capital of the Carnatic páyin ghát, (Carnatic below the passes) as the Mussulmans and English call the dominions of the Nabob. He maintains a garrison of his own troops in the fort, which is pretty large, but not

in good repair. The muſic of his nabut, or ſtate band, is much ſuperior to any thing I have ever heard among the natives, and is not much harſher than our clarionet. His brother-in-law, who manages this part of the country, reſides near the fort, in a good houſe belonging to the Nabob.

The town ſurrounds the glacis on all ſides, and is extenſive. The houſes are as good as in the towns of the Jaghire, the inhabitants ſpeak the Decany dialect of the Muſſulman language, which we call Moors or Hinduſtany. They took advantage of us as ſtrangers, and for every ſupply we procured, demanded three times the uſual price. At this place coarſe cotton cloth is made. It ſeems to be cheaper than in the Jaghire, but dearer than in Bengal.

From Madras to Kávary pák, the road is tolerably good. From Kávary pák to Arcot, a wheel carriage could not eaſily paſs. Many of the rich natives travel in bullock coaches like thoſe in Calcutta, called chaycra. Near Arcot, I met the Muſſulman women riding on bullocks, and entirely wrapt up in white veils, ſo as to conceal both features and ſhape.

The heat on the glacis of the fort, where I encamped, was intenſe. The hills in this vicinity are the moſt barren I have ever ſeen, thoſe even of St. Jago in the Cape de Verd iſlands not excepted. They appear to be compoſed of the ſame granite that abounds in the elevated barren grounds, on which the road from Madras is conducted. They ſeem to be undergoing a rapid decay, and will probably continue to do ſo, till they are reduced to nearly a level with the circumjacent plain, when the decompoſed parts, no longer rolling off, will cover them with a bed of ſand, and prevent them from farther decay, as is now the caſe in the waſte lands already mentioned. In many parts of the vallies, formed by theſe hills, is found chunam, or lime-ſtone nodules, which in Bengal is called congcar.

29th April. — The country between Arcot and the weſtern hills contains ſome good ground, ſome that ſerves for gardens, and dry grains, and ſome that is barren, conſiſting of granite covered with beds of ſand.

The road leading to Vellore is conducted along the foot of the hills, which bound the Palar valley on the ſouth, and is formed on the rocky baſis of theſe hills, and on the ſand and fragments that have fallen from them. A greater verdure, however, prevails here, than any I have ſeen in the Carnatic, owing probably to a ſubterraneous ſupply of water; for on the whole way there is not a ſpring viſible. This ground at the foot of the hills is in ſome places paſture, and in others is overgrown with trees and buſhes, eſpecially with the wild date, or elate ſylveſtris, which thrives very well, but here is conſidered as uſeleſs. There are alſo many Palmira trees, from which tári is extracted. The lower part of the valley, near the river, is very good land, and looks well, the greater part of it being verdant with the ſecond crop of rice. The houſes and villages by the way are very miſerable.

30th April. — I remained at Vellore in order to give my people reſt. The preſent fort is large and beautiful; and having been choſen for the reſidence of the family of the late Sultan of Myſore, is ſtrongly garriſoned by Engliſh forces. The town, which belongs to the Nabob, is pretty large, and well built after the Hindu faſhion. Above it are three ſmall forts, which occupy the ſummits of a hill that overlooks the town, but one of them only has a ſupply of water. The fortifications are ſaid to have been erected by the Canareſe monarchs.

The greater part of the Bráhmans in the lower Carnatic follow ſecular profeſſions. They almoſt entirely fill the different offices in the collection of the revenue, and adminiſtration of juſtice; and they are excluſively employed as hircaras, that is, guides

guides or meſſengers, and as the keepers of inns or choultries. Much of the land is rented by them; but, like the Jews, they ſeldom put their hand to actual labour, and on no account will they hold the plough. Their farms they chiefly cultivate by ſlaves of the inferior caſts, called Súdra, and Panchum Bundum.

The Panchum Bundum are by far the moſt hardy and laborious people of the country, but the greater part of them are ſlaves. So ſenſible of their value was Hyder, that in his incurſions it was theſe chiefly whom he endeavoured to carry away. He ſettled them in many diſtricts as farmers, and would not ſuffer them to be called by their proper name, which is conſidered opprobrious; but ordered, that they ſhould be called cultivators. The Panchum Bundum conſiſt of four tribes; the Parriar, the Baluan, the Schecliar, and the Toti. The Shecliars dreſs hides; and from among the Toti is choſen a particular claſs of village officers.

There are a few muſſulman farmers, who poſſeſs ſlaves; but the moſt numerous claſs is compoſed of the different tribes of the Súdra caſt. Some of theſe poſſeſs ſlaves, but many of them cultivate their farms with their own hands.

In this Carnatic payin ghát, or Carnatic below the mountains, there are no fairs like the hauts of Bengal; but the ſhop-keepers purchaſe the articles in demand from the farmers and manufacturers, and retail them daily in the bazars or towns. Milk and its preparations are commonly ſold by women, who ſit by the road ſide.

1ſt May.—I went from Vellore to Paligonda. The valley is in general very fine, much of it having water for two crops of rice; ſome part, however, is covered with rocks of granite. The villages are very poor; and the two towns, Verimchepurum, and Paligonda, are full of ruins; at each of them is a conſiderable temple; that of Paligonda is within the remains of a fort. The name of the place is derived from a Tamul word, which ſignifies ſleeping. It ariſes from the image in the temple, which repreſents Ranganáth, one of the forms of Viſhnu, in a ſleeping poſture.

A proceſſion, that took place to-day at Paligonda, gave me an opportunity of learning, that only the three pure caſts of Bráhmans, Vaiſhyrs, and Súdra, are allowed to attend on ſuch occaſions. The fourth pure caſt (the ſecond in rank,) the Kſhatriyas, are conſidered by all the Bráhmans here, as having been for many centuries quite extinct. The Parriar, and other impure tribes, compoſing what are here called the Panchum Bundum, would be beaten, were they to attempt joining in a proceſſion of any of the gods of the Bráhmans, or entering any of their temples. The Bráhmans, indeed, deſpiſe thoſe poor people ſo much, that they will give them on religious advice, nor perform for them any religious ceremony; and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, will not even receive money from them as charity. The Parriars have among themſelves a kind of prieſts, named Velluan, who poſſeſs books in the Tamul language. They have alſo ſmall temples, in which the only image is ſaid to repreſent the head of the mother of Paraſu Ráma Avatár. This, according to the legend, was taken up by the Parriars, when it had been cut off by her ſon.

I have already mentioned the three grand ſects prevailing among the Bráhmans of this country, and which are ſaid to prevail alſo over all the five nations of Bráhmans, called collectively Panſh Dravada, who occupy the ſouthern parts of India. There are, however, many other diviſions among theſe Bráhmans, ariſing from their various occupations.

The proper duty of a Bráhman is meditation on things divine, and the proper manner of his procuring a ſubſiſtence is by begging (Bhikſhà.) This mode of living is conſidered as very agreeable to the gods; and all induſtry is deemed derogatory to the rank of a man, and more eſpecially to that of a Bráhman. The lower claſſes of ſociety,

ſociety, however, in this degenerate age, not being ſufficiently charitable, nor quite ſo willing to part with their money, as the noble caſt of Bráhmans could wiſh, many of that ſacred order have been obliged to betake themſelves to what they conſider as unworthy employments, ſuch as being governors and judges of cities, collectors of revenue, and accomptants; nay ſome even condeſcend to cultivate the earth by means of ſlaves. Hence ariſes the diſtinction of Bráhmans into Vaidika and Lókika, or Lovadica; the former of whom follow the proper duties of the caſt, while the Lókika debaſe themſelves by dedicating their labours to worldly affairs. The diverſity of employment, however, does not create an abſolute diſtinction of caſt; the daughter of a Vaidika Bráhman may marry a Lókika, and the ſon of a Lókika may betake himſelf to the occupations of a Vaidika Bráhman; but inſtances of either circumſtance are not common. It is, however, not ſo unuſual for a poor Vaidika, to be tempted to give his daughter to a wealthy Lókika Bráhman; as for the ſon of a Lókika Bráhman to acquire the character of a pure Vaidika. He is always conſidered as a new man; and ſeveral generations, devoted to ſtudy and mortification, would be required to waſh away the ſtain of ignoble birth, before the merits or learning of a Lókika family could enable them to procure a comfortable ſubſiſtence by charity.

The Bráhmans are conſidered as the prieſts of the Hindus; yet there are none, even of the loweſt among the Lókika, who would intermarry with the families of the Bráhmans that officiate in the temples of Viſhnu and Siva: and in this country no Bráhman officiates in any of the temples of the inferior gods, whoſe altars are ſtained with blood.

The higheſt among the Bráhmans are certain Vaidika, who by more than uſual mortification attain a large proportion of divine favour. They cut off their hair; dreſs in a yellow or red cloth; eat but once a day; abſtain entirely from women; and, relinquiſhing all the domeſtic enjoyments of ſociety, live in pagodas, or matams, that is to ſay convents, where they dedicate their time entirely to devotion, and the inſtruction of thoſe who are leſs pious, and who follow them as diſciples. A Bráhman of this kind is called a Sannyáſi, and muſt be a man of learning, that is to ſay, muſt be able to read Sanſcrit, and be acquainted with the dogmas of his particular ſect. The number of Bráhman Sannyáſis is very ſmall, and is chiefly confined to thoſe who are Gurus, Swamalus, or biſhops of the different ſects, and who, in every thing relating to religion and caſt, have a juriſdiction over all their inferiors. They alſo perform certain ceremonies, ſuch as Upadéſa, and Chicranticum, which may be conſidered as analogous to the confirmation granted by our prelates. They are ſupported entirely by the contributions of their diſciples; but theſe are ſo burthenſome, that a Guru ſeldom continues long in one place; for the contributions even of Madras are not equal to ſupply the wants of a Swamalu for more than one or two months. A hundred pagodas a day, 36l. 15s. 5d. is as little, as can be decently offered to ſuch a perſonage. The Raja of Tanjore is ſaid to give his Guru 250 pagodas a day, (91l. 18s. 6½d.), when that perſonage honours him with a viſit. The Gurus travel in great ſtate, with elephants, horſes, palankeens, and an immenſe train of diſciples, the leaſt of whom conſiders himſelf as highly elevated above mankind by his ſanctity. They generally travel at night, in order to avoid their Muſſulman or European conquerors, who would not ſhow them that veneration, or rather adoration, to which they conſider themſelves entitled; and they have therefore been ſeldom ſeen by travellers. On the approach of a Guru to any place, every inhabitant of pure birth muſt go to meet him; the lower claſſes are not admitted to his preſence. The Guru, on being conducted to the principal temple, beſtows Upadéſa, or Chicranticum, on ſuch

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as have not received theſe ceremonies, and diſtributes holy water. He then inquires into matters of contention, or tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt; and having ſettled, or puniſhed theſe, hears his diſciples and other learned men diſpute on theological ſubjects. This is the grand field for acquiring reputation among the Bráhmans. Theſe diſputations are ſaid to be very ſimilar to thoſe which were common among the doctors of the Romiſh church ſeven or eight hundred years ago; and in fact a ſtrong reſemblance will be found between the preſent ſtate of Hindu knowledge, and that which then prevailed in Europe.

The contributions for the ſupport of the Guru are made chiefly by the rich Bráhmans, eſpecially by the Lókika. Small donations offered by a Súdra would be rejected with ſcorn, as being proper only for the Bráhman who performs ceremonies for him; but ſhould a Sudra offer a thouſand or two thouſand pagodas it would be received. As the Guru is ſuppoſed to be entirely weaned from the pleaſures of the world, the whole of theſe contributions ought to be expended in charity, that is to ſay, in the ſupport of buildings and men dedicated to the honour or ſervice of the gods.

At Paligonda, the river Palar is conſiderably diminiſhed in ſize, from what it is at Arcot; but at this ſeaſon its channel is occupied entirely by dry ſand. The people, however, procure water from it, by digging canals in the ſand ſix or ſeven feet deep. Theſe canals tranſverſe the channel diagonally, and collect a gentle ſtream of pure water about a foot deep, and ſix feet wide; this by other canals is conveyed through the country to water the fields, and renders the valley of Vellore one of the fineſt tracts in the Carnatic.

2d May.—In the morning I went fifteen miles to Sátghadam. I firſt croſſed the Palar, and proceeded up its northern bank till I came to the Camundala. Following the courſe of this river, I came to Gurietum, a pretty large town, about five miles N. N. W. from Paligonda. Part of it is on either ſide of the river, and that on the eaſtern ſide is guarded by a mud fort. Soon after, I turned towards the left from the Camundala, and entered a narrow valley leading weſt. So far was a fine valley, like that near Vellore, and well watered by canals, cut from the Palar and Camundala. This laſt river has water in many parts of its channel; but at this ſeaſon, it does not afford in any place a quantity ſufficient to form a ſtream on the ſurface. The narrow valley, by which I proceed, is watered in its lower part by a reſervoir. The head of the valley riſes conſiderably, and conſiſts chiefly of dry fields; towards the upper end ſome is barren land full of granite. The hills approaching here, a ſtone wall, with a gateway, marks the boundary of Sátghadam. On the north this gate is commanded by a naked rocky hill, irregularly fortified by various walls and caſtles, after the country faſhion. Theſe are called Sátghadam, the Decany pronunciation of Sátghur, or the ſeven caſtles. The Malabar, or Tamul name of the place is Elamulla Durgam. The village under the hill, or the petta, is ſurrounded by a wall, and is pretty conſiderable in point of ſpace, but it is ruinous. The diſtrict belonging to it is extenſive and fertile. It is ſurrounded on all ſides by granite rocks; and in the rainy ſeaſon, the water of three torrents falls from it into the Palar near Amboor. The principal cultivation in it, however, is that of dry grains, with ſome fruit gardens, for which it is celebrated.

The Nabob has here an extenſive garden, which he lets to ſome Armenians at Madras. The fruit, eſpecially the oranges, are reckoned the beſt in the Carnatic, and the choiceſt are ſent to the Nabob, and to other perſons of diſtinction. This garden is a large piece of ground, thickly planted with a variety of fruit trees; and to the roots

roots of each water is convey by ſeparate canals : but the whole is kept in a very ſlovenly condition. More extenſive gardens might be formed here, but the expence of watering them would be conſiderable.

Since leaving Madras, I have found the weather very hot and dry. The thermometer at noon in my tents, which are well conſtructed for keeping out the heat, has been from 95° to 98°. In a houſe it would probably have been two or three degrees lower. The wind has generally been ſtrong ; but so arid, and hot, as not to mitigate the effects of the ſun, or cool the burning atmoſphere.

I am gravely informed by my interpreter, a Bráhman, that he has relations, who live by performing a variety of wonderful feats. Among others, they can make a Mango ſtone, in the courſe of four hours, ſhoot out a ſmall tree a foot high. He maintains, that this is not a deception, but a real art, the manner of doing which is as follows : Take of the kernels of a ſhrub which is a ſpecies of Vantanea, a convenient quantity, and grind them between two ſtones for ſeven days and ſeven nights, without ceaſing. Then place a ſword upright, with its point in a cup. Rub the pulp of the kernel on the blade of the ſword, expoſed to the ſun, and an oil will run down into the cup. Put the oil in a bottle to be preſerved for uſe. In order to perform the experiment, take a ripe Mango ſtone, rub it over with the oil, and place it in a pot of earth properly watered. The young ſhoot will be immediately formed ; but dies ſoon, that is, whenever it has exhauſted the nouriſhment contained in the kernel. I have ſeen the experiment performed at Calcutta ; and know that it is a mere deception.

3d May.—I went to Naiekan Eray, by the Pedda Naikana Durga Paſs. After croſſing the firſt hill by a very bad road, I deſcended into a narrow valley, running north and ſouth, and containing two channels, in one of which was a ſmall quantity of clear running water. Theſe two currents uniting, and having joined the ſtreams from Satghadam fall into the Palar near Amboor. In this valley was encamped an officer, with many pioneers, employed in making a road up the Ghats, from Amboor to Pedda Naikana Durga. The new road is very well formed ; but for about half a mile is exceedingly ſteep, ſo as to render a noble work of comparatively little value. The mountains of the Ghats have not quite ſo barren an aſpect as thoſe to the eaſt ; and contain many trees, ſome of which are fit for timber.

Specimens of the following were brought to me, as being the moſt uſeful trees on the Ghats of this place. The names are Telinga.

1. Nara Vaypa, deſcribed by Dr. Roxburgh as a ſpecies of Copaifera. A black, hard timber, taking a good poliſh.

2. Yegu, which in my manuſcripts I call Pterocarpus ? Vaynga.—Gives ſmall planks for doors, &c.

3. Naro, Premna tomentoſa Willd. — Uſed for beams and poſts in the huts of the natives.

4. Neruddy. — Serves for both planks and beams.

5. Muddi. — The wheels of the immenſe chariots of the gods are made from this tree.

6. Topiſſi, Ulmus integrifolia, *Roxb.* — Serves for door-frames, and ſimilar uſes.

7. Tayca, Tectona Robuſta.—In this neighbourhood about a hundred full grown trees might be procured.

8. Chigry, a Mimoſa, which I call Tuggula.—Said to be a black, heavy, ſtrong timber.

9. Tella Maliki, which I call Bilitalium Farinoſum. — A white wood uſed for poſts in huts.

10. Wudaga.

10. Wudaga. — Uſed by Tippoo for ſtocking firelocks.

11. Palawaraynu, Nerium tinctorium, *Roxb. MSS.* — The timber is ſawed into planks; and ploughs, and other implements of agriculture, are made of it. The natives are acquainted with the proceſs for extracting indigo from its leaves.

12. Devadarum, Erythroxylon Siderovyloides, *L. M.* — A sweet-ſcented black wood, uſed by the poor inſtead of ſandal wood.

13. Bilu, Sweitenia Chloroxylon, *Rox.*—The timber is reckoned of little value by the natives, although it is ſaid to be our ſatin wood.

14. Raynou, Rhamnus xyloprus Koen. — A ſtronger timber uſed for poſts and beams.

15. Aree Bauhinia. — A ſtrong black timber.

16. Pedualinge. — A black wood.

17. Mimoſa Lebec, *L. M.* — A white heavy timber.

18. Tanaca. — Uſed for planks and beams.

19. Vaypachitu, Melia Azadirachta, *Lin.*—Uſed for beams and poſts.

20. Nayla Balaſu, Haydarany of the Canareſe. — A black wood, that kindles readily, and burns clearly, and therefore is uſed for torches.

In aſcending the Ghats, I had an excellent opportunity of obſerving the ſtrata, where the rock has been cut away to form the road. The grand component part of theſe mountains is a granite, conſiſting of white felſpar and quartz, with dark green mica, in a ſmall proportion to the other two ingredients. The particles are angular, and of moderate ſize. It ſeems to come near to the glanitello of the Italians (Waller. Min. II. p. 423), and is an excellent material for building; as it is readily cleft by wedges, and is at the ſame time ſtrong and durable. Intermixed with this is another ſtone, in a ſtate of decay, conſiſting of angular maſſes of various ſizes, divided by fiſſures, ſo as to be ſeparable with little difficulty. The ſides of the fiſſures are tarniſhed, and covered by extraneous matter. This is a ſtone commonly called a granite in decay, the mica being ſuppoſed to have been entirely decompoſed, and the felſpar to be in the act of decompoſition, and to have aſſumed an arid powdery appearance, while the glaſſy quartz retains its natural conſiſtence. That the ſtrata in queſtion are in a ſtate of decay, from the numerous fiſſures in them, I have no doubt; but there are other ſtrata of ſimilar component parts common all over the lower Carnatic, eſpecially at Mahabalipura (the ſeven Pagodas,) which are in the moſt perfect ſtate of preſervation, without the ſmalleſt mark of decay, and fit for forming the moſt durable buildings. Mr. Fichtel, who has been ſo kind as to look over my ſpecimens, and to aſſiſt me with his opinion concerning their nature, thinks, that the ſtone of Mahabalipura conſiſts of a mixture of arid and of fat quartz; and, although he calls the ſtone of the Ghats granite, I have no doubt of its component parts being the ſame with thoſe of the Mahabalipura ſtone.

Both theſe rocks appear to be ſtratified; but the ſtrata are wonderfully broken, and confuſed. In ſome places they are almoſt horizontal, in others they are vertical, with all intermediate degrees of inclination. Sometimes the decaying ſtratum lies above the perfect, and at other times is covered by it. I ſaw many ſtrata not above three feet wide; while in other maſſes, of eight or ten feet high, and many long, I could perceive no diviſion.

Immerſed in both kinds, I obſerved many nobules, as large as the head, which were compoſed of a decaying ſubſtance containing much green mica. In other places there are large veins, and beds, containing ſmall rhomboidal maſſes, of what Mr. Fichtel takes to be a compoſition of a ſmall proportion of quartz with much iron.

The country about Naiekan Eray riſes into ſwells, like the land in many parts of England, and is overlooked by the high barren peaks of the Ghats, which cloſe the view to the eaſtward. Among theſe peaks, the moſt remarkable is that occupied by Pedda Naiekana Durga, or the Great Chief's caſtle, which, till the overthrow of the late Sultan, was a frontier of the Myſore kingdom. It formerly belonged to a Polygar, called the Pedda Naieka, who was reſtored by Lord Cornwallis; but obliged again to leave his dominions, after his Lordſhip granted peace to Tippoo. During the remainder of the Sultan's reign he continued to haraſs the country in nocturnal predatory excurſions; but is now quietly waiting for the deciſion of the Britiſh government concerning his fate. The country formerly belonging to his family has, by the partition treaty of 1799, been annexed to the Britiſh poſſeſſions, and is under the authority of Captain Graham, the collector of Khiſtnaghery.

At Naiekan Eray, or the chief's reſervoir, the only remains of a village are a ruinous choultry, and a few wretched ſhops called a bazar. The houſes of the cultivators are ſcattered about in groupes of four or five families. The common language ſpoken here, as well as in the neighbouring parts of the Nabob's dominions, is the Telinga, or Beder, as it is commonly called. The people are infinitely more obliging than thoſe below the Ghats, and my ſervants find here no difficulty in procuring ſupplies.

4th May.—In the morning I went from Naiekan Eray, to Vencataghery, about nine miles. So far as I can judge by the view, one half of the country has been ploughed; of the half that has never been cultivated, a ſmall part, perhaps about a tenth of the whole, riſes into hills too ſteep for the plough; the remainder is gently ſwelling ground, like the reſt of the country; but the ſoil is very poor, and covered with copſe, having a few large trees intermixed. The whole of the copſe land ſerves for paſture, ſuch as it is; and the buſhes ſupply the natives with fuel for their domeſtic purpoſes, for burning limeſtone, and for ſmelting iron. The buſhes ſeem alſo to preſerve a moiſture in the ſoil, which it is alledged would improve it, ſhould it ever be determined to extend cultivation; ſo that I do not think the paſture would be improved by clearing the country; and the loſs of fuel, and timber for country uſes, that would be ſuſtained by the operation, would be of ſerious inconvenience.

About two miles from Naiekan Eray, a torrent, in the rainy ſeaſon, brings down from the hills a quantity of iron ore in the form of black ſand, which in the dry ſeaſon is ſmelted. The operation is performed by Malawanlu, the Telinga name for the caſt called Parriar by the natives of Madras. Each forge pays a certain quantity of iron for permiſſion to carry on the work.

Vencataghery was formerly the uſual reſidence of the Pedda Naieka Polygar, and the ruins of his fort are ſtill conſpicuous. It is built on a riſing ground, and conſiſts of various encloſures, ſurrounded by walls of mud and ſtone, flanked by towers and baſtions, that riſe higher and higher as you advance inwards, till you come to the central encloſure, which contained the Raja's dwelling. There have been in this place three ſmall temples, two of which are preſerved. The remains of this place do not indicate that it ever poſſeſſed any grandeur, few of the rooms being more than ſeven or eight feet ſquare. The outer encloſures contain much ground formerly occupied by the town, which is now reduced to one ſtreet of ſhops. The houſes are much inferior to thoſe in the Tamul villages. They are built of mud with thatched roofs; but do not ſurround a ſquare court; nor have they any verandah to keep off the ſun or rain. The inhabitants are almoſt all Telingas, or Gentoos, as the Engliſh of Madras call this nation.

Near

Near Vencataghery alſo iron is ſmelted from black ſand, and mixed with the ſoil of different fields: lime-ſtone, in form of nodules, is common. The ſtrata reſemble thoſe in the Ghats. The white granite is the moſt prevalent; but the maſſes of quartz impregnated with iron are much larger, and more perfect. I ſaw no other rocks: it would however appear, from the ſtones in the wall of the fort, that the country produces red granite. Near Vencataghery I obſerved the water tinged with an iridescent oily matter, floating on its ſurface, as is uſual in coal countries.

5th May.—In the morning I went to Baydamungulum; leaving on my right a hill crowned with a fortreſs, and a temple dedicated to Seitadeva. By the way I viſited a place to the north of my rout, where the natives obtain limeſtone. I found it to be two ſmall fields, containing what in Bengal is called congcar. Theſe fields are diſtant from each other about three hundred yards, and are ſituated on a low piece of ground, ſurrounded by naked rocks of white granite. This low ground is interſected by the channel of a torrent, which at this ſeaſon is quite dry; and the water of the only ſpring that I have yet ſeen in this arid country, paſſes by the ſides of the two calcareous fields. In ſome parts of theſe fields, the ſmall concretions, of which congcar conſiſts, are found on the ſurface, mixed with the ſoil; in others a foot of ſoil muſt be removed, before they are found in any quantity. The natives have never dug deep to aſcertain the thickneſs of the bed. This kind of ſtone ſeems to be the calcareus œquabilis incarnatus of Wallerius. II. p. 124. Similar beds are ſaid to be ſcattered all over the country. A few families of Malawanlu gain a ſubſiſtence by collecting the lime-ſtone, by burning it in kilns, and ſelling the chunam, or quick-lime, for chewing with betel.

Common ſalt (muriate of ſoda) ſeems to be alſo very generally diffuſed over this part of the country. It is found in low wet grounds, contained in a black poor ſoil, and in Tippoo's reign was extracted in conſiderable quantities. The trade with the Nabob's dominions being then entirely contraband, ſuch a bulky article could not be ſmuggled in quantities ſufficient for the conſumption, and the inhabitants were obliged to have recourſe to this their native ſalt; againſt which, however, they are ſtrongly prejudiced, conſidering it as inferior to the ſalt made from from ſea-water.

I am informed, that in every part of the country the black ſand ore of iron is brought down by the torrents; but that it is ſmelted in ſuch places only as abound with woods. It is called nalla iſaca, in the Telinga language; cari uſu, in the Carnataca, and carupa manul, in the dialect of the Tamuls.

The land that has not been cultivated is much leſs in proportion than in my yeſterday's route: I do not think that it occupies above three-tenths of the country. It conſiſts entirely of rocks, or ſtones, without copſe wood; but affords ſome miſerable paſture in the interſtices between the lumps of granite. In a few places are ſmall hills. The wet ground cannot be more than one-fortieth part of the arable land.

The country is exceedingly bare, and the population ſcanty. All the houſes are collected in villages; and the ſmalleſt village, of five or ſix houſes, is fortified. The defence of ſuch a village conſiſts of a round ſtone wall, perhaps forty feet in diameter, and ſix feet high. On the top of this is a parapet of mud, with a door in it, to which the only acceſs is by a ladder. In caſe of a plundering party coming near the village, the people aſcend into this tower with their families, and moſt valuable effects, and having drawn up the ladder defend themſelves with ſtones, which even the women throw with great force and dexterity. Larger villages have ſquare forts, with round towers at the angles. In thoſe ſtill larger, or in towns, the defences are more numerous, and the fort ſerves as a citadel; while the village, or pettah, is ſurrounded by a weaker

defence of mud. The inhabitants conſider fortifications as neceſſary for their exiſtence, and are at the whole expence of building, and the riſk of defending them. The country, indeed, has for a long ſeries of years been in a conſtant ſtate of warfare; and the poor inhabitants have ſuffered too much from all parties, to truſt in any.

The mud here is excellent for making walls. It is a reddiſh ferruginous clay, intermixed with ſmall fragments of quartz, and other materials of decayed granite; and a wall conſtructed of it will, with tolerable care, reſiſt the rains for many years. So good is it, that in many towns and villages, the houſes have flat roofs terraced with this mud, which is laid on in the dry ſeaſon, and turns the rain very well. The houſes and huts have their walls univerſally built of this mud; and have a tolerable appearance, the mud being ſmooth, and painted on the outſide, with alternate vertical broad ſtripes of white and red. The white is lime, and the red colour is given by a ferruginous clay, which is called caym-munnu in the Karnataca language, ſhay-manu in the Tellinga, and erra-manu in the Tamul. The huts are built in the form of a parallelogram, without verandah or windows, or any other vent for the ſmoke than the doors. Rich men, inſtead of enlarging the houſe, generally build a number of ſimilar huts in the form of a ſquare, ſufficient to accommodate their families, which are always numerous.

It is ſaid by the people here, that for two months from this time, they expect to have occaſional rains, with ſtrong weſterly winds. In the two ſucceeding months much wind, and almoſt conſtant rain uſually prevail. In September and October the winds abate, and there are only occaſional ſhowers. After this comes cold weather with heavy dews. In the hot weather preceding the rainy ſeaſon, there is very little dew.

Baydamungulum was formerly the reſidence of a Polygar, and a conſiderable place. In the diſpute for the dominion, between its ancient lord and Hyder, the town ſuffered exceedingly, and is now reduced to ſixty or ſeventy miſerable houſes, fortified by a mud wall, and ſome towers in a ruinous ſtate. At the ſouth ſide are the remains of a large fort, now totally uſeleſs; but at the north ſide is another fort, not ſo far decayed. One end of this the inhabitants have lately repaired as a laſt reſource, and ſay that they will defend it to the utmoſt extremity. It contains an old temple, the roof of which, as an additional defence, has been ſurrounded by a parapet of mud.

The town ſtands about three hundred yards weſt from the Palar, which here is not above forty feet wide, and at this ſeaſon contains two or three feet depth of water, nearly ſtagnant. In the rainy ſeaſon, it fills ſeveral fine reſervoirs, or tanks, for the uſe of cultivation.

The people here are a mixture of Tamuls, Telingas, and Karnataca, or Canareſe, with a good many Muſſulmans. They complain, that the Amildars of the Myſore government take more money from them, than they did in the reign of Tippoo; but acknowledge, that they are exempted from the licentiouſneſs of that Prince's army, and from the arbitrary exactions uſual in his government.

Tayculum is ſtrongly ſituated at the end of a ſmall hill of granite, and has a triple wall, each line ſtrengthened with various defences. The houſes, about a hundred in number, are very poor, and hardly fill up the ſpace between the outer and ſecond line of defence; about ſixty of theſe houſes are occupied by Muſſulmans, among whom is the Amildar. There are eight families of Bráhmans, who are in poſſeſſion of all the other offices under government. On the outſide of the fort is a temple of Siva, and within it one of Viſhnu; both of which are ruinous. On viſiting the latter, I aſked when and by whom it was built. A Muſſulman, who was my conductor, replied, that owing to the great antiquity of the building, nobody knew. On hearing this a Bráhman,

man, ſitting at the porch, aſked with a ſneer, if every body did not know that it had built itſelf. The Muſſulman, attempting to be witty, aſked the Bráhman if he had ſeen this. "How ſhould I," replied the other, "when it happened ſo long ago?" The prevalent language at Tayculum is the Karnataca, called by us Canareſe. I could not purchaſe a bullock here for leſs than double the price that I had paid at Madras. I found the people very unwilling to give me information; and I am clearly convinced, from what I have already ſeen, that without authority to demand it, very little uſeful information on ſtatiſtical ſubjects could be procured by a mere traveller.

7th May. — In the morning I went to Waluru. On the whole day's route I ſaw no hills, except thoſe mentioned yeſterday; but at leaſt ſix-tenths of the whole country ſeemed never to have been cultivated, and of this the greater part is covered with bruſh or copſe wood. There is no large timber; but in ſome places the trees grow to a ſize ſufficient for building the natives' houſes, and other country purpoſes.

9th May. — I went to Catcolli, through a country containing much leſs granite than any that I have yet ſeen above the Ghats. The arable land may amount to ſeven-tenths of the whole, and perhaps a twentieth part of it is watered. The rice lands are moſtly ſituated near the banks of the ſouthern Pennar, or Dakſhana Pinakani, as it is called in the Sanſcrit language. This river paſſes ſouthward by the eaſt ſide of Catcolli. At preſent it contains a good deal of ſtagnant water; but in the rainy ſeaſon its current is rapid, and it is frequently not fordable. The waſte land contains much low bruſh wood, in ſome places intermixed with ſtunted mimoſas. The hedges ſurrounding the villages in this part of the country, riſe very high and thick, ſo as almoſt entirely to conceal the mud wall, which enlivens the proſpect conſiderably, eſpecially as at the villages there are a good many mango trees. The planting of theſe, or other fruit trees, is here attended with a conſiderable expence; as every young tree is ſurrounded by a mud wall, three or four feet high, and perhaps twenty in diameter; and in the dry ſeaſon the plant requires to be watered every ſecond or third day for three years.

There having now been ſeveral ſhowers, the ſoil has been ſoftened, and the farmers are buſy ploughing their dry fields. Their plough and manner of working reſemble thoſe of Bengal. Both oxen and buffaloes are uſed, and frequently an animal of each kind is yoked in the ſame plough. This ſtrongly marks a deficiency of ſtock; the two animals, from their different paces, being very ill ſuited to work together. Before the field is ploughed, it is manured with a compoſt of cow-dung, aſhes, and mud. The manure is carried out by the women, in baſkets placed on their heads, and is diſtributed very ſcantily, the baſkets being emptied at the diſtance of about thirty feet from each other.

All the way between Arcot and this place I have frequently obſerved ſtrata of gneiſs, conſiſting of the ſame materials with the common grey granite of the country, and diſpoſed in vertical ſtrata. Under the great tank here is a remarkable bed of it, conſiſting of rough grains, and diviſible into laminæ from one quarter to one inch thick; and theſe are united into ſtrata from one to two feet wide. Theſe ſtrata run by the compaſs north and ſouth; and are intermixed with others of hornblende-ſlate, interſperſed with ſmall grains of white quartz, which thus compoſe a granitell. Theſe ſtrata, as are alſo thoſe of the grey granite throughout the country, are interſected nearly at right angles by veins of quartz, often a foot and a half wide. Theſe veins croſs the various ſtrata of granite, gneiſs, and hornblende, to great lengths, without altering their direction; they frequently alſo contain felſpar, or felſpar and quartz intermixed, as is the caſe at Catcolli, where the veins are filled with a mixture of red-

diſh

diſh felſpar and quartz ; which, if not venigenous, would form a granitell. It has commonly been alleged, that large veins of theſe materials denote a country to be productive of gems ; but the contrary is the caſe here, no precious ſtones having been ever found in Myſore. It muſt be obſerved, that among the natives the gneiſs and grey granite are called white-ſtone ; and the hornblende-ſlate with quartz, and the quartz impregnated with iron, which I have before mentioned, are called the black-ſtone ; in fact theſe are found to approach to each other by ſuch gradual ſhades, that it ſeems difficult to diſtinguiſh them, at leaſt as genera ; yet in many caſes the two extremes of each kind are ſo different, that they have very little reſemblance to each other.

In the ſoil of this country are found two varieties of congear, or calcarious nodules. The nodules are often as large as a man's head, are very irregular in ſhape, and frequently perforated with holes, apparently from having been formed round the roots of plants. Outwardly they have an earthy reſemblance, although in ſome parts there is an appearance of irregular cryſtallization. They are very hard with a ſplintery fracture. Both diſſolve readily, and with a ſtrong effervescence, in the muriatic acid ; but depoſite a fine ſand, that is inſoluble. The ſolution contains iron, and their ſpecific gravity is very conſiderable. The one is externally of a greyiſh white ; but its fracture has a dull purpliſh brown tinge, intermixed with ſhining particles, ariſing from its texture, which is a mixture of compact and ſparry. Its fracture is ſplintery ; and it is opake. The ſcratch is of a colour ſimilar to that of the ſtone, which is hardiſh. Its luſtre is common. The ſand which it contains ſeems to be quartz, ſtained of a ruſt colour by iron. The other variety has, both externally and internally, a darker colour, and it has more numerous and larger ſparry concretions. On breaking it, are diſcovered many irregular cavities lined with ſmall, white, irregular cryſtallizations. It contains many black dots, probably fragments of ſhorl.

There can be little doubt, that theſe nodules have been formed by a depoſition from water, and are therefore a tophus, or calcarious tuffa. I have already ſtated, that they appear to be the calcareus æquabilis incarnatus of Wallerius, or marmor margaceum of Linnæus. Mr. Kirwan would probably call them ſilicious marlites. The ſmall pieces of quartz have evidently been involved by the calcarious matter, while that was in the act of depoſition.

The burning of theſe calcarious nodules into quicklime, which they produce of a beautiful white colour, is at Catcolli the occupation of about ten families. The ſtones are brought from a diſtance of five miles ; ſome on oxen, but the greater part on men's heads. The lime is burned in kilns about ſix feet high ; at the bottom about four feet, and at the top about two feet in diameter. The ſtructure is of mud wall ; and, in order to give admiſſion to the air, it is perforated in many places through its whole height. The fewel uſed is charcoal, the making of which is the duty of the men, and the bringing it home that of the women.

10th May. — In the morning I travelled from Catcolli to Bangalore, through a very naked country, of which about ſix-tenths appear to be arable. The remainder is covered with low buſhes, and much of it ſeems capable of being brought into cultivation. Not above a twentieth part of the arable ground is watered. The paſture is rather better than any that I have ſeen above the Ghats, and the cattle are in rather better condition than thoſe in Bengal are at this ſeaſon, when they are reduced to the loweſt ſtate of wretchedneſs compatible with exiſtence.

The morning being cool and pleaſant, I walked through the ruins of the fort of Bangalore, which was conſtructed by Hyder after the beſt faſhion of Muſſulman military

military architecture; and which was deſtroyed by his ſon, after he found how little it was fitted to reſiſt Britiſh valour. The entrance toward the petta, or town, is a very handſome building of cut granite, and was probably conſidered by the defenders as the ſtrongeſt part of the works. It certainly would have been a very difficult matter to have forced a way through all the various gateways in this entrance; as the troops, after having forced one gate, would have been expoſed to a fire from all quarters before they could have reached another, But there are no ditches between the different gates, nor even without the outer one; and, if the enemy obtained poſſeſſion of the works above the firſt gateway, they had a ready communication with all the others; as our troops found when they ſtormed the place, which they did at this part of the works. In the buildings of this entrance is a dungeon, amply provided with all the horrors that uſually attend ſuch places.

The garriſon contained well-conſtructed magazines, and many huts for the accommodation of the troops; but no good building, except the mahal or palace. Although this is compoſed of mud, it is not without ſome degree of magnificence. On the upper ſtory it contains four halls, each compriſing two balconies of ſtate for the Prince, and each balcony faces a different cutchery, or court for giving audience. No perſons, except a few truſty guards, were admitted into the hall with the Sultán: but at each end of the court was erected a balcony for the officers of the higheſt rank. The inferior officers occupied a hall under the balcony of the Prince, open in front, and ſupported by columns as high as the roof of the upper ſtory. The populace were admitted into the open court, in which there were fountains for cooling the air. At each end of the halls are private apartments, ſmall, mean, and inconvenient. The public rooms are neatly painted, and ornamented with falſe gilding. The offices are mean; and the bath conſiſts of a ſmall room, in which a perſon may ſit, and have water poured over him. The ſame bath ſeems to have ſerved both the Prince and his women, as it communicates with their apartments by a ſmall court, which contains the huts that ſerved for kitchens, and for lodging the female ſlaves. There were two apartments for the ladies. One, for the principal wife, contains a cutchery, where, like the Sultán ſhe gave audience to the concubines, and to the ladies of the Muſſulman chiefs. The other apartment belonged to the concubines. It is a ſquare court, having at two of the ſides a corridor, under which the women ſat at their meals, and amuſements. Behind the corridor are their ſleeping rooms, which are mean, and dark, being about twelve feet ſquare, and without any air or light, but what is admitted by the door, or in some by a hole about a foot wide. Lowneſs of roof is a fault prevailing over the whole ſtructure. Before the palace is a large ſquare court fronted by the nóbat khána, or ſtation for the band of muſic, and ſurrounded by a fine corridor. The palace lately ſerved the officers of a European regiment for quarters, while the privates were lodged in the corridor.

In the centre of the fort are ſtill viſible the ruins of the mud wall, that ſurrounded the ſmall village, which occupied the place before Hyder founded the city.

11th May.—I viſited the gardens made by the late Muſſulman Princes, Hyder and Tippoo. They are extenſive, and divided into ſquare plots ſeparated by walks, the ſides of which are ornamented with fine cypreſs trees. The plots are filled with fruit trees, and pot-herbs. The Muſſulman faſhion is to have a ſeparate piece of ground allotted for each kind of plant. Thus one plot is entirely filled with roſe trees, another with pomegranates, and ſo forth. The walks are not gravelled, and the cultivation of the whole is rather ſlovenly; but the people ſay, that formerly the gardens were

were well kept. Want of water is the principal defect of these gardens; for in this arid country every thing, during the dry season, must be artificially watered. The garden of Tippoo is supplied from three wells, the water of which is raised by the capily, or leather bag, fastened to a cord passing over a pulley, and wrought by a pair of bullocks, which descend an inclined plane. This, the workmen say, is a much more effectual machine than the yatam. Hyder's garden is watered from a reservoir, without the assistance of machinery. The taste of Hyder accorded more with the English than that of his son. His walks are wider, his cypress trees are not so much crowded; and in the means for watering the plots there is not so much masonry, or bricklayer's work, employed. There is, indeed, so much of these in the parts of Tippoo's garden which he probably considered the finest, as almost to cover the ground, and to leave nothing but holes, as it were, through which the trees grow.

In this climate the cypress and vine grow luxuriantly, and the apple and peach both produce fruit; the former much better, and the latter much worse than at Calcutta. Some pine and oak plants, lately introduced from the Cape of Good Hope, seem to be thriving. I think there can be little doubt, but that in this country all the valuable plants of the Levant would succeed. The people at the gardens could form no estimate of the quantity of grapes produced by any number of vines.

At Bangalore there are many Mussulmans; and, owing to the change of government, they are in great distress. Accustomed to a military life, they do not readily enter into civil occupations, nor are they willing to attach themselves to the military service of the enemies of their late Sultán. Many of the more wealthy among them, however, are now betaking themselves to trade, and the poorer sort are gaining a livelihood by agriculture.

I was much surprised to hear, that the greatest complainers against the change of government are certain Bráhmans; although, by the fall of Tippoo, this cast has been freed from persecution, and is now in the almost exclusive possession of public offices. But it is alleged, that under the government of Tippoo, the persecutions fell chiefly on the Bráhmans attached to temples, who are considered as low men; while the Lókika, being the only men of business in the country, were in full possession of the revenue department. During the reign of the Sultán, the number of petty officers in this department was immense, and every one was permitted to share in the spoil of the country. The present system is, to reduce the number of officers, and to give to those who are employed allowances that ought to put them above temptation; while a strict watch at the head of affairs renders it very dangerous either to injure the revenue, or the subject. By this system many Bráhmans, formerly employed, are now destitute, and are said to be very clamorous.

I saw here a man labouring under the durda, elephantiasis, or lepra arabum; and am told, that in almost every village one or two persons will be found afflicted with this terrible malady. It is very much confined to the poorer class of inhabitants, who here, however, enjoy a dry air, and use very little fish in their food. The frequency of the disease in the lower parts of Bengal, and about Cochin on the coast of Malabar, had led to an opinion, that it was produced by a moist climate, and a diet consisting of the fish which frequent muddy places: but the prevalence of the disease among the dry hills of Mysore strongly invalidates this opinion, especially as fish are little used by the inhabitants of that country.

Above the Ghats the kusht'ha, or leprosy, in which the skin of the natives becomes white, is also very common. The persons troubled with it enjoy, in every respect, good health, and their children are like those of other people.

12th May.—I went to Kingara, or Tingara, which seems to have formerly been much more flouriſhing than it is at preſent. The hedges, and other defences of the town, are of much greater extent than would be neceſſary for the preſent population; and the ſpace within them contains the ruins of many houſes. It is ſaid to have been deſtroyed by Tippoo, in order to prevent it from being of uſe to Lord Cornwallis, and never to have recovered the loſs which it then ſuſtained. The inhabitants were very inhoſpitable; a Bráhman encouraging them to refuſe us any aſſiſtance, by pretending that my people would not pay for what they might obtain. The fort is in good condition.

The arable land on this day's route does not appear ever to have exceeded four-tenths of the country; and the ſmall proportion of irrigated land which has formerly been cultivated, appears to be now waſte, owing to the decay of the reſervoirs. The uncultivated land is more hilly than any between the Ghats and Bangalore. It is very rocky and bare, and does not contain even copſe wood. Some part of our route led by the banks of a ſmall river, which contained a little running water.

It is here alleged, that Tippoo's regulations, prohibiting trade to the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, were very ill obſerved, and that paſſports were privately given to traders by the principal officers of government. The Sultan's table was ſerved with country ſalt, and his nobles attended the court in their native manufactures; but, among the rich at home, ſea-ſalt, and the cloths of Europe, Bengal, and Madras, were in conſtant uſe.

The country about Wiridy is beautiful. A ſmall river runs north and ſouth through the valley, which is about a mile wide, and extends far in the direction of the river. It conſiſts of fields, ſwelling like the grounds in Kent, and contains many ſcattered trees, mangoes (*mangifera*), banyans (*ficus Bengalenſis*), and the like. It is on all ſides ſurrounded by hills, moſt of them covered with wood, but ſome riſing into bare rocky peaks. If the rivulet were adequate to the other parts of the view, this would be complete; but at preſent it contains only ſmall pools of dirty ſtagnant water.

The villages are ſmall and poor, and are not fortified like the others in the country; the woods, by which they are ſurrounded, having probably been ſufficient to keep off the irregular troops that attend all Indian armies, and which generally are cavalry. In caſe of invaſion, the inhabitants have alſo been accuſtomed to take refuge in the neighbouring hill-fort called Ramagiri.

The ſtrata throughout theſe hills, as well as in the country between them and the eaſtern Ghats, are diſpoſed about north and ſouth, by the compaſs, and are all nearly vertical. A very common ſtratum here is white quartz running parallel to the gneiſs, and diſpoſed between two ſtrata of that rock. I have obſerved theſe ſtrata of quartz three feet thick.

In both the Upper and Lower Carnatics, taking ſnuff is much more common than in Bengal: indeed I have never been in a country where the cuſtom was more prevalent. Smoking, on the contrary, is in great diſrepute. The hooka is totally unknown, except among Muſſulmans. The lower claſſes ſmoke cheruts, or tobacco rolled up in a leaf; but a Bráhman would loſe caſt by ſuch a practice, and it is not conſidered as becoming, even among the richer part of the Súdra tribe.

14th May.—I went to Chinapatam, or Chinapatana, through a very beautiful country, conſiſting of ſwelling grounds, in ſome places cultivated, and in many more covered with trees, which are intermixed with ſteep fantaſtic rocks and hills. The trees here are by far the fineſt that I have ſeen in either Carnatic, although they fall

very ſhort of the ſtately foreſts of Chittagong. In theſe woods the bamboo is common. It is now in flower, and produces a great quantity of grain, which is gathered for food by the poor inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

The cultivation is ſaid to extend but a ſhort diſtance from the road, there being on either hand extenſive woods. I therefore reckon the arable land, on this day's route, at one tenth of the country. It conſiſts entirely of dry fields.

At a ſmall temple, dedicated to Hanumanta, I obſerved, for the firſt time, the rock of red granite. It is a handſome variety, conſiſting of bright red felſpar, a ſmall quantity of glaſſy quartz, and a very minute proportion of black mica. I had before ſeen many detached maſſes of it in buildings; ſo that it is probably common in the country. It is a moſt elegant ſtone.

Chinapatam, or Chinapatana, is an open town, containing about a thouſand houſes. At ſome diſtance from it ſtands a handſome ſtone fort: this was formerly the reſidence of a Polygar family of diſtinction, which derived its name from Jacadéva Raja.

The cutwal, or ſuperintendent of the market at Chinapatam, is a Muſſulman, and is extremely attentive to ſtrangers. This, however, does not proceed from any principle of hoſpitality, a virtue which ſeems little known in India. He expects a preſent in return, and charges three times the uſual price for every thing that he furniſhes. Between this and Madras I have met with two other native officers that were civil. One of theſe was a eunuch, the cutwal at Satghur in the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot; but he ſeemed to be actuated by the ſame motives with the cutwal of Chinapatam. The other was a Bráhman, the amildar at Waluru, who was very polite, and did not ſeem to have any ſiniſter deſign. Among all the other officers of government, I found that any attention to a traveller was conſidered as degrading to their rank, and could only be extorted by authority.

In ſight of Chinapatam, but at a conſiderable diſtance, is Capála durga, one of the places to which Tippoo ſent thoſe unfortunate wretches who incurred his diſpleaſure. It is a fort ſituated on a high ſteep rock. Death ſoon terminated the ſufferings of thoſe confined in it; for the air and water were extremely bad; and the wells were frequently rendered more loathſome and pernicious, by having purpoſely thrown into them the branches of euphorbium, and dead ſnakes, or other reptiles, in order to increaſe the putrefaction. It is ſaid, that no native priſoner ever returned to detail the horrors of this dungeon.

The oppreſſions of Tippoo, and the miſeries of war, are ſaid to have driven away four-tenths of the cultivators. That tyrant received the country in a very flouriſhing ſtate from his father, of whom every native that I have converſed with on the ſubject ſpeaks in terms of the higheſt reſpect.

As we approach the capital, I think the ſtyle of building becomes ſomewhat better. The houſes, although in other reſpects equally mean, have in general ſmall verandas, or open galleries, in front, to ſhelter from the ſun their ſhops and their cuſtomers. The villages are not fortified, the vicinity of the capital having been a ſufficient ſecurity againſt marauders.

Near Muduru are the ruins of a ſtone fort, containing a temple of Viſhnu, and the houſes of ſeveral Bráhmans. This fort was built by the grandfather of the preſent Raja of Myſore, and deſtroyed by the late Sultan with great propriety; for it could make no reſiſtance againſt a European army, but might ſerve as a protection to their convoys; at the ſame time, it was burthenſome, by being much ſtronger than was neceſſary for protecting the town againſt plundering parties of native cavalry.

In

It muſt be obſerved, that throughout both Carnatics, except at Madras, and ſome other large towns under the government of infidels, the Bráhmans appropriate to themſelves a particular quarter of every town, and that generally the beſt fortified. A Súdra is not permitted to dwell in the ſame ſtreet with a Bráhman; while he again exacts the ſame difference from the Whalliaru or Parriars, and other low caſts. Theſe people in general live in wretched huts about the ſuburbs. A Bráhman is conſidered as polluted by merely walking through ſuch a place.

Although the Nerium odorum is very common by the ſides of rivers in moſt parts of the Myſore dominions, I found a garden here, of about an acre in extent, which was planted with nothing elſe. The flowers are dedicated to the temple, and a garland-maker is paid by a merchant to gather them for the uſe of the god. This is one of the deeds called charity by the Hindus. This plant has uſually been taken for the oleander, which, I believe, is not a native of India.

16th May.—I went to Mundium, through a country free from hills, but of which not more than one half is arable. Much of it, however, might be rendered ſo without difficulty. The ſoil is in general poor. The waſte land is occupied by bruſhwood. and many places are covered with the Phœnix farinifera, *Roxb.* among which are ſome trees of the wild date.

It is reported, that this tree was formerly very common; but Tippoo, obſerving that his ſubjects frequently intoxicated themſelves with the tári, ordered the whole to be cut down; and in places near the capital the order was enforced.

This Prince is ſaid to have attempted to introduce a great ſtrictneſs of manners; abſolutely prohibiting the uſe of all ſpirituous liquors, and ordering that no looſe women ſhould be tolerated. He was himſelf, however, unreaſonably addicted to women; and the Bráhmans here allege, that he ſometimes forced away the moſt beautiful of their daughters. After ſome detention in the Zenana, if he did not like them, he ſent the girls back to their fathers, who, in general, refuſed to admit them into their families. But Tippoo was not to be treated in this manner with impunity. On ſuch occaſions, he ſent for the father, took from him all his property, and flogged him ſeverely. He then ordered the girl to point out any Bráhman for a huſband, and the unfortunate man was flogged until he gave his conſent. A loſs of caſt, of courſe, enſued; but the huſband commonly fled out of Tippoo's dominions, leaving his wife behind, to want, or proſtitution. On going to another place, and turning away his unclean wife, he could get an abſolution from his Guru, with permiſſion to marry again.

The hedges here, like thoſe which I ſaw yeſterday, are very bad fences, and are made of the Euphorbium antiquorum. When the ground is ſown, the farmers fill up the gaps with thorns cut from the Mimoſa indica of Lamarck. This tree is allowed to grow promiſcuouſly through the fields, and its branches are lopped off for fuel, and for repairing the fences. Its ſhade does not injure the crops, and its timber is valuable for making ploughs, and other inſtruments of agriculture.

Mundium is a poor village, fortified by a mud wall that has been rebuilt ſince the reſtoration of the Raja's government. It was formerly an agrarum, or village beſtowed in charity on the Bráhmans. They were deprived of it by Tippoo, when he annexed to the circar or public, all the property of that kind.

In the evening a flight of locuſts paſſed over the town. It extended in length probably about three miles; its width was about a hundred yards, and its height fifty feet. The inſects paſſed from weſt to eaſt in the direction of the wind, at the rate of ſix or ſeven miles an hour. The whole ground and every tree and buſh, was covered with

them; but each individual halted for a very ſhort time on any one ſpot. They went in a very cloſe body, and left behind them very few ſtragglers. In an hour after the flock had paſſed, few were to be diſcovered in the neighbourhood of the town. The ſtragglers from the grand body did not extend above a hundred yards on each ſide of it, and were perhaps not more than one to the cubic foot. In the middle of the flock four times that number muſt be allowed to the ſame ſpace. I could not perceive, that in their paſſage they did the ſmalleſt damage to any vegetable; but I was informed, that laſt year a flock paſſed, when the crop of iola (*Holcus ſorghum*) was young, and had entirely devoured it. The noiſe of this immenſe number of inſects ſomewhat reſembled the ſound of a cataract. At a diſtance they appeared like a long, narrow red cloud near the horizon, which was continually varying its ſhape. The locuſts were as large as a man's finger, and of a reddiſh colour. Some of them I put into a box, intending next day to examine them; but in the courſe of the night they were devoured by the ants.

17th May. — In the evening I went from Mundium to the banks of the Cávery (Kavari), oppoſite to Seringapatam. For one half of the way the country is almoſt entirely free from rocks, or waſte lands. Here I obſerved a ſpace of about fifty yards in diameter, conſiſting entirely of a denudated rock of very white glaſſy quartz. There was no other rock near it. The quartz ſeparates into fragments of a rhomboidal form, from the ſize of an orange, to that of a man's head; but thoſe are all diſpoſed in ſtrata, every ſix or eight inches of rock ſeparating, with a clean ſtraight ſurface, from the ſimilar parts on either hand. Theſe ſtrata are vertical; but, contrary to all the others that I have ſeen in the country, run nearly eaſt and weſt.

About half way to Seringapatam I arrived at a hilly country that reaches very near to the Cávery. On the ſouth ſide of theſe hills Lord Cornwallis encamped, before the final engagement which gave him poſſeſſion of the iſland. His marches from Bangalore may every where be traced by the bones of cattle, thouſands of which periſhed through fatigue and hunger. The road among theſe hills is no where ſteep, as it leads over a part of the ridge that is not high; but towards the weſt are numerous ſmall mountains. Many parts of theſe hills are cultivated; but much more is incapable of ever becoming arable. The whole is ſtony, and the bareſt country that I have ever ſeen. From aſcending the ridge, until reaching the Cávery, one can hardly find a buſh ſufficiently large to make a broom. Of the country in this day's route perhaps ſeven-tenths are arable, and of theſe a fifth at leaſt produces wet crops. Many of the tanks however are ruinous, and their beds are now cultivated with iola, or Holcus ſorghum.

The ſtrata on theſe hills are various. I ſaw red granitic porphyry, and took ſpecimens of a fine-grained gneiſs, conſiſting of pale red felſpar, white quartz, and black mica. The moſt common rock, however, is the hornblende ſlate with quartz, which I have before mentioned. When expoſed to the air in large high maſſes, ſo as to prevent the water from lodging on it, the pieces decay into fragments of a rhomboidal form; but, when expoſed to the air on a level with the ground, ſo as to be penetrated by the rain water, it divides into thin laminæ, like common ſchiſtus.

CHAP. II. — *Seringapatam and its Vicinity.*

MAY 18th, I was employed at Seringapatam in delivering my credentials.

19th May. — I had an interview with Purnea, the Dewan of the Myſore Rája, and, during that Prince's minority, the chief adminiſtrator of his government. By means of

of Colonel Cloſe, I have received aſſurances of every aſſiſtance in forwarding the objects of my miſſion; and a Bráhman has been appointed to accompany me, with orders to call upon every perſon that I ſhall deſire for information.

Purnea is a Bráhman of the Madual ſect, and deſcended from a family of the Coimbetore country. His native language is, of courſe, Tamul; but he ſpeaks the Karnataca, Muſſulman, Marattah, and, I believe, the Perſian. He is ſaid, by good judges, to be a perſon extremely well verſed in the affairs of the country, and is much more active than Bráhmans in general are. By the inhabitants he is now called Srí Mantra, the-ſame title that is given to the Peſhwa at Poonah. It is ſaid to ſignify a perſon who has been fortunate from the time of his having been in the womb. Next to Meer Saduc, he ſeems to have enjoyed a greater power, under the late Sultan, than any other perſon; but his authority was greatly inferior to that of the above mentioned favourite; and he is ſaid to have been in no ſmall danger from the bigotry of his maſter. The Sultan is reported to have once propoſed to Purnea to become a convert to the faith of Mahomet: as all propoſals from a Sultan are tantamount to orders that muſt be obeyed, the Bráhman replied, "I am your ſlave," and immediately retired. Thoſe who knew the man, and eſpecially the Sultan's mother, a very reſpectable lady, repreſented to that Prince, how dangerous ſuch a proceeding was, and that, if perſiſted in, it would throw every thing into confuſion; for the apparent acquieſcence of Purnea, was merely words of courſe, and his influence among the people was conſiderable. Tippoo very properly allowed the affair to reſt, and nothing more was ſaid on the ſubject.

From the 20th of May, to the 5th of June, I was employed in viſiting every thing remarkable in Seringapatam and its neighbourhood, and in taking an account of the ſtate of agriculture, arts, and commerce at that place.

Seringapatam, as is well known, is ſituated at the upper end of an iſland ſurrounded by the Cávery, which is here a large and rapid river, with a very extenſive channel, filled with rocks, and fragments of granite. At this ſeaſon it is in many places fordable with facility; but during the rains it riſes very high, to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants. On the ſouth branch of the river a bridge has been erected, which ſerves alſo as an aqueduct, to convey from the upper part of the river a large canal of water into the town and iſland. The rudeneſs of this bridge will ſhow the ſmall progreſs that the arts have made in Myſore. Square pillars of granite are cut from the rock, of a ſufficient height to riſe above the water at the higheſt floods. Theſe are placed upright in rows, as long as the intended width of the bridge, and diſtant about ten feet from each other. They are ſecured at the bottom by being let into the ſolid rock, and their tops being cut to a level, a long ſtone is laid upon each row. Above theſe longitudinal ſtones others are placed contiguous to each other, and ſtretching from row to row, in the direction of the length of the bridge. The whole breadth of this may be twenty feet. One half is occupied by the aqueduct, which is ſecured at the bottom, and on both ſides by brick and plaiſter. The road is laid with gravel, and ſecured by a parapet wall on one ſide, and by the aqueduct on the other. But, however rude ſuch a bridge may be, it is of moſt eſſential convenience to the town, and to the inhabitants of the ſouthern bank of the river, though the conſtruction is attended with great expenſe. The inconveniencies felt from the want of a bridge to the northern branch are ſo great, that both Purnea and the reſident are very anxious to have one erected; but on an eſtimate being formed, it is found, that even without an aqueduct, a rude bridge of this kind would coſt 16,000 canter'raia pagodas, or 5,372l. 9s. 4d. It is very fairly propoſed, that the

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Company ſhould defray one half of this, as lords of the iſland; while the Raja ſhould defray the other half, on account of the advantages to be derived by his ſubjects on the north ſide of the river.

Seringapatam is commonly called Patana, or Patan, that is to ſay, the city; but the name uſed in our maps is a corruption from Srí Ranga Patana, the city of Srí Ranga, from its containing a temple dedicated to Viſhnu under that name. The temple is of great celebrity, and of much higher antiquity than the city, which did not riſe to be of importance until the time of the Princes of the Myſore dynaſty.

The iſland is about three miles in length, and one in breadth, and has a moſt dreary, ugly appearance; for naked rock, and dirty mud-walls are its predominant features. The fort or city of Srí Ranga occupies its upper end, and is an immenſe, unfiniſhed, unſightly, and injudicious maſs of building. Tippoo ſeems to have had too high an opinion of his own ſkill to have conſulted the French who were about him; and adhered to the old Indian ſtyle of fortification, labouring to make the place ſtrong by heaping walls and cavaliers one above the other. He was alſo very diligent in cutting ditches through the granite; but, as he had always on hand more projects than his finances were adequate to defray, he never finiſhed any work. He retained the long ſtraight walls and ſquare baſtions of the Hindus; and his glacis was in many parts ſo high and ſteep, as to ſhelter an aſſailant from the fire of the ramparts. In the iſland alſo, in order to water a garden, he had dug a deep canal parallel to the works of the fort, and not above eight hundred yards diſtant from them. He was ſo unſkilled, as to look upon this as an additional ſecurity to the place; but had it been deemed neceſſary to beſiege the town regularly from the iſland, the aſſailant would have found it of the utmoſt uſe. Had Tippoo's troops been capable of defending the place properly, this mode of attack would have been neceſſary; but the confidence which our officers juſtly repoſed in the ſuperiority of their men, and the extreme difficulty of bringing up the immenſe ſtores neceſſary to batter down many heavy works, made them prefer an attack acroſs the river, where the works were not ſo ſtrong, and where they ventured on ſtorming a breach, that nothing, but a very great difference between the intrepidity of the aſſailants and defendants, could have enabled them to carry. The depth of the river was of little importance; but the aſſailants, in paſſing over its rocky channel, were expoſed to a heavy fire of artillery, and ſuffered conſiderable loſs.

On aſcending the breach, our men found an inner rampart lined with troops, ſeparated from them by a wide and deep ditch, and defended at its angle by a high cavalier. By this they were for a little while diſcouraged; as, from the information of ſpies, they had expected to have been able to mount the cavalier from the breach, and to form a lodgment there, till means could be taken to gain the inner works, and expel the garriſon, which conſiſted of about eight thouſand men, nearly the ſame number with that employed on the ſtorming party.

After, however, the firſt ſurpriſe occaſioned by this diſappointment, the troops ſoon recovered their ſpirits, and puſhed on, along the outer rampart, towards both the right and left of the breach. Thoſe who went to the left found great oppoſition. At every twenty or thirty yards diſtance, the rampart was croſſed by traverſes, and theſe were defended by the Sultan in perſon. The loſs of men here was conſiderable; but the Engliſh troops gradually advanced, and the Sultan retired ſlowly, defending his ground with obſtinacy.

The enfilading fire from the Bombay army, on the north ſide of the river, had been ſo ſtrong, that the defendants had been entirely driven from the ramparts on the right of the breach, and had been prevented from raiſing any traverſes. Our people who went in that direction did not meet with the ſmalleſt oppoſition; and the flank companies of the 12th regiment, having found a paſſage acroſs the inner ditch, paſſed through the town to attack the rear of the enemy, who were ſtill oppoſing the Europeans on the left. The Sultan had now been driven back to the eaſtward of the palace, and is ſaid to have had his horſe ſhot under him. He might certainly have gone out at a gate leading to the north branch of the river, and nothing could have prevented him from croſſing that, and joining his cavalry, which, under the command of his ſon Futty Hyder, and of Purnea, were hovering round the Bombay army. Fortunately he decided upon going into the inner fort, by a narrow ſally-port; and, as he was attempting to do ſo, he was met by the crowd flying from the flank companies of the 12th regiment; while the troops coming up behind, cut off all means of retreat. Both parties ſeem to have fired into the gateway, and ſome of the Europeans muſt have paſſed through with the bayonet; as a wound, evidently inflicted by that weapon, was diſcovered in the arm of the Sultan. His object in going into this gateway, is diſputed. The Hindus univerſally think, that, finding the place taken, he was going to the palace to put all his family to death, and then to ſeek for his own deſtruction in the midſt of his enemies. But, although ſuch is conſidered by the Hindus as the proper conduct for a Prince in his ſituation, we have no reaſon to think that a Muſſulman would conduct himſelf in this manner; nor was Tippoo ever accuſed of want of affection for his family. I think it more probable, that he was ignorant of the Britiſh troops having got into the inner fort, and was retiring thither in hopes of being ſtill able to repel the attack.

No individual claimed the honour of having ſlain the Sultan, nor did any of either party know that he had fallen in the gateway. The aſſailants were, indeed, at that time too much enraged to think of any thing but the deſtruction of their enemy. Each diviſion puſhed on towards the eaſtern end of the town; and, as they advanced, the carnage increaſed. The garriſon threw themſelves from the works, attempting to eſcape into the iſland, and from thence to their cavalry. The greater part, however, were either killed by the fall, or broke their limbs in a moſt ſhocking manner. Meer Saduc, the favourite of the Sultan, fell in attempting to get through the gates. He is ſuppoſed to have been killed by the hands of Tippoo's ſoldiery, and his corpſe lay for ſome time expoſed to the inſults of the populace, none of whom paſſed without ſpitting on it, or loading it with a ſlipper; for to him they attributed moſt of their ſufferings in the tyrannical reign of the Sultan.

The two diviſions of the ſtorming army now met at an open place ſurrounding a very fine moſque, into which the remains of the garriſon withdrew, and with their deſtruction the fighting nearly ceaſed. The number of burials amounted to ſomewhat above ſeven thouſand; ſeveral of theſe were towns-people of both ſexes, and all ages; but this was accidental, for our ſoldiers killed none intentionally but fighting men. Thoſe who are diſpoſed to declaim on the horrors of a town taken by aſſault, may always find room to dwell on the women, infants, and aged perſons killed, and on the little protection given by places, however ſacred; for ſuch terrible things muſt always happen, when an enraged ſoldiery with fire-arms are purſuing an enemy through a populous place.

When our two parties had met, and no longer ſaw before their eyes the enemy, by whom they, or their countrymen, had been often moſt barbarouſly uſed, they ſoon cooled,

cooled, and were diſpoſed, by their officers, in the manner moſt proper to ſecure their new conqueſt; many, however, left their ranks; and the followers of the camp, under pretext of taking refreſhment to their maſters, poured into the town; and an entire night was employed in plunder. In this, I believe, very little murder was committed; although there can be no doubt that many perſons were beaten, and threatened with death, in order to make them diſcover their property. The women on this occaſion went out into the ſtreets, and ſtood there all night in large groupes; I ſuppoſe, with a view of preventing any inſult, by their expoſed ſituation; few men being capable of committing brutality in public. This precaution was probably little neceſſary. The ſoldiers had moſtly been in the trenches two days; they had been engaged in a hard day's work; and their hopes and their rage having then ceaſed, they were left in a ſtate of languor, by which they were more inclined to ſeek repoſe, or cordial refreſhments, than to indulge in ſenſual gratification.

Next day the wounded and bruiſed of the enemy were collected from the works, and neighbourhood, to which ſome of them had crept; and the moſque, which had been the great ſcene of bloodſhed, became now a place of refuge, in which theſe poor creatures had every attention paid to them by the Britiſh ſurgeons.

The town of Seringapatam is very poor. The ſtreets are narrower, and more confuſed, than in any place that I have ſeen ſince leaving Bengal. The generality of the houſes are very mean, although many of the chiefs were well lodged after their faſhion; but for European inhabitants their houſes are hot and inconvenient. Within the fort, Tippoo allowed no perſon to poſſeſs property in houſes. He diſpoſed of the dwellings as he thought fit, and on the ſlighteſt caprice changed the tenants. A great many of the chiefs fell at Siddhiſwara, and at the ſtorming of Seringapatam; and thoſe who ſurvived, and the families of thoſe who fell (all of whom have been penſioned by the Company,) have moſtly retired to the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, which they conſider as more ſecure and pleaſant than Myſore; many of the families having originally come from the Lower Carnatic, and ſettled here on the eſtabliſhment of a Muſſulman government. Numbers of the houſes which had been thus deſerted, are now occupied by the officers of the garriſon.

The old palace of the Myſore Rajas at Seringapatam is in a ruinous condition. At the time of the ſiege the family was reduced to the loweſt ebb. The old Raja Chriſhna, who was firſt confined by Hyder, died without iſſue; but left his wife in charge of a relation, whom he had adopted as his ſon. This young man ſoon died, not without ſuſpicion of unfair means. His infant ſon, the preſent Raja, was under the charge of the old lady, and of Nundi Raja his mother's father, a reſpectable old relative, who now ſuperintends his education. Shortly before the ſiege the whole family had been ſtripped by the mercileſs Meer Saduc of even the pooreſt ornaments; and the child, from bad treatment, was ſo ſickly, that his death was expected to happen very ſoon. This was a thing probably wiſhed for by the Sultan, the family having fallen into ſuch contempt, that the ſhadow of a Raja would no longer have been neceſſary. The family of the Raja, having been cloſely ſhut up in the old palace, knew very little, during the ſiege, of what was going forward; and in the confuſion of the aſſault, having been left by their guards, they took refuge in the temple of Srí Ranga, either with a view of being protected by the god, or of being defended by the ſurrounding walls from the attack of plunderers. On the reſtoration of the Prince to the throne of his anceſtors, a place for his reſidence was very much wanted; the neceſſity of keeping the iſland of Seringapatam for a military ſtation, having rendered the palaces there very unfit for the purpoſe. Tippoo, with his uſual policy

of deſtroying every monument of the former government, had razed Myſore, and removed the ſtones of the palace and temples to a neighbouring height, where he was building a fort; which, from its being ſituated on a place commanding an extenſive view, was called Nazarbar. This fortreſs could have been of no poſſible uſe in defending the country, and was probably planned merely with the view of obſcuring the fame of Myſore, the former capital. At a great expence, and to the great diſtreſs of the peaſants working at it, the Sultan had made conſiderable progreſs in the works of this place, when he began to conſider that it afforded no water. He then dug an immenſe pit, cutting down through the ſolid black rock to a great depth and width, but without ſucceſs; and when the ſiege of his capital was formed, the whole work was lying in a maſs of confuſion, with a few wretched huts in it for the accommodation of the workmen. Into the beſt of theſe, in July laſt, the young Raja was conducted, and placed on the throne. At the ſame time the rebuilding of the old palace of Myſore was commenced. It is now ſo far advanced, as to be a comfortable dwelling; and I found the young Prince ſeated in it, on a handſome throne, which had been preſented to him by the Company. He has very much recovered his health, and, though he is only between ſix and ſeven years of age, ſpeaks, and behaves with great propriety and decorum. From Indian *etiquette*, he endeavours in public to preſerve a dignified gravity of countenance; but the attentions of Colonel Cloſe, the reſident, to whom he is greatly indebted for that officer's diſtinguiſhed efforts in his delivery, make him ſometimes relax; and then his face is very lively and intereſting.

The ſovereign Râja of Myſore is called the Curtur; in order to diſtinguiſh him from the head of another branch of the family, called alſo Râja, but diſtinguiſhed by the title of Dalawai, or Putarſu. The two families generally intermarried; and the power of the Curtur was frequently as much controlled by the Dalawai, as it was afterwards by Hyder. The Dalawai family ſtill exiſts, having been ſpared by the magnanimity of Hyder, although they had attempted to procure his deſtruction; and they had ſunk too low in the eſtimation of the people, to be objects of Tippoo's jealouſy. By the Muſſulmans, they were in deriſion called the Pettahutty Râjas; but the head of this branch, a handſome young man, being now penſioned by the Râja, and treated by the reſident with reſpect, the ſubjects pretend to be ignorant of the appellation Pettahutty, and he is ſpoken of by his proper titles, although he has no authority. Numerous other branches of the Myſore family, in the male line, are ſcattered over the country, and are called Arſu Mocalu, or Raj'bundy. They are little reſpected; and few of them are poſſeſſed of wealth ſufficient to ſupport the appearance of rank.

The palace of the Sultan at Seringapatam is a very large building, ſurrounded by a maſſy and lofty wall of ſtone and mud, and outwardly is of a very mean appearance. There were in it, however, ſome handſome apartments, which have been converted into barracks; but the troops are very ill lodged, from the want of ventilation common in all native buildings. The private apartments of Tippoo formed a ſquare, in one ſide of which were the rooms that he himſelf uſed. The other three ſides of the ſquare were occupied by warehouſes, in which he had depoſited a vaſt variety of goods; for he acted not only as a Prince, but alſo as a merchant.

Theſe goods were occaſionally diſtributed among the amildars, or governors of provinces, with orders to ſell them, on the Sultan's account, at a price far above their real value; which was done by forcing a ſhare of them upon every man in proportion to his ſuppoſed wealth. This was one of the grand ſources of oppreſſion, peculation,

tion, and defalcation of revenue. The friends, or wealthy corruptors of the amildars, were excu'ed from taking a large ſhare of the goods; while the remainder was forced upon poor wretches, whoſe whole means, when torn from them, were inadequate to the eſtimated value of the goods; and the outſtanding balances on this account were always large.

The three ſides of the ſquare, formerly uſed as warehouſes, are now occupied by the five younger ſons of Tippoo, who have not yet been removed to Vellore. They are well looking boys, and are permitted to ride and exerciſe themſelves in the ſquare, when they are deſirous ſo to do: they are alſo allowed to view the parade, and to hear the bands of muſic belonging to the troops in garriſon.

The apartment moſt commonly uſed by Tippoo was a large lofty hall, open in front after the Muſſulman faſhion, and on the other three ſides, entirely ſhut up from ventilation. In this he was wont to ſit, and write much; for he was a wonderful projector, and was conſtantly forming new ſyſtems for the management of his dominions, which, however, he wanted perſeverance to carry into execution. That he conceived himſelf to be acting for the good of his ſubjects I have no doubt; and he certainly believed himſelf endowed with great qualities for the management of civil affairs; as he was at the pains of writing a book on the ſubject, for the inſtruction of all ſucceeding Princes: his talents in this line, however, were certainly very deficient. He paid no attention to the religious prejudices of the greater part of his ſubjects; but every where wantonly deſtroyed their temples, and gloried in having forced many thouſands of them to adopt the Muſſulman faith. He never continued long on the ſame plan; ſo that his government was a conſtant ſucceſſion of new arrangements. Although his averſion to Europeans did not prevent him from imitating many of their arts; yet this does not appear to have proceeded from his being ſenſible of their value, or from a deſire to improve his country; it ſeems merely to have been done with a view of ſhowing his ſubjects, that, if he choſe, he was capable of doing whatever Europeans could perform: for although he made broad-cloth, paper formed on wires like the European kind, watches, and cutlery, yet the proceſſes for making the whole were kept ſecret. A French artiſt had prepared an engine, driven by water, for boring cannon; but ſo little ſenſible was the Sultan of its value, that he ordered the water wheel to be removed, and employed bullocks to work the machinery. One of his favourite maxims of policy was, to overthrow every thing that had been done in the Raja's government; and in carrying this into practice, he frequently deſtroyed works of great public utility, ſuch as reſervoirs, and canals for watering the ground. Although an active Prince, he in a great meaſure ſecluded himſelf from his ſubjects (one of the greateſt evils that can happen in an abſolute monarchy); and his chief confidant, Meer Saduc, was a monſter of avarice and cruelty. The people univerſally accuſed Tippoo of bigotry, and vain glory; but they attribute moſt of their miſeries to the influence of his miniſter. The Bráhmans, who managed the whole of the revenue department, were ſo avaricious, ſo corrupt, and had ſhown ſuch ingratitude to Hyder, that Tippoo would have entirely diſplaced them, if he could have done without their ſervices; but that was impoſſible; for no other perſons in the country had any knowledge of buſineſs. Inſtead of checking them by a conſtant inſpection into their conduct, by exemplary puniſhment when detected in peculation, and by allowing them handſome ſalaries to raiſe them above temptation, he appointed Muſſulman aſophs, or lord lieutenants, to ſuperintend large diviſions of the country; and this greatly increaſed the evil; for theſe men, intirely ſunk in indolence, voluptuouſneſs, and ignorance, confident of favour from the bigotry of their Sovereign, and deſtitute

of principle, univerſally took bribes to ſupply their wants; and the delinquencies of the Bráhmans were doubled, to make good the new demands of the aſophs, over and above their former profits. Owing to this ſyſtem, although the Sultan had laid on many new taxes, the actual receipts of the treaſury never equalled thoſe in the time of his father. The amildars, under various pretexts of unavoidable emergency reported prodigious outſtanding balances: while they received, as bribes from the cultivators, a part of the deductions ſo made. Although the taxes actually paid by the people to government were thus much lighter than they had been in the adminiſtration of Hyder, the induſtrious cultivator was by no means in ſo good a condition as formerly. The moſt frivolous pretexts were received, as ſufficient cauſe for commencing a criminal proſecution againſt any perſon ſuppoſed to be rich; and nothing but a bribe could prevent an accuſed individual from ruin. Tippoo certainly had conſiderable talents for war; but his fondneſs for it, and his engaging with an enemy ſo much his ſuperior in the art, brought on his deſtruction; while his early habits of contending with the Marattah plunderers had given him a ferocity and barbarity, that muſt prevent every conſiderate perſon from pitying his overthrow. The policy in which he ſucceeded beſt, was in attaching to him the Lower Muſſulmans. He poſſeſſed in the higheſt degree all the cant, bigotry, and zeal, ſo well fitted for the purpoſe, and which ſome few men of abilities have ſucceeded in aſſuming; but with him, I believe, they were natural. None of his Muſſulmans have entered into our ſervice, although many of them are in great want; and they all retain a high reſpect for his memory, conſidering him as a martyr, who died in the defence of their religion.

Though Tippoo had thus ſecured the affections of many of his ſubjects, and though he was perhaps conſcious of good intentions, and fondly imagined that his government was fit to be a pattern to all others; yet whoever ſees his private apartments, will be ſenſible, that the mind of the deſpotic monarch was torn with apprehenſion. Such is, perhaps, the univerſal ſtate of men of this deſcription; and although a knowledge of the circumſtance may not be ſufficient to prevent the ambitious from graſping at this power, nor to induce the perſon who has once poſſeſſed it to return to the calm of private life, yet it may be ſome conſolation to the perſons expoſed to its baneful influence to know, that their ruler enjoys leſs ſecurity and tranquillity of mind than themſelves.

From the principal front of the palace, which ſerved as a revenue office, and as a place from whence the Sultan occaſionally ſhewed himſelf to the populace, the chief entry into the private ſquare was through a ſtrong narrow paſſage, wherein were chained four tigers; which, although ſomewhat tame, would in caſe of any diſturbance become unruly. Within theſe was the hall in which Tippoo wrote, and into which very few perſons, except Meer Saduc, were ever admitted. Immediately behind this was the bed chamber, which communicated with the hall by a door and two windows, and was ſhut up on every other ſide. The door was ſtrongly ſecured on the inſide, and a cloſe iron grating defended the windows. The Sultan, leſt any perſon ſhould fire upon him while in bed, ſlept in a hammock, which was ſuſpended from the roof by chains, in ſuch a ſituation as to be inviſible through the windows. In the hammock were found a ſword and a pair of loaded piſtols.

The only other paſſage from the private ſquare was into the zenána, or women's apartments. This has remained perfectly inviolate under the uſual guard of eunuchs, and contains about ſix hundred women, belonging to the Sultan, and to his late father. A great part of theſe are ſlaves, or attendants on the ladies; but they are kept in equally ſtrict confinement with their miſtreſſes. The ladies of the Sultan are about

eighty in number. Many of them are from Hinduſtan Proper, and many are the daughters of Brâhmans, and Hindu Princes, taken by force from their parents. They have been all ſhut up in the zenana when very young; and have been carefully brought up to a zealous belief in the religion of Mahomet. I have ſufficient reaſon to think that none of them are deſirous of leaving their confinement; being wholly ignorant of any other manner of living, and having no acquaintance whatever beyond the walls of their priſon.

Without the walls of Seringapatam are two gardens and palaces, which formerly belonged to the Sultan, but are now occupied by the commandant of the forces, and by the reſident at the court of Myſore. The gardens have been laid out at a conſiderable expence, and canals from the river afford them a copious ſupply of water. The palace at the Laul Baug, which occupies the lower end of the iſland, though built of mud, poſſeſſes a conſiderable degree of elegance, and is the handſomeſt native building that I have ever ſeen. Near to it ſtands the mauſoleum of Hyder, where his ſon alſo repoſes in ſtate. The tombs of both are covered with rich cloths at the Company's expence; and the eſtabliſhment of Moulahs to offer up prayers, and of muſicians to perform the Nobat, is kept up as formerly. The buildings are handſome of the kind, and are ornamented with miſhapen columns of a fine black hornblende, which takes a moſt ſplendid poliſh. The other palace and garden, called the Durria adaulet Baug, was Tippoo's favourite retreat from buſineſs. Its walls are covered with paintings, which repreſent the manner in which the two Muſſulman Princes, Hyder and Tippoo, appeared in public proceſſions; the defeat of Colonel Bailie; and the coſtume of various caſts, or profeſſions, that are common in Myſore. In theſe paintings the figures are much in the ſtyle of caricatures, although they retain a ſtrong likeneſs of native countenance and manner.

The principal workman employed by Colonel Cloſe in repairing the palace in the Laul Baug, gave me the following account of the proceſſes uſed for finiſhing the inſide of the palaces at Seringapatam.

At firſt ſight, one would imagine, that much gilding is uſed in the ornaments; but in truth not a grain of gold is employed. The workmen uſe a paper covered with falſe gilding. This they cut into the ſhape of flowers, and paſte theſe on the walls or columns. The interſtices are filled up with oil colours, which are all of European preparation.

The manner of making this falſe gilded paper is as follows:

Take any quantity of lead, and beat it with a hammer into leaves, as thin as poſſible. To twenty-four parts of theſe leaves add three parts of Engliſh glue, diſſolved in water, and beat them together with a hammer, till they be thoroughly united; which requires the labour of two perſons for a whole day. The maſs is then cut into ſmall cakes, and dried in the ſhade. Theſe cakes can at any time be diſſolved in water, and ſpread thin with a hair bruſh on common writing paper. The paper muſt then be put on a ſmooth plank, and rubbed with a poliſhed ſtone, till it acquire a complete metallic luſtre. The edges of the paper are then paſted down on the board, and the metallic ſurface is rubbed with the palm of the hand, which is ſmeared with an oil called gurna, and then expoſed to the ſun. On the two following days the ſame operation is repeated, when the paper acquires a metallic yellow colour, which, however, more reſembles the hue of braſs, than that of gold. The gurna oil is prepared as follows: Take three quarters of a maund (about 18 lbs.) of agaſhay any (linſeed oil), half a maund (12 lbs.) of the ſize called chunderaſa, and a quarter of a maund (6 lbs.) of muſambra, or aloes prepared in the country. Boil the oil for two hours in a braſs

pot.

pot. Bruiſe the muſambra; and, having put it into the oil, boil them for four hours more. Another pot having been made red hot, the chunderaſu is to be put into it, and will immediately melt. Take a third pot, and, having tied a cloth over its mouth, ſtrain into it the oil and muſambra: theſe muſt be kept in a gentle heat, and the chunderaſu added to them gradually. The oil muſt be ſtrained again; and it is then fit for uſe.

The chunderaſu is prepared from the milky juice of any of the following trees: (*Ficus glomerata* Roxb.), goni (a tree which I call *Ficus gonia*) bayla, bayvina, gobali, &c. It is therefore an elaſtic gum.

The oil uſed for painting conſiſts of two parts of linſeed, and one part of chunderaſu.

In white-waſhing their walls, over the chunam or lime plaſter, the workmen of Seringapatam firſt give a thin coat of ſuday, or fine clay; which is mixed with ſize, and put on with a hair bruſh. They next give a coat of whitening made of powdered balapum, or pot-ſtone, and then finiſh with a coat compoſed of eight parts of abracum, or mica, one part of powdered balapum, and one of ſize. The abracum is prepared from white mica, by repeated grindings, the finer particles being removed for uſe by waſhing them from the groſſer parts. The wall, when finiſhed in this manner, ſhines like the ſcales of a fiſh; and when the room is lighted, has a ſplendid appearance: but in the day-time the wall white waſhed with the powdered pot-ſtone alone, in my opinion, looks better than when waſhed with either quicklime or mica.

In the ſpace between the city and the two gardens, the greater part of the iſland of Seringapatam is covered with the ruinous mud walls of the ſuburb, called Shahar Ganjam; and nothing can have a look more diſmal and deſolate. Tippoo, before the ſiege, had entirely removed the roofs; for he expected that the Britiſh army would have taken poſſeſſion of the iſland, as they had done under Lord Cornwallis. It muſt not be ſuppoſed, however, that the huts, of which we now ſee the ruins, have been at any one time all inhabited. They were, in fact, cantonments for the troops, who were removed from one ſide of the iſland to another as caprice dictated. In Shahar Ganjam a new town is faſt riſing up, in which the ſtreets are laid down broad and regular. In the old cantonments, the huts had been miſerably huddled together.

According to the regiſter of houſes which I received from the cutwal, the fort, or city, contains 4,163 houſes, and 5,499 families; and the Shahar Ganjam contains 2,216 houſes, and 3,335 families. At five inhabitants to each houſe, we may eſtimate the population of the city to be 20,815, and of the ſuburbs 11,080; in all, 31,895 perſons. This, however, is independent of a ſtrong garriſon and its numerous followers. The principal merchant in the place ſays, that in the reign of Tippoo the iſland contained 500,000 inhabitants; and he pretends to found his eſtimate on the quantity of grain conſumed. In this calculation, I think he exaggerates groſsly; as I ſee no place where ſuch a number of perſons could have lived. I know alſo, that the man, in other reſpects, is not to be truſted. Perhaps we may ſafely admit the former population of the iſland to have amounted to 150,000 perſons; who were entirely ſupported by the court and army, ſcarcely any manufactures having been eſtabliſhed. By the removal of the court, and the diminiſhed number of the troops, the inhabitants have been reduced to the neceſſity of leaving the iſland; which is ſtill a very inconvenient place for Europeans; all their ſervants, and the moſt common artificers, being people from Madras, who charge the moſt extravagant wages. Excellent meat and good vegetables are to be had in abundance; but bread being dear, the private ſoldiers are in general under the neceſſity of eating rice.

In this country, the diviſion of the people into what are called the left and right hand ſides, or Eddagai and Ballagai, is productive of more conſiderable effects than at any place that I have ſeen in India, although among the Hindus it is generally known.

The tribes, or caſts, comprehended in the Eddagai, or left hand ſide, are nine.

1. Panchala, comprehending,
   1. The Cubbinadava, or blackſmiths.
   2. Badiga, carpenters.
   3. Cunſugaru, copperſmiths.
   4. Cul'badiga, maſons.
   5. Axala, gold and ſilverſmiths.
2. Bheri chitty, merchants, who pretend to be of the Vaiſya caſt.
3. Devanga, a claſs of weavers.
4. Heganigaru, oilmakers, who uſe two oxen in their mills.
5. Gollur, or Golawanlu, who tranſport money.
6. Paliwanlu, } two tribes of cultivators, who are not of Karnataca origin.
7. Palawanlu, }
8. Baydaru, hunters.
9. Madigaru, tanners or ſhoemakers.

The Panchala command the whole party; and the Madigaru, in all diſputes, form the moſt active combatants; on which account as their own name is reproachful, they are commonly the Eddagai caſt, as if they were the only perſons belonging to it.

The caſts forming the Ballagai, or right hand ſide, are eighteen in number.

1. Banijigaru, who are of many trades, as well as of many religions. The two moſt conſpicuous diviſions are,
   1. Panchum Banijigaru, who are traders, and wear the linga.
   2. Teliga Banijigaru, who worſhip Viſhnu.
2. Wocligaru, cultivators of the Súdra caſt, and of Karnataca extraction.
3. Jotiphana, oilmakers, who uſe one bullock in the mill.
4. Rungaru, calico printers, and tailors.
5. Ladaru, a kind of Muſſulman traders, who are followed by all the artificers of the ſame religion.
6. Gujerati, merchants of Guzerat.
7. Camatigaru, perſons who are really of the Vaiſya caſt.
8. Jainaru, worſhippers of Jain.
9. Curubaru, ſhepherds, blanket-weavers, and cultivators.
10. Cambaru, potters.
11. Agaſaru, waſhermen.
12. Beſta, palankeen-bearers.
13. Padma Shalayvaru, a kind of weavers.
14. Naindaru, barbers.
15. Uparu, perſons who dig tanks, and build rough walls.
16. Chitragaru, painters.
17. Goallaru, keepers of cows and buffaloes.
18. Whalliaru. The people called Parriars at Madras, who form the active part of the right hand ſide, and are commonly called Ballagai, their own name being diſgraceful. The Panchum Banijigaru are the leaders of this diviſion.

It muſt be obſerved, that in theſe liſts I have uſed the Karnataca or Canareſe language; and almoſt all the names are in the plural, as ſpeaking of claſſes of men. The ſingular

ſingular number may in general be obtained by rejecting the final *ru*. I muſt alſo obſerve, that theſe liſts differ, in ſome reſpects, from a valuable account of the right and left hand ſides, which Colonel Cloſe was ſo obliging as to communicate. The difference, I ſuppoſe, ariſes partly from his having received the accounts through the medium of the Muſſulman language, and partly from his having taken them at Bangalore. Mine I received at Seringapatam, by means of an interpreter from the Karnataca language; and I have found, that in different places, though at no great diſtance, there are conſiderable variations in the cuſtoms of the ſame tribes: a circumſtance to which I requeſt the reader's attention. My deſcriptions of ſects are only to be conſidered as ſtrictly applicable to thoſe of the places where they have been taken. I avoid the Muſſulman names; as I find that theſe people had, in general, very imperfect notions concerning their Hindu ſubjects, and frequently uſed diſtinctions to which there was nothing analogous among the aboriginal natives.

The origin of the diviſion of Hindus into the right and left hand ſides, is involved in fable. It is ſaid to have taken place at Kunji, or Conjeveram, by order of the goddeſs Kali; and the rules to be obſerved by each ſide were at the ſame time engraved on a copper plate, which is ſaid to be preſerved at the temple of that place. The exiſtence of ſuch a plate, however, is very doubtful; both parties founding on its authority their pretenſions, which are diametrically oppoſite. The different caſts, of which each diviſion is compoſed, are not united by any common tie of religion, occupation, or kindred: it ſeems, therefore, to be merely a ſtruggle for certain honorary diſtinctions. The right hand ſide pretend, that they have the excluſive privilege of uſing twelve pillars in the pundal, or ſhed, under which their marriage ceremonies are performed; and that their adverſaries, in their proceſſions, have no right to ride on horſe-back, nor to carry a flag painted with the figure of Hanumanta. The left hand ſide pretend, that all theſe privileges are confirmed to them by the grant of Kali on the copper plate; and that they are of the higheſt rank, having been placed by that goddeſs on her left hand, which in India is the place of honour. Frequent diſputes ariſe concerning theſe important matters; and on ſuch occaſions, not only mutual abuſe is common, but alſo the heads of the diviſions occaſionally ſtir up the loweſt and moſt ignorant of their followers to have recourſe to violence, and encourage them by holding out the houſes and ſhops of their adverſaries as proper objects for plunder. A very ſerious diſpute took place at Seringapatam ſince it fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Thirty families of the weavers, belonging to the left hand ſide, joined themſelves to the Teliga Banijigaru, and were encouraged by them to uſe all the honorary diſtinctions claimed by the right hand ſide. This gave great offence to the Panchum Banijigaru, and the Whalliaru were let looſe to plunder: nor could they bere preſſed without an exertion of military force, by which ſeveral people were killed. In order to preſerve the peace of the garriſon, and to endeavour to bring the two parties to an agreement, it has ever ſince been thought expedient to prohibit any marriages from being celebrated within the fort.

Pride is the occaſion of another violent diſpute for precedency between two caſts, the Panchum Banijigaru, and the Camatigaru, although they are both of the ſame ſide. The former allege, that they are the hereditary chiefs of the diviſion; and the Camitagaru declare that they are of a higher caſt, as being Vaiſya, while the others are only Súdras. The diſpute at preſent runs very high, and has occaſioned ſome trouble to government.

In every part of India with which I am acquainted, wherever there is a conſiderable number of any one caſt or tribe, it is uſual to have a head man, whoſe office is generally hereditary. His powers are various in different ſects and places: but he is commonly

monly intruſted with the authority of puniſhing all tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of the caſt. His power is not arbitrary; as he is always aſſiſted by a council of the moſt reſpectable members of his tribe. The puniſhments that he can inflict are fines and ſtripes, and above all, excommunication, or loſs of caſt: which to a Hindu is the moſt terrible of all puniſhments. Theſe hereditary chiefs, alſo, aſſiſted by their council, frequently decide civil cauſes, or diſputes among their tribe; and when the buſineſs is too intricate or difficult, it is generally referred to the hereditary chief of the ruling tribe of the ſide or diviſion to which the parties belong. In this caſe, he aſſembles the moſt reſpectable men of the diviſion, and ſettles the diſpute; and the advice of theſe perſons is commonly ſufficient to make both parties acquieſce in the deciſion; for every one would ſhun a man who could be ſo unreaſonable as to refuſe compliance. Theſe courts have no legal juriſdiction; but their influence is great, and many of the ableſt amildars ſupport their deciſions by the authority of government.

The dominions of the Raja of Myſore are now divided into three great diſtricts, or ſubayenas, called the Patana, Nagara, and Chatrakal ſubayenas or rayadas; from the three places where the chief offices or cutcheries are ſituated. The Patana diſtrict is by far the largeſt, and is under the immediate inſpection of the Dewan, Purnea, and of his deputy, Bucherow. The cutchery is in Seringapatam; and dependent on it are ninety-one talucs, or ſub-diviſions, of which ſix formerly belonged to Nagara. This preſent diſtrict is a much greater extent of territory than ever before was ſubject to the Myſore family; for although they had conquered Coimbetore, and though ſome diſtricts formerly belonging to them, and bordering on the Bara Mahal, have been ceded to the Company, yet, beſide theſe ſix talucs taken from Nagara, they never poſſeſſed Sira, Bangaluru, nor Colar, which were conquered from Muſſulman families by Hyder. In addition to this, they have acquired the Chatracal ſubayena, containing thirteen talucs; and the Nagara, containing nineteen. Each of theſe diſtricts is under the inſpection of a ſubadar. Each taluc is managed by an amildar, who is an officer of juſtice, police, and revenue; but his authority is very limited; the power of ſevere puniſhment, and of reviſing all civil cauſes, being reſerved to the Dewan. The amildars have under them a ſufficient number of ſheriſtadars, or accomptants, who in the Karnataca language are called parputties; and the villages under them are managed by gaudas, and ſhanabogas, called by the Muſſulmans potails, and curnums. Theſe two offices are properly hereditary. The gauda is the repreſentative of the amildar, and the ſhanaboga is the village accomptant. The amildars, parputties, and ſhanabogas, are almoſt univerſally Brahmans. The gaudas are all Súdras.

Near Seringapatam the farms in general extend to two or three ploughs of land. One plough is a poor ſtock; the poſſeſſor of four or five is a great farmer; and ſix or ſeven are reckoned prodigious wealth: the total want of a land meaſure, and the ſcattered diſpoſition of the plots of which each farm conſiſts, render it very difficult to aſcertain the extent of a plough of land; eſpecially as a difference ariſes from the proportion of watered land and dry field which it contains. We may readily affirm, however, that the extent of a plough of land is very inconſiderable; for the ploughings given to the ſame field are very numerous, although diſperſed over a conſiderable portion of the year; and I was aſſured, that a plough wrought by bullocks did not labour more, daily, than one ſeventh of an acre.

This account of the tenures and extent of farms not being ſatisfactory, on my return to Seringapatam I aſſembled the amildar of the Pattana Aſhta gram, with the moſt intelligent of his ſheriſtadars, and ſeveral reſpectable gaudas, to conſult them

on

on the ſubject. They ſay, that a farmer having five ploughs, if he lives near the town, muſt keep ten ſervants, owing to the ſcarcity of forage. At ſome diſtance, five men ſervants are ſufficient. In harveſt and ſeed time, he muſt hire additional labourers, who are chiefly women, and muſt have fourteen oxen.

Inſtead of dividing the crops, as uſual in moſt parts of the country, the farmer here cultivates his watered land as he pleaſes, and pays for each candaca of ground ten candacas of paddy, which are equal in value to 1120 ſeers of rice. The average price of this is about 20 ſeers for a rupee. For this ground, therefore, he pays to the government 66 rupees, which is at the rate of 1l. 3s. an acre. He muſt alſo give an allowance to the gods, and to the panchanga, talliari, and other village officers, in lieu of the ſhare which they were formerly wont to receive on a diviſion of crops. The rent of dry field is paid in money, according to an old valuation formed on an eſtimate of its produce. With five ploughs a man cultivates about 12½ acres of watered land, and 25 acres of dry field. The circar, or government, is bound to keep the canals and tanks in repair.

The ryuts, or farmers, have no property in the ground; but it is not uſual to turn any man away, ſo long as he pays the cuſtomary rent. Even in the reign of Tippoo, ſuch an act would have been looked upon as an aſtoniſhing grievance. The gaudas are not here hereditary, but are appointed by the amildar, with the conſent of the farmers; for the amildar never attempts to put in any perſon contrary to the wiſhes of the people. Theſe gaudas receive a fixed pay of 20 fanams, or 13s. 5¼d. a month, and perform the ſacrifices, which in other places are uſually offered by the hereditary chiefs of villages.

The account of theſe perſons, concerning the quantity of ground that can be laboured by one plough, is probably under-rated. According to an account of the ground that is now actually cultivated by the plough in the Pattana Aſhta gram, which was procured from Purnea, and given me by Colonel Cloſe, the watered lands amount to 1369 candacas, or 8487 acres, and the dry field to 964 candacas, or 22,172 acres. This divided by 3078, which, according to public documents, is the number of ploughs in the ſame diſtrict, will give for a farm of five ploughs 13 $\frac{78}{100}$ acres of watered land, and 36 acres of dry field.

The hire of farmers' labourers at Seringapatam, and generally within two miles from the city, when employed throughout the year, is 10 ſultany fanams, or 6s. 8½d. a month. The ſervant lives in his own houſe; and it is cuſtomary for the maſter on extraordinary occaſions, ſuch as marriages, to advance the ſervant money. This is not deducted from his wages by gradual inſtalments; but is conſidered as a debt, that muſt be repaid before the ſervant can leave his place. In caſe of the ſervant's death his ſons are bound to pay the debt, or to continue to work with their father's maſter; and, if there be no ſons, the maſter can give the daughters away in marriage, and receive the preſents that are uſually given on ſuch occaſions, unleſs theſe ſhould exceed the amount of the debt. In harveſt, the daily hire of a man is ſix ſeers of paddy. A woman tranſplanting rice gets daily ¼ of a ſultana fanam, or about two-pence. The only ſervant that does work in the houſe of a farmer is a woman, who comes once a day to ſweep the houſe, and for her trouble receives a piece of cloth once a year. The women of the family cook, fetch water, and perform all other family labour. The ſervants are both Súdras and Whalliaru; but ſeven-tenths of the whole are of the former caſt.

Six or ſeven miles from town, the monthly hire of a ſervant is 8 fanams, or about 5s. 4d. Farther from the city, the hire is one fanam, and 80 ſeers (or a little more than

than eleven pecks) of grain; of which one half muſt be ragy, and the remainder of ſuch kind as it may be moſt agreeable to the farmer to ſpare.

At different convenient places in every taluc there are weekly markets, which in good parts of the country may be about two or three miles from each other. To theſe the farmers carry their produce, and ſell it, partly to conſumers by retail, and partly by wholeſale to traders. In the early part of the day they endeavour to ſell their goods by retail, and do not deal with the traders unleſs they be diſtreſſed for money. It is not cuſtomary for traders to advance money on the crops, and to receive the produce when they ripen. At all theſe markets buſineſs is carried on by ſale; no barter is cuſtomary, except among a few poor people, who exchange grain for the produce of the kitchen garden.

On conſidering the ſtate of agriculture near Seringapatam, many capital defects will be perceived. A meliorating ſucceſſion of crops is utterly unknown; ſcarcely any attention is paid to the improvement of the breed of labouring cattle, and ſtill leſs to providing them with ſufficient nouriſhment. The religion of the natives, indeed, is a powerful obſtacle in the way of agriculture. The higher ranks of ſociety being excluded from animal food, no attention will, of courſe, be paid to fattening cattle; and without that, what would our agriculture in England be worth? We could have no green crops to reſtore our lands to fertility, and but a ſcanty manure to invigorate our crops of grain. I am afraid, however, that the reader, in peruſing the foregoing accounts, will have formed an opinion of the native agriculture ſtill more favourable than it deſerves. I have been obliged to uſe the Engliſh words ploughings, weedings, and hoeings, to expreſs operations ſomewhat ſimilar, that are performed by the natives; and the frequent repetitions of theſe, mentioned in the accounts taken from the cultivators, might induce the reader to imagine that the ground was well wrought, and kept remarkably clean. Quite the reverſe, however, is the truth. Owing to the extreme imperfection of their implements, and want of ſtrength in their cattle, a field after ſix or eight ploughings, has numerous ſmall buſhes remaining as upright in it as before the labour commenced; while the plough has not penetrated above three inches deep, and has turned over no part of the ſoil. The view of the plough and other implements in the annexed plates, will ſufficiently account for this circumſtance. The plough, it muſt be obſerved, has neither coulter nor mould-board, to divide, and to turn over the ſoil; and the handle gives the ploughman very little power to command its direction. The other inſtruments are equally imperfect, and are more rudely formed than it was poſſible for my draughtſman to repreſent.

The manufactures of Seringapatam and its vicinity were never conſiderable. They were chiefly military ſtores and camp equipage; and of courſe have been greatly reduced by the arſenal having become a mere dependency on that of Madras. Weavers are now aſſembled in conſiderable numbers in Shahar Ganjam, and in a ſhort time will probably become numerous. The trade of the place was almoſt entirely confined to the importation of proviſions, clothing, and luxuries for the court and army; and the returns were almoſt wholly made in caſh.

The natives here are either not well acquainted with the quarries of their country, or elſe pretend great ignorance concerning them. Although the country abounds in a variety of ornamental ſtones, I obſerve only two about Seringapatam, that have received a marble poliſh. The one is the black ſtone uſed in Hyder's monument, the quarry for which I ſhall hereafter have an opportunity of examining. The other is a moſt beautiful green ſtone, of which ſome baſes for pillars were found in

the palace; but no perſon can tell from whence they were brought. It has the appearance of quartz ſtained by copper; but is vitrifiable, *per ſe*, in a moderate heat, and gives out no copper to the vitriolic acid.

The two fineſt ſtones near Seringapatam are found at Kingalu Copalu, and Cavary Cadu, both near the northern branch of the river. The former is a compact granite, conſiſting of dark red felſpar, red and yellowiſh quartz, and black mica. Some of the yellow particles appear to be felſpar. The prevailing colour is owing to the dark red minute particles of felſpar; but it alſo contains large concretions of the ſame ſtone, which have a bright red colour.

I had a ſpecimen reſembling this brought me (I do not know from what place), in which the red felſpar predominated over the quartz, and the mica was in a very ſmall proportion. The grains are ſmall; it is alſo a very ornamental ſtone.

The ſtone from Cavary Cadu may be called either a hornſtone porphyry, or a granatine. Its baſis is a dark brown hornſtone, in which are imbedded grey, yellow, and red felſpars, and black ſhorl. Like the former, it is very compact.

The granite, of which the walls of Myſore and Nuzerbar have been formed, is looſe-grained, and conſiſts of glaſſy quartz, green and black mica, and reddiſh felſpar. The mica is in large quantity, and the felſpar in a ſmaller proportion than uſual.

Specimens of a fine-grained granite were alſo brought me from ſome quarry in the neighbourhood, conſiſting of black mica, grey felſpar, and yellowiſh brown quartz, which gives the predominating colour. It is probably, rather a gneiſs than a granite, as a ſtratified appearance may be ſeen in one of the ſpecimens; but, except in the rock, it is generally difficult to diſtinguiſh gneiſs from granite.

At Kingalu Copalu is alſo found a very pretty, fine-grained granitell, conſiſting of grey felſpar and black mica. It is evidently of a ſlaty texture, and would be a gneiſs, if it contained quartz. It is of the kind of ſtone called by Sauſſure, roche feuilletée, which ſeems to be a uſeful diſtinction.

Near the Durria Adaulut Baug, on the iſland of Seringapatam, are found nodules of a ſtone called madi cullu, which is ſometimes uſed for making gun-flints; theſe, however, are of a bad quality. Better ones, called cheky muky, are ſaid to be found near a village, called Beü Cullu, about twenty miles north and weſt from Seringapatam. The madi cullu is evidently a hornſtone.

All theſe ſtones are very hard; yet the natives cut them into pillars, or flags, with tolerable facility. The ſame perſons cut the ſtones out of the quarry, and afterwards work them up into the various fantaſtical ſhapes that are given to them in Hindu buildings. Good workers in ſtone get from 40 to 50 fanams a month (from about 1l. 6s. 10½d. to 1l. 13s. 7d.) The drudgery is performed by common labourers. The granite may be cut by wedges in any direction, and to any length; but there is always one direction, in which it is found to ſplit eaſieſt; a number of ſmall ſquare holes, about an inch and a half in diameter, and four inches deep, are cut in the line by which the ſtone is meant to be ſplit. The work is performed by a ſmall ſteel punch of this ſhape, which is driven in by a heavy iron mallet. When the rock or ſtone is very long, or deep, theſe holes muſt be almoſt contiguous; but when the ſurface to be ſplit is ſmall, they may be at conſiderable diſtances. Blunt wedges of ſteel are then put in the holes, and each is ſtruck upon in its turn until the ſtone ſplits, which it does in a ſtraight line to the very bottom of the maſs or ſtratum. The ſurface is cut ſmooth with ſteel chiſels, and, except in the very fineſt works, receives no higher poliſh. When a marble poliſh is to be given, it is done by rubbing the ſtone with cakes made of the adamantine ſpar, reduced to

powder, and united with melted lac. The adamantine ſpar is here called curungada cullu, and is ſaid to be found in lumps, which are immerſed in rocks of a black ſtone, near Nagamangula. It muſt be obſerved, however, that at Nagamangula the people denied their having any ſuch ſtone.

Near Seringapatam the congcar, or limeſtone nodules, called there ſuna cullu, are very common, and are found of four different qualities, which, however, are generally intermixed in the ſame field. Theſe four varieties, therefore, although they produce lime of different degrees of whiteneſs, and are diſtinguiſhable by the workmen, have the ſame origin. They have, no doubt, been depoſited by water; and I have been told, by good authority in Bengal, that a field, after having been perfectly freed of theſe nodules, will in a few years be again filled with them. Whence then is this calcarious matter derived? There are here no rocks of limeſtone, or marble, from which it could have been waſhed. The whole calcarious matter to be found in Myſore is a tufa. The quicklime is prepared by a claſs of people called Uparu, who are in general poor, and muſt receive advances to enable them to hire labourers. A labouring man at this work earns daily $\frac{3}{4}$ of a fanam, almoſt a ſixpence; and women, who perform much of the labour, get one-third of that ſum. They are allowed to collect the nodules, which are generally found by the ſides of rivulets, and in waſte ground, without paying any thing to the public; but in the late government they were frequently compelled to ſupply the Sultan at a low rate. The lime is always burned with charcoal. The dark coloured quicklime, for building, coſts at Seringapatam, ſix fanams a candaca, or nearly five pence a buſhel; finer lime, for white-waſhing, coſts ten fanams, or a little more than eight pence a buſhel; and the fineſt, that is uſed for chewing with betel, coſts twenty fanams a candaca, or one ſhilling and four pence half-penny a buſhel.

Firewood at Seringapatam is a dear article, and the fuel moſt commonly uſed is cow-dung made up into cakes. This, indeed, is much uſed in every part of India, eſpecially by men of rank; as, from the veneration paid to the cow, it is conſidered as by far the moſt pure ſubſtance that can be employed. Every herd of cattle, when at paſture, is attended by women, and theſe often of high caſt, who with their hands gather up the dung, and carry it home in baſkets. They then form it into cakes, about half an inch thick, and nine inches in diameter, and ſtick them on the walls to dry. So different, indeed, are Hindu notions of cleanlineſs from ours, that the walls of their beſt houſes are frequently bedaubed with theſe cakes; and every morning numerous females, from all parts of the neighbourhood, bring for ſale into Seringapatam baſkets of this fuel.

Many females who carry large baſkets of cow-dung on their heads are well-dreſſed, and elegantly formed girls. The dreſs of the Karnátaca women is indeed very becoming; and I have never ſeen finer forms than even the labouring women of that country frequently poſſeſs. Their necks and arms are in particular remarkably well ſhaped. Their naſtineſs, however, is diſguſting; very few of the inhabitants above the Ghats being free from the itch; and their linen, being almoſt always dyed, is ſeldom waſhed.

Timber, for building and furniture, may be had at Seringapatam of excellent quality; but it is dear; as it is brought from a great diſtance by land carriage. The principal ſupply comes from the neighbourhood of the weſtern Ghats.

The plan which I have concerted with Colonel Cloſe, for my future inveſtigations, is, to proceed to the chief places of the Raja's dominions; and there to make myſelf maſter, ſo far as I ſhall be able, of the ſtate of the country. I am then to draw up a ſet of queries, applicable to the ſtate of affairs, which Purnea will circulate

culate among the amildars, and procure their anſwers for my information. I ſhall follow a ſimilar plan in the dominions immediately ſubject to the Company. The country toward the north-weſt being now in a very unſettled ſtate, owing to the inſurrection of Dundia, I ſhall defer my viſit to that quarter to the laſt; with a view of giving the collectors of Canara time to anſwer ſuch queries as I may propoſe to them, after having viſited that province, which is the laſt part of the Company's territory that I intend to ſurvey.

CHAP. III. — *From Seringapatam to Bangalore.*

HAVING finiſhed my buſineſs at Seringapatam, on the 6th of June 1800, I left it early in the morning, and aſſembled my people at a ſmall village, named Gaynangur, which is ſituated among the hills north from the river Cávery. The fields that are at preſent occupied having now been all ploughed, I obſerve that a large proportion of the arable land is left waſte.

At Gaynangur there is much talc; but the laminæ are not large enough to ſerve for glaſs. It occupies the rents and ſmall veins in an extenſive chain of quartz, which is in a ſtate of decompoſition, and of which ſome parts are red, and ſome white. By digging deep, it is probable that larger pieces of the talc might be found. The inhabitants are wonderfully ignorant of the mineral productions of their country; for they did not know the limeſtone nodules, ſo common in this place, when ſhown to them in their own fields. All their lime comes from the city.

7th June. — I went to Mundium. Not above one-third of the arable land appears to be now occupied.

The flight of locuſts that I ſaw when I was here laſt (p. 57), ſettled at a village to eaſtward, and ate up all the young jola.

The rice land here is watered entirely from tanks or reſervoirs; and the cultivation is never commenced till there be a ſufficiency of water in the tank to enſure the crop. When the rains ſet in early, and fill the tank timely, the farmers have yearly two crops; but when the early part of the ſeaſon is dry they take a Hainu crop of wull' ellu, udu, heſſaru, or carlay; and afterwards, when the tank is filled, plough for a crop of Caru rice.

8th June. — I went to Madura. Since the 4th inſtant, when we had a heavy ſtorm of wind, rain, and thunder, the weather has been remarkably pleaſant. The ſun is in general clouded, and the temperature of the air like moderate ſummer-weather in England.

The proportion of ground in actual cultivation does not appear to exceed one-tenth part of the country. At Madura there is a very fine reſervoir, which indeed waters more ground than the inhabitants can cultivate; for they are much reduced in number. In Hyder's time they amounted to 250 houſes; and they roſe to 400 in the early part of the Sultan's government. By the expeditions of Lord Cornwallis the houſes ſunk to 250, and Tippoo's late oppreſſions have reduced them to 100. The people, however, ſeem to be much ſatisfied with the protection they enjoy under the Britiſh forces, and are betaking themſelves with induſtry to the re-eſtabliſhment of their country.

Having procured a Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhman, eſteemed a man of great learning, I examined him concerning the peculiarities of his ſect; but with very little ſatisfaction. However well theſe men may be inſtructed in certain dogmas, and the art of diſputation, they are not qualified to give any ſatisfactory information concerning the

origin of their order, or the means by which it came to prevail over others; for, of the ſectaries which differ from themſelves, ſuch as thoſe of Budha, Jaina, or Siva, they profeſs an almoſt total ignorance, and ſovereign contempt.

This man allows, that in the exiſting Védas no mention is made of any diviſion of the Bráhmans into ſects; but he contends, that from the very beginning of the univerſe all the three ſects of Smartal, Ayngar, and Madual, exiſted; and he ſays, that they are mentioned in the eighteen Puránas, which, next to the Védas, are by the Bráhmans eſteemed as moſt holy. Although the Bráhmans have exiſted from the beginning of time, yet in the ninth century of the era of Sáliváhana, or tenth century of Chriſtianity, twenty-one heretical ſects had ariſen in Bhárata-khanda, and had turned from the true worſhip almoſt the whole of its inhabitants. Each of theſe ſects had a bháſha, or book explaining their doctrine, founded partly on dogmas derived from the Védas, and explained in the laſt ſix of the eighteen Puránas, and partly on tenets contrary to the books eſteemed ſacred by the Bráhmans. The moſt remarkable of theſe ſects were the Buddhiſts, the Jainas, and the Sarvakas.

About this time aroſe a celebrated doctor of the Bráhmans, named Sankara Achárya, who belonged to the ſect of Siva. The eighteen Puránas are divided into three diſtinct doctrines, called Satwika, Rájaſa, and Támaſa; the principles of which, from their tendency, are compared to God, to a King, and to the devil; the firſt and laſt reſembling God and the evil ſpirit, while the Rájaſa is of a princely nature, partly good and partly bad. Sankara Achárya, as a Smartal, acknowledged the two firſt parts to be the proper guide for the conduct of Bráhmans; and wrote a bháſha, or commentary, called after his own name; in which he explained the doctrine of the firſt twelve of the eighteen Puránas, ſo as to reconcile it with the tenets of ſix of the prevailing ſects, of whom the moſt remarkable were the Savaram, Ganapatyam, Saivam and Vaiſhnavum. By this method he gained a ſtrong party; and having, among others, brought over the Prince of Sringa-giri, where he lived, he commenced a violent perſecution againſt the heretical doctrines.

In the year of Sáliváhana 932 (A. D. 1009), at Sri Permaturu, or Srivaram P'huthur, near Madras, was born Ráma Anuja Achárya of the Sri Vaiſhnavam ſect of Bráhmans, and who, of courſe, followed the authority of the firſt ſix only of the eighteen Puránas. Theſe ſix are called Vaiſhnavam, Náradyam, Bágawatam, Garudam, Padmam, and Varáham. The ſecond diviſion of the eighteen Puránas is read by this ſect of Bráhmans, although they do not found on it any of their doctrines. They look with horror on the third diviſion. On arriving at the age of diſcretion, Ráma Anuja became a Sannyáſi, and wrote a commentary, in which he confuted the works of Sankara Achárya, and demonſtrated, that of the twenty-one ſects, the only one that ought to be tolerated was that called Vaiſhnavam. The commentary of Ráma Anuja is now the chief guide of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans. They worſhip Viſhnu, and the gods of his family only, and all over the Decan are almoſt excluſively the officiating prieſts in the temples of theſe deities. They allege Brahmá to be a ſon of Viſhnu, and Siva the ſon of Brahmá, and conſider them as the creative and deſtructive powers in the univerſe; but they abhor the worſhip of theſe gods. Viſhnu they conſider as the ſame with Para Brahmă, or the ſupreme being: yet they worſhip him in nine only of his ten incarnations. Budha, although the tenth incarnation of Viſhnu, is never worſhipped by them, nor, I believe, by any Bráhman. The reaſon aſſigned for this is as follows: one of the Aſuras, or demons, named Tripura, poſſeſſed a city, the inhabitants of which were very troubleſome to the inhabitants of Brahma Lóka, heaven of Brahmá, who attempted in vain to take the place; it being

being deſtined not to fall, ſo long as the women who reſided in it ſhould preſerve their chaſtity, which hitherto had been inviolate. The angels at length offered up their prayers to Viſhnu, who took upon himſelf the form of a moſt beautiful young man, and became Budha Avatára. Entering then into the city, he danced naked before the women, and inſpired them with looſe deſires; ſo that the fortreſs, being no longer defended by the ſhield of purity, ſoon fell a prey to the angels. As the Bráhmans cannot defend this action of the god, they never invoke him by the name or in the form of Budha Avatára.

Ráma Anuja Achárya having had great ſucceſs both againſt the Smartal, and the heretical ſects, eſpecially the Jainas, formed a hierarchy for his followers. He divided the whole into eighty-four portions; and ordered, that each portion, and their deſcendants, ſhould be ſubject to a Guru or Swámalu of his appointment, and to the ſucceſſors of this Guru. The number of Gurus belonging to this ſect are therefore eighty-four; of whom five are Sannyáſi, and ſeventy-nine are married hereditary chiefs.

The matams, or places where the five Sannyáſi Gurus chiefly reſide, are Ahobalum, Totadri near Rámeſwara, Tripathi, Sri Rangam, and Kunji. When one of theſe Sannyáſis obſerves the approach of death, he appoints ſome Vidwanſa, or man of learning and piety, to be his ſucceſſor. If the perſon choſen give his conſent, he muſt forſake his wife, children, and goods, part of which goes to his children, and part is given in charity; that is to ſay, to the Bráhmans. The new Sannyáſi ſhaves his head, and throws aſide the thread by which Bráhmans are diſtinguiſhed. The virtues and powers belonging to his high rank he receives along with an upadéſa, which is delivered to him by his predeceſſor. Upadéſa is a myſterious ſentence, which the Hindus receive from their Gurus, and conſtantly mutter when at their devotions. That of the Bráhmans is entirely different from what is beſtowed on the lower caſts; and is again very inferior to that given to the Sannyáſi Gurus, which, according to them, has moſt wonderful powers. In caſe of ſudden death, the followers of the Mata meet, and chooſe from among themſelves a Sannyáſi, who gets an upadéſa, from one of the others. Theſe Gurus frequently give an upadéſa and ſome images to a favourite diſciple, and appoint him a kind of deputy to manage their affairs at a diſtance. Thus the Ahobalam Swámalu has ſent a deputy to Malcotay, who reſides at that great place of Hindu worſhip, and there watches over the intereſts of his ſuperior. Theſe deputies obſerve the rules of Sannyáſi, but have no power to appoint a ſucceſſor. When one of them dies, the followers ſend back the images to their Guru, and requeſt that he would depute another repreſentative.

Among the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans the office of an hereditary Guru deſcends in the male line according to primogeniture; but when one of them has no children he muſt adopt his neareſt male relation, who ſucceeds him as his ſon. Kindred by the female line is conſidered as not forming a tie of blood. Theſe hereditary chiefs, once in two or three years, make a circuit round the places where their followers live. They alſo ſend agents to tranſact their buſineſs. An infant may ſucceed, and during his minority the buſineſs is carried on by the neareſt male relation, or by ſome other Vaidika Bráhman, whom the family appoints.

The Sannyáſis and hereditary Gurus ſeem to be totally independent of each other, and to poſſeſs nearly the ſame authority and powers over their followers. When a Guru of any ſect comes near a place, the whole inhabitants of a pure deſcent, whether they be his followers or not, muſt go out to receive him with the utmoſt reſpect. What is meant by the followers of a Guru, are certain families attached to him, to whom he performs

performs certain ceremonies, and over whom, in all matters connected with religion, he poſſeſſes a juriſdiction. In general, every man follows the Guru of his father: but this ſeems to be a voluntary ſubmiſſion; and it is commonly allowed, that a man, whenever he pleaſes, may change his Guru. The ceremonies beſtowed by the Sri Vaiſhnavam Gurus on their followers are chiefly upadéſa and chakrántikam. The upadéſa I have already explained. It is delivered orally to the follower; and to write it down, or reveal it, are crimes of ſuch an enormous magnitude as to be quite unknown. The chakrántikam is performed with the ſpear of the god Viſhnu, which is made hot, and applied by the Guru to the ſhoulder of the diſciple, ſo as to burn the ſkin. During life this is frequently repeated; the upadéſa is only delivered once.

Neither of theſe ceremonies are ever beſtowed on a perſon of an impure birth; ſo that the Whalliaru and Madigaru muſt content themſelves with praying to God for his bleſſing to avert evil, or beſtow good. This however not being ſatisfactory, theſe poor people frequently attack the Bráhmans for an upadéſa. In order to be quit of their importunity, the Bráhmans ſometimes tell them the name of any god, the conſtant muttering of which pleaſes the man much better than the offering up his requeſts to the deity in the pure language of the heart. So powerful is the influence of ceremony over that of reaſon.

In their judicial capacity the Gurus poſſeſs great authority. They take cognizance of all omiſſions of ceremonies, and actions that are contrary to the rules of caſt. Small delinquencies they puniſh by pouring cow-dung and water on the head of the guilty perſon, by fine and by whipping. For great offences they excommunicate the culprit; which is done by ſhaving his head. This excludes a man from all ſociety, even from that of his neareſt connections; for his very wife would incur a ſimilar puniſhment by giving him any aſſiſtance. The excommunication may be removed by the Guru; in which caſe he purifies the repentant ſinner by a copious draught of cow's urine. Though the deputies have no proper authority to puniſh delinquents, yet they frequently make people voluntarily ſubmit to their correction. They threaten any perſon to ſend a complaint to his Guru of ſome crime laid to his charge, and an order to proceed to the reſidence of the Guru to anſwer the complaint. Moſt perſons, however, chooſe to ſubmit to whatever the deputy dictates, rather than undertake the trouble of a long journey; at the end of which they might be more ſeverely puniſhed by the Guru, than they would have been at home by the deputy.

When a Guru is accuſed of any miſdemeanor, he is called before a trimatuſtaru, or aſſembly of the moſt eminent Vaidika Bráhmans of all the three ſects, who have the power of inflicting ſix different puniſhments, all of which are very ſevere.

9th June. — I went to Chinapatam, or Chenapattana, which was formerly the reſidence of a Polygar family, called Jacadéva Rayas. They were Teliga Banijigaru, and ſeem to have riſen into power about five centuries ago. They continued till very lately poſſeſſed of conſiderable territories; and were reduced by the Myſore Rajas, no long time before theſe, in their turn, became ſubject to the Muſſulmans. The direct heir of the family, in the male line, now reſides here in great poverty; and, being a petty trader, is called Jiva Raja Chitty.

Glaſs-ware is one of the manufactures of this place. It is made by two operations. In the firſt, from the raw materials are formed maſſes of glaſs; in the ſecond theſe maſſes are wrought up into ſmall bottles, and ornamental rings for the arms of women.

10th June. — I paſſed this day in examining the foreſts of this neighbourhood; but ſhall defer giving an account of the particulars, till I have viſited ſome other parts of the ſame chain of woody hills, and ſhall be thus enabled to give at once a view of the whole.

whole. Owing to the badneſs of the ſoil in the hills near Chinapatam, few of the trees come to great perfection.

11th June.—I remained at Chinapatam, taking an account of the palm-gardens in the vicinity. A tract of land runs near this from Madura towards Magadi, which is about eighteen miles in length, and varies from one mile to a quarter of a mile in width. The whole of this, except a few barren ſpots interſecting it, is planted with cocoa-nut and betel-nut palms. All this ground might be cultivated for rice, and has a ſupply of water from reſervoirs; but the plantations are much more valuable.

12th June.—I went to Ráma-giri. A part of the way I had travelled before; but on coming to the Arkawati river, I turned to the north, and paſſed through a valley naturally beautiful, but which appeared diſmal on account of its having been in a great meaſure deſerted. Near its head I found a few ſmall villages ſurrounded by a little cultivation.

Since the acceſſion of Tippoo, Ráma-giri has been ſtrangely agitated. The town, which was then conſiderable, he removed from the weſt ſide of the river, and placed cloſe under the hill upon which the fort is built. It was then ſurrounded by a wall, and ſome other defences of no great importance. The army of Lord Cornwallis ſummoned the fort; and the garriſon, intimidated by the taking of many ſtrong places which they had ſeen fall, ſurrendered without any reſiſtance, and for ſome time our troops kept poſſeſſion. After the peace Tippoo diſmantled the fort, and now the amildar has again removed the town to the weſt ſide of the river, and placed it lower down than its original ſituation. During the incurſions of Lord Cornwallis the inhabitants were deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence, and a large proportion of them periſhed of hunger. I give this, and other ſimilar accounts of the ſtate of population, from the information of the natives, which I believe is juſt, and rather partial to the Britiſh ſide, partly from flattery, and partly from their being ſenſible that they never before were under the protection of a people ſo humane, juſt, and powerful. The place is dreadfully infeſted by tigers, eſpecially the fort, which occupies a large rocky hill, capable of a very tedious defence, even without any aſſiſtance from art. Several Bráhmans reſide near the ſummit, for the place is reputed holy; but it is kept in a very ſlovenly ſtate. It is plentifully ſupplied with water from ſeveral large cavities, or chaſms in the rock, which receive the rain, and by their coolneſs prevent its ſudden evaporation. Such cavities are called by the natives donays, and in all the rocky hills of this great chain of mountains are very common. In the hotteſt ſeaſon they never become dry; but they have no ſprings to give a ſupply of freſh water, and of courſe afford but unwholeſome drink.

The granite, of which the rock of Ráma-giri conſiſts, is very beautiful, and is compoſed of ſmall grains of black mica, or perhaps micarelle, and of white glaſſy quartz, in which are immerſed large maſſes of red felſpar. It ſeems to agree exactly with Mr. Kirwan's definition of granitic porphyry. It is a very elegant ſtone, and might be procured in very large maſſes.

In this hilly tract, there is a race of men called by the other natives Cad' Eriligaru; but who call themſelves Cat' Chenſu. Here they live in little huts near the villages, and have a ſmall piece of blanket, or cotton cloth, to cover their nakedneſs. They are reconciled to the other natives, and pay a trifling capitation tax to government. Where the woods are more extenſive, they are terrified at the ſight of any civilized being, and live abſolutely without any clothing, but cover their nakedneſs with a few leaves. In theſe foreſts they dwell in caves, or under buſhes, which they make a better ſhelter from the weather, by adding ſmall branches from other trees. When

the civilized part of this tribe go into the woods to viſit their relations, or to trade with them, they muſt throw off their rags, leſt they ſhould be miſtaken for a villager, in which caſe none of the Chenſu would approach.

The language of the Chenſu is a dialect of the Tamul, with occaſionally a few Karnata or Telinga words intermixed; but their accent is ſo different from that of Madras, that my ſervants did not at firſt underſtand what they ſaid. Their original country, they ſay, is the Animalya foreſts below the Ghats, which is confirmed by their dialect. Thoſe who live in the villages have taken the Pancham Banijigaru as their chiefs; they trade chiefly with them, and call them their ſwámis, or lords; but, although they have learned to invoke the name of Siva, they do not wear the lingam.

Thoſe in the woods have either no religion, or ſome ſimple one with which thoſe here are unacquainted. The people of this country attribute to the Chenſu the power of bewitching tigers; and my Bráhman gravely informed me, that the Chenſu women, when they went out to procure food, left their infants in charge of one of theſe ferocious beaſts. The Chenſu, of courſe, deny their poſſeſſing any ſuch power; but allege, that the art is known to another rude tribe named Soligaru, who inhabit the ſouthern Ghats which ſeparate this country from Coimbetore.

The Chenſu here live upon game, wild roots, herbs, and fruits; and a little grain, which they purchaſe from the farmers. They are enabled to do this by collecting ſome drugs, honey, and wax. It is on account of their having the excluſive privilege of collecting theſe two laſt articles that they pay a poll-tax, which is annually fifteen fanams, or 1os. o¾d. for each family.

13th June. — I went to Magadi, which in our maps is called Maghery. This ſtage was very fatiguing for my cattle; and the road paſſed through a wild but romantic country, which conſiſts of low hills, intermixed with little cultivated vallies. The ſoil of theſe is tolerably good; and, like the Ráma-giri valley, they are cultivated with dry grains only. The higher parts are covered with trees, which, owing to the poverty of the ſoil, are in moſt places very ſmall; but near Savana-durga, and in a few other parts, the timber and bamboos grow to a good ſize. The ſummits of all the ridges of hills are bare rocks of the granitic porphyry, and often riſe into high ſharp peaks, or immenſe maſſes of naked ſtone. By far the moſt remarkable of theſe is occupied by Savana-durga, which the army of Lord Cornwallis took by aſſault; ever ſince which time it has been deſerted.

15th June. — Having had little ſucceſs yeſterday in ſending the woodmen to bring me ſpecimens of timber, I went to-day into the woods on the eaſt ſide of Savana-durga, which name has been corrupted by us into Severndroog. It is an immenſe bare rock, which has many fortifications on its ſummit. A lower rock, but yet one of great ſtrength, is fortified, and is ſituated at the baſe of the larger, towards the ſmall river which runs in a very deep ravine; and a large ſpace between the ravine and rock is alſo incloſed by a ſtone wall, and ſurrounded by thick foreſts. This place formerly contained ſeveral temples, and ſome large gardens belonging to Magadi Kempa Gauda; and ſerved as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of all the neighbouring country, who in caſe of invaſion retired hither with their grain and cattle. A few families of Bráhmans remain near the ruinous temples; and the ſite of the gardens is evident from a number of fruit and flowering trees. Every other part of the encloſure is overgrown with foreſt trees and bamboos.

Magadi Kempa Gauda, or the red head-man of Magadi, was a wealthy farmer, who, having gathered together a number of followers, built at his native village two large temples, and the fortreſs of Savana-durga, and became a polygar of great diſtinction; as

as he poſſeſſed alſo Ráma-giri, and a great extent of the neighbouring hilly tract. About five years ago, Tippoo, with his uſual policy of removing every monument of Hindu government, deſtroyed Magadi, and forced the inhabitants to ſettle in a new town, which he erected in the woods, and called Ali-nagar. The people are now deſerting this place, and returning to their old abode in Magadi.

In the hollow ground near the river are ſome of the beſt foreſts in the country, the trees growing to a conſiderable ſize. The cattle of the inhabitants never go into them; nor can any one cut the timber without an order from government. Much of the lower land in this foreſt might be cleared and cultivated.

Throughout theſe hills, which extend northward from Capala-durga, are many cultivated ſpots, in which, during Tippoo's government, were ſettled many baydaru, or hunters, who received twelve pagodas (4l. 5s.) a year, and ſerved as irregular troops whenever required. Being accuſtomed to purſue tigers and deer in the woods, they were excellent markſmen with their match-locks, and indefatigable in following their prey; which, in the time of war, was the life and property of every helpleſs creature that came in their way. During the wars of Hyder and his ſon, theſe men were chief inſtruments in the terrible depredations committed in the Lower Carnatic .They were alſo frequently employed with ſucceſs againſt the Polygars, whoſe followers were men of a ſimilar deſcription. At preſent, as they receive no pay, they are obliged to apply more cloſely to agriculture; for in that way they always employed their leiſure; and there is a proſpect of their becoming a quiet and induſtrious people, although they ſtill retain their arms, and an anxious deſire for plunder.

16th June. — I remained at Magadi, endeavouring to complete my collection of the various timber trees. I ſent alſo to Ghettipura to inquire after the iron mines: but was informed by the officers of government, that, nobody having wrought them for ſome years, their ſituation was not now known. After a long ſearch, however, they had found a few ſtones, which they ſent, believing that they might be iron-ore. I then ſent for the man who had given me the information; and on the following day,

17th June, — I took him along with me to Ghettipura, where I not only found the ore in ſeveral places, but alſo the pits, from which the people were then actually taking it to ſupply their furnaces. I am at ſome loſs to account for this deſire of concealment relative to minerals, which alſo extends to every kind of quarry throughout the country, and which equally pervades the officers of government and the other inhabitants. Men, who have given me apparently correct information relative to their farms, have eagerly denied a knowledge of the foſſile kingdom, which they, no doubt, poſſeſſed, and for which denial I can aſſign no plauſible motive. The late Sultan, indeed, is ſaid to have haraſſed his ſubjects exceedingly, by making them work at quarries, and alſo to have been very ſevere on the ſmelters of iron; and the people may have ſuſpected, that my inquiries might lead to ſimilar oppreſſions; but according to the iron-ſmelters' own account, the Sultan gave them a high price for their iron, and by his great demand afforded them conſtant employment. It is probable, however, that he compelled them to work much harder than they were inclined to do, and that they were defrauded by thoſe who were entruſted with the payment.

Much ſteel was formerly made at Ghettipura, from whence it derives its name, which ſignifies literally hard town. It is a ſmall village ſituated by the compaſs W. S. W. from Savana-durga, and is diſtant from Magadi about ſeven miles. Near it are many cultivated fields intermixed with low rocky hills. The ore is found both in the fields and hills.

The iron ore of the fields conſiſts of ſmall irregular maſſes, ſeparated by thin layers of earthy matter, and is found in beds that are from five to ten feet deep, which have only been wrought in a few places, where they come ſo near the ſurface that they have been diſcovered by the plough. It is probable, that by digging deep they might be found to be of great extent. The ſmall maſſes are eaſily beaten into powder, and then the black ſand is readily ſeparated, by waſhing, from the clay and ſand that are the other ingredients in their compoſition. This ore is of two kinds; one efflores̄cing into red ochre, the other into yellow. Intermixed with both theſe kinds of ore, which are called female ſtones, are many lumps of what the natives call male ſtone. It appears to me to be compoſed of the ſame materials with the female ſtone, but is ſo hard, that the imperfect manipulations of the natives cannot reduce it to a powder, and of courſe they cannot ſeparate the earthy matter. It is, therefore, looked upon as uſeleſs, fluxes being totally unknown to the miners of Myſore. The female ſtone appears to me to be the male in a ſtate of decay.

The iron ore of the hills is alſo male and female; the latter being the only one uſed; and this is alſo, in my opinion, the male in a ſtate of diſſolution. The male ſtone in the hills bears a much larger proportion to the female than it does in the fields. This ore alſo is found on digging a very little depth into the ſoil, and ſeems to be the ſource from whence moſt of the black ſand of the country is waſhed by the rain. It appears to me to differ from the quartz impregnated with iron, which I mentioned in the account of the Pedda Náyakana durga Ghats, only by containing a larger quantity of metal. The female ſtone is very eaſily reduced to a powder; and the iron ſand is readily ſeparated, by waſhing, from the quartzoſe ſand, which is the other ingredient in the ore. It is not ſo rich in metal as the ore found in the fields. Theſe two ores are called aduru cullu, or ſtones containing iron ſand.

On the ſurface of the hills is found another iron ore called ipanada, which is ſcattered among the gravel in ſmall lumps, from the ſize of an egg downwards. They are a pure ore, and are put in the furnace without any preparation, except breaking the larger pieces into bits about the ſize of a filbert. The quantity of ipanada required for one furnace is exactly the ſame, by meaſure, as that of Aduru; but the weight of ipanada is of courſe leſs, there being more ſpace occupied by interſtices, from the greater ſize of the pieces. The produce of iron from both is the ſame. The ſurface of the lumps of ipanada is often covered with a kind of black enamel.

18th June. — I paſſed this day in the woods near Savana-durga, inveſtigating their productions. The woodmen are a poor ignorant race, moſt of them of the loweſt caſt, called Whalliaru; but they always pretend to know every plant of which the name is aſked. They have alſo a number of ſpecific appellations, ſuch as bily, white; kempu, red; cari, black; doda, large; chica, ſmall; betta, mountain; wullay, cultivated; cadu, wild; timbo, eatable; and the like; many of which they often apply to the ſame ſpecies, and ſometimes the ſame name to different ſpecies, with ſo little accuracy, that any perſon, who depends on their accounts will find himſelf thrown into great confuſion.

19th June. — I was obliged to remain at Magadi ſtill another day to complete my collection of foreſt trees, and to procure ſpecimens of the ſtones from the beſt quarries.

The ſtones that are employed in building the temples at Magadi, are,

1ſt. The granitic porphyry, or the granite which contains large maſſes of red

felſpar in a ſmall grained mixture of grey quartz and back mica, and which I deſcribed at Ráma-giri. Near Savana-durga there is an excellent quarry of this ſtone.

2d. A granite conſiſting chiefly of black mica and red felſpar. This may be procured of a very large ſize.

3d. The common grey granite of the country. I met alſo with the two following ſtones:

1ſt. A granite with large grains black and white. This may be procured of great ſize.

2d. A moſt ornamental aggregated rock. The baſis is green, of what nature I am uncertain; perhaps it may be a hornſtone. It contains veins of white quartz, and concretions of red felſpar. The whole takes an elegant poliſh, and may, in Mr. Kirwan's acceptation of the word, be conſidered as a porphyry. Near the ſurface the rock is full of rents; but by digging deep, it is ſaid, large maſſes may be procured. It ſeems to differ from the fine green ſtone which was found in the palace at Seringapatam, only by containing felſpar.

The trees that compoſe the foreſts among theſe hills are chiefly the following:

Henna gorivi, Ixora arborea, *Roxb. MSS.* — A ſmall tree uſed for beams and poſts in the houſes of the poorer natives. People travelling at night uſe pieces of it for torches, as it burns readily and clearly.

Ghendu gorivi, or haydarany. — Serves for the ſame purpoſes as the preceeding, and is probably a ſpecies of the ſame genus.

Cari hulivay, Clutia, forte ſtipularis. — I believe the natives miſapplied this name. They had often mentioned it to me, and had brought a ſpecimen of the timber; but in the woods they ſometimes called one tree by this name, and ſometimes another. At laſt they fixed poſitively on this, which is ſaid to produce good timber.

Heb, or Bily hulivay, Chuncoa huliva, *Buch. MSS.* A large tree, and good timber.

Tor mutti, Chuncoa muttea, *Buch. MSS.* — At Chinapatam this tree is called Cari hulivay. To the northward it is commonly called Muddi, which is a Telinga name. It is a very large tree, and its timber is very uſeful.

Tari, Myrobalanus taria, *Buch. MSS.* — Is a large tree much uſed by the natives. Its timber becomes tolerably durable, if, after being cut, it be kept ſome months under water. The kernel of the fruit is eſculent.

Arulay, Myrobalanus arula, *Buch. MSS.* — The timber of this tree, like that of the former, requires to be watered in order to render it durable. The fruit is the common tanning and dying myrobalan of this country.

Amutta, or gowda. — It grows to be a large tree, and its timber is uſed for planks, beams, and poſts.

Jugalagunti, Dyoſpyros montana, *Roxb.* — The timber of this tree is ſaid to be hard, and durable; but from ſome prejudice, it is never uſed by the natives. Its name ſignifies the ſcolding wife.

Tupru, Diospyros tupru, *Buch. MSS.* — Uſed for ſmall beams and poſts. The timber is ſaid to be very hard and ſtrong.

Vana rája, or Aſha, Bauhinia. — It is called the prince of the foreſt, on account of the ſuperior excellence of its timber; but it does not grow to a large ſize.

Haſſur gunny, Dalbergia, — Grows to a middling ſize, and its timber is good; it nearly reſembles the following tree; but may be readily diſtinguiſhed by the bottom of its leaflets being acute; while in the other they are rounded.

Pachery,

Pachery, Dalbergia paniculata, *Rox.* — Grows to a large ſize, but its timber is very uſeleſs; for the layers of which it is compoſed readily ſeparate.

Biridy, Pterocarpus ſiſſoo, *Roxb. MSS.* — A middling ſized tree, of an excellent quality for furniture. By the Muſſulmans it is called Siſſoo; but it does not ſeem to be exactly the ſame with the tree of that name which grows in the north of India.

Whonay, Pterocarpus ſantalinus, *L. F.* — A large good timber tree, fit for furniture. Its bark contains a blood-coloured juice.

Hoingay, Robinia mitis, *Lin.* — It grows to be a large tree, and its timber becomes tolerably durable; if after it has been cut, it be kept ſome months in water.

Hurugulu, Chloroxylon quod ſweitenia chloroxylon, *Roxb.* — This never grows to be a large tree, but its timber is beautiful. It is ſaid to be the ſatin wood of the Engliſh cabinet-makers.

Chadacalu, Chloroxylon dupada, *Euch. MSS.* — An elegant tree, producing a reſin that is frequently uſed in the temples, as incenſe.

Swamy, Sweitenia febrifuga, *Roxb. MSS.* — A ſtrong, but ſmall timber tree, produces a fine clear gum.

Gowda, Sweitenia trilocularis, *Roxb. MSS.* — A large tree; but its timber is very bad. Another tree, as before mentioned, was by the woodmen called Gowda; but that probably is a miſtake.

Jani, Grewia. — There are three ſpecies called by this name, the Aſiatica, the Orientalis, and that which I have named, Jania. The timber of none of them is uſeful.

Bili tali, Bilitalium farinoſum, *Buch. MSS.* — In the Telinga language this tree is called tellamaliki. It grows to a large ſize, and its timber was ſaid to be good; but I found it to be white, ſoft, and very periſhable.

Betta tali, or Betta tovary, Bombax goſſyppinum. — A large tree. Its timber becomes ſomewhat durable, if kept in water ſome time after being cut; but without this precaution it is little worth.

Nai, or Cag nerulu. — This cannot be of the ſame genus with the following Nerulu, as it has alternate ſerrated leaves. A large tree, the timber of which is much uſed.

Rudraſhu nerulu, Calyptranthes jambulana willd. — Alſo much uſed. This is the tree from whence the Brâhmans derive the name of this earth.

Betta padri, Bignonia chelonoides. — A ſmall tree; But its timber makes ſtrong poſts and beams.

Wullay padri, Bignonia ſpathacea. — Timber little uſed.

Navulady, Mail elou, *Hort. Mal. V. t.* 1. — A large tree, and durable timber, which takes a poliſh, and is uſed for furniture, planks, beams, and poſts.

Shivuli. — A ſmall, but good timber tree.

Topala, Mimoſa leucophlea, *Roxb.* — The bark, when newly cut, has a ſtrong diſagreeable ſmell, like that of the mimoſa indica, E. M. It grows to be a large tree, and produces ſtrong timber for poſts and beams. The bark is uſed by the natives in diſtilling ſpirit from jagory.

Cagali, Mimoſa catechu, *Roxb. Pl. Cor. N.* 174. — In ſome places, as near Chinapatam, this grows to be a large crooked tree. The quality of the timber is good. It is not the tree which produces the catechu.

Mugli, Mimoſa covalum, *Buch. MSS.* — A large tree. Timber black, very ſtrong, and fit for poſts and beams; but, like that of the foregoing, I was told does not take a poliſh. This laſt report of the natives ſeems to be ill founded.

Wullay ſujula, Mimoſa tuggula, *Buch. MSS.* — A large tree, but its timber is ſaid to be not durable. To judge from appearance, however, this ſeems to be an error.

Betta ſujalu, Mimoſa odoratiſſimà, *L.* — This is a large tree, which, according to the report of the woodmen, produces excellent durable timber.

Shalay, Ficus. — Uſed for beams, and pillars of a ſmall ſize.

Atty, Ficus glomerata, *Rox.* — A large, uſeful tree. Its wood is remarkably light.

Cull atty, Ficus rupeſtris, *Buch. MSS.* — In a good ſoil grows to a large ſize, but ſoon divides into branches. It is uſed for beams, poſts, and planks.

Birſi, Ficus. — A large uſeleſs tree.

Dévadárum, Erythroxylon ſideroxylloides, *E. M.* — Never grows to a large ſize; but its wood is odorous, durable, and capable of a poliſh. It is uſed by the poor inſtead of ſandal-wood.

Sri gunda, Santalum album. Sandal wood of the Engliſh merchants. — All the trees that were fit for ſale have been lately cut by a Bráhman, who was ſent on purpoſe from Seringapatam. He procured about three thouſand trees; but in leſs than ten years no more will be fit for cutting. The common ſize of the tree at the root, when it is cut, is about nine inches in diameter; but it has been known to arrive at a circumference of three cubits. In either caſe, not above a third of the diameter of the tree is of value; the remainder is white wood totally devoid of ſmell. The wood is of the beſt quality in trees that have grown on a ſteep rocky ſoil; that which grows in low rich ſituations produces wood of little value. The trees were cut partly by the ſervants of the Bráhmans, and partly by woodmen hired on the ſpot. The branches and white wood were removed in the woods, and the billets were brought hither, and dried in the ſhade. Although the bottom of the ſtem, under the ground and immediately above the diviſion into roots, is the moſt valuable part of the tree, no pains were taken to procure this, and the trees were cut above the ſurface of the ſoil. This want of economy is ſaid to have proceeded from the ſtony nature of the ſoil; but this I doubt. Every thing relative to the price, market, or cuſtoms upon ſandal-wood are here unknown; and the perſon who cut it was not under the authority of the amildar. At two places in this hilly country the tree comes to great perfection; namely, at Jalamangala, between Magadi and Chinapatam; and at Mutati Habigay, near Capala-durga.

Jala, Shorea Jala, *Buch. MSS.* — Here it grows only to a ſmall ſize; but at Rámagiri, and many other places, it becomes large. It is ſaid to take a poliſh, to be durable, and to be uſed for furniture. In Myſore it is on this tree only that the lac inſects breed. Formerly there were many trees near Ráma-giri that contained lac, and paid a conſiderable rent; but during the war carried on by Lord Cornwallis they were deſtroyed by the armies. Although there are now great numbers of the trees, none of the inſects are reared. This is attributed to the want of leaſes. The amildar was wont to let the trees for no longer than one year; it can therefore be no object for an individual to ſupply the trees with inſects, as he would not be certain of enjoying the fruits of his labour. Some ſettled bargain for a number of years ought to be entered into with thoſe who are willing to introduce ſuch a valuable article of cultivation.

Dinduga,

Dinduga, Anderſonia Panchmoum, *Roxb. MSS.* — A large valuable timber tree, that is uſed for planks, beams, pillars, and furniture. It abounds in gum, and is nearly allied to the conocarpus of botaniſts.

Doda Tayca, Tectona robuſta. — A few trees of this valuable timber are found in moſt places of this hilly tract; but in general they do not grow to be of a ſize ſufficient for uſe. Some good timber may, it is ſaid, be procured at Mutati Habigay, a place near Capala-durga.

Urſina Tayca, Nauclea cordifolia, *Roxb.*—Grows to be a large tree; and its timber is ſaid to be equally valuable with that of the tectona, or common teak.

Cadaga, Cadaba, or Cadava, Nauclea purpurea, *Roxb.* — A large tree, the timber of which is much uſed.

Chaningy, Lagerſtromia parviflora, *Roxb.* — In favourable ſituations it alſo grows to a large ſize; but its timber is of very little value. It may be improved, however, by ſoaking it in water for ſome months after it has been cut.

Hadaga. — A ſmall tree; but its timber is uſed for furniture, door frames, and other purpoſes which require ſtrong materials.

Mitly, Trophis aſpera koenigii. — A ſmall tree; but its timber is much eſteemed on account of its being hard, and taking a good poliſh.

Eaſy, Premna tomentoſa. — Reported to be bad timber; but apparently without foundation. It is put as a frame-work in the middle of mud-walls, in order to give them ſtrength.

Bewu, Melia azadirachta. — A large timber tree, that is much uſed here, and from which a gum exudes.

Mara halay, Nerium tinctorium, *Roxb. MSS.* — The natives are acquainted with its dyeing quality. Its timber is ſaid to be hard and white like ivory, and is uſed for ſmall furniture, ſuch as beds and chairs.

Tapiſſa, Ulmus integrifolia, *Roxb.* — Is a ſmall tree, but makes beams, planks, and poſts.

Elichi, Rhamnus jujuba, *L.* — Grows crooked; but its timber is hard, and is uſed for ſmall furniture.

Heb Heſſary, Uvaria tomentoſa, *Roxb.* — A ſmall tree that is alſo uſed for furniture.

Chica Heſſary, Uvaria ceraſoides, *Roxb.* — Uſeleſs.

Timbu Bayla, Ægle marmelos, *Roxb.* — A large tree, producing ſtrong timber.

Nai Bayla, Limonia crenulata, *Roxb.* — Uſeleſs.

Bideru, Bambuſa.—The Bamboo here is divided into two kinds: one ſolid, or nearly ſo, and called by the natives chittu; the other hollow, and called doda. They are not conſidered as diſtinct ſpecies, the ſolidity of the former being attributed to its ſlow growth in dry ſtony places. Not having had an opportunity of examining the fructification, I cannot determine how far this opinion is well founded. It is the only kind found among theſe hills; and, although not of great ſize, is very ſtrong and heavy. For common purpoſes I do not think it ſo uſeful as the hollow kind: but it is admirably adapted for the ſhafts of ſpears, and by Tippoo was applied to that uſe for his cavalry.

Muruculu, Chirongia glabra, *Buch. MSS.* — In many parts, and eſpecially near Chinapatam, this is the moſt common tree. Its wood is not much valued; but it produces large quantities of a dark-coloured gum. The fruit is eſculent.

Hulu Muruculu, Antideſma alexiteria. — Of no uſe.

Cadu Nimbay, or Cadimbay. — A ſmall tree, that produces very hard timber, fit for bolts, and ſmall beams.

Narwully,

Narwully, Cordia monoica, *Roxb.* — Ropes are made of its bark. The fruit is eſculent, but taſteleſs.

Cambi, Gardenia.

Hay Cambi, Gardenia latifolia, *Roxb.* — Theſe two trees are uſeleſs.

Mara harulu, Jatropha curcas. — Its ſeed is collected for lamp oil. The dried ſtems anſwer excellently for match, as they burn ſlowly, and without flame.

Gheru, Anacardium ſemecarpus. — The fruit uſed in medicine, and for marking linen. The timber is uſeleſs.

Mudali, Ochna ſuquarroſa. — A beautiful but uſeleſs tree.

Nelli, Phyllanthus emblica. — The timber is bad, yet the poor uſe it for beams and rafters. The fruit is pickled.

Cacay, Caſſia fiſtula. — Uſed in religious ceremonies.

Chillu, Strychnos potatorum *Koenigii.* — The timber uſeleſs. The uſe of the fruit, in cleaning water, is known to the natives.

It muſt be obſerved, that the account I have given of the qualities of the timber trees is derived from the natives. I have had no opportunity yet of aſcertaining their nature by experiments: but I have procured ſpecimens of moſt of them; and from theſe ſpecimens their real qualities may be hereafter determined. For this purpoſe, they have been tranſmitted to the Honorable Court of Directors, in whoſe Muſeum they have been depoſited.

20th June. — In the morning I went to Taveri-caray, by a road paſſing the whole way through woods. I ſaw only one ſmall village, which was occupied by iron ſmelters, and ſurrounded by a little cultivated land. The country round Taveri-caray is well cleared, and ſeems to have ſuffered little from the wars.

It is ſaid, that in the great foreſts round Savana-durga, there is a ſmall animal called the ſhin-nai, or red-dog, which faſtens itſelf by ſurpriſe on the neck of the tiger, and kills him. On this account the tiger is not ſo common in theſe large foreſts, as in the ſmaller woods. The ſhin-nai is quite diſtinct from the wild-dog, which is ſaid to be very common here, to grow to a large ſize, and to be very deſtructive to ſheep. By this wild dog the natives probably mean the wolf. I have ſeen native drawings of the ſhin-nai, which appear to repreſent an animal not yet deſcribed.

21ſt June. — I went from Taveri-caray to Bangalore. Much of the country is covered with buſhes, and conſiſts of a very poor ſoil. The greater part of the arable lands near Bangalore are cultivated: but at ſome diſtance from it many fields are waſte, owing to a want of people.

CHAP. IV. — *Bangalore.*

FROM the 22d of June until the ſecond of July I remained at Bangalore, or Bangaluru; a city which was founded by Hyder, and which, during the judicious government of that Prince, became a place of importance. Its trade was then great, and its manufactures numerous. Tippoo began its misfortunes by prohibiting the trade with the dominions of Arcot and Hyderábád, becauſe he deteſted the powers governing both countries. He then ſent large quantities of goods, which he forced the merchants to take at a high rate. Theſe oppreſſions had greatly injured the place; but it was ſtill populous, and many individuals were rich, when Lord Cornwallis arrived before it, with his army in great diſtreſs from want of proviſions. This reduced him to the neceſſity of giving the aſſault immediately, and the town was of

courſe plundered. The rich inhabitants had previouſly removed their moſt valuable effects into the fort; but theſe too fell a prey to the invaders, when that citadel alſo was taken by ſtorm. After the Engliſh left the place, Tippoo encouraged the inhabitants to come back, and by promiſes allured them to collect together the wrecks of their fortunes, from the different places to which theſe had been conveyed. No ſooner had he effected this, than, under pretence of their having been friendly to the Engliſh, he ſurrounded the place with troops, and fleeced the inhabitants, till even the women were obliged to part with their moſt trifling ornaments. He then kept them ſhut up within a hedge, which ſurrounded the town at the diſtance of a coſs, till the advance of the army under General Harris made the guard withdraw. The inhabitants, not knowing whom to truſt, immediately diſperſed, and for ſome months the place continued deſerted. The people, however, are now flocking to it from all quarters; and although there are few rich individuals, trade and manufactures increaſe apace; and the imports and exports are eſtimated already to amount to one-fourth of what they were in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate. The manufacturers and petty traders are ſtill very diſtruſtful and timid; but the merchants, many of whom have been at Madras, and are acquainted with Britiſh policy, ſeem to have the utmoſt confidence in the protection of our government.

There is only one place below the weſtern Ghats, with which at preſent the people of Bangalore carry on any trade. It is called here codeal, or cowdal, and in our maps is named Mangalore. To that place are from hence ſent cotton cloths, both white and coloured, and manufactured in this neighbourhood. The returns are raw ſilk and ſilk cloths. The trade to Calicut was formerly very conſiderable; but at preſent, owing to the unſettled ſtate of the province of Malabar, it is at a ſtand. The imports were all kinds of foreign goods brought in by ſea. The exports were coloured cotton cloths. Some perſons are now about to venture a renewal of this commerce.

The trade with the country ceded to the Nizam, and Marattahs, ſouth from the Kriſhna river, is carried on chiefly by the merchants of Balahari (Bellary), Advany (Adoni), Aggady, Darwara, Hubuli, Naragunda, Navalagunda, and Gutti. Agents from each of theſe places reſide here, receive goods from their principals, and ſell them to the merchants of Bangalore. Sometimes, but rarely, the merchants of Bangalore go for a cargo of goods; but at theſe places they have no agents. In the countries of the Nizam, and Marattahs, merchants meet with no diſturbance; but the duties are rather heavy. The chief import from thence is cotton wool, with ſome coarſe cotton thread, both white and red; coarſe white, red, and blue cotton cloths; muſlins; dotras, or cotton cloths with ſilk borders; blankets worth from two to three pagodas each; wheat; aſafœtida; terra japonica; carthamus flowers, or coſſumba; ſeringi root, a red dye uſed at Saliem; dates; and dratcha, a kind of bad raiſin. The returns from Bangalore are made chiefly in money; but ſome coloured cotton and ſilk cloths are alſo ſent.

Some Goſſai merchants from Poonah bring ſhawls, ſaffron, and muſk from Caſhemire, and Perſian pearls from Surat. The returns are made in money, and Manar pearls.

From Burrahunpour Patan merchants formerly brought chitties, or chintz, and gold lace, cloth, and thread. The exports were money, and pearls. This trade has always been protected by the Marattahs; but, owing to the oppreſſions of the Sultan's government, has for ſome years been at a ſtand. Some merchants are now preparing inveſtments for its renewal.

From Hyderábád, Narain-petta, Guldometcullu, and other places in the old territories of the Nizam, Patan and Gujerati merchants brought red cotton cloth, flowered with gold and ſilver, for the dreſs of the children of the Muſſulman chiefs, and other rich perſons; turbans; and fine manufactures of cotton. The returns are in money and pearls. In the reign of the Sultan, this trade was contraband, and now ſuffers interruption from the robbers that are numerous in the Nizam's dominions.

The trade between the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot and Bangalore is carried on at Wallaja-petta, chiefly by the merchants of this place, who conſtantly keep agents there; at times, however, they ſend cargoes to other places below the Ghats. The imports from the Lower Carnatic are ſalt, ſulphur, tin, lead, zinc, copper, European ſteel, paints, and glue; indigo, nutmegs, cloves, camphor, benjamin; modi, a hot root uſed in medicine; Tripathi cardamoms (grana paradiſæ?); China-root; raw ſilk of the kinds called Bily-china, Caſturi-china, Rajanagari, Cumercani; (Comercally in Bengal?), Seidabad and Caia, of which the firſt is by far the beſt; Bengal, China, Walinda, and Burrahunpour ſilk cloths; Conjeveram, and Arnee cotton cloths; Engliſh woollen cloth, canvas, and blankets; Goni cloth; packthread; Engliſh and native paper from Lala-petta, Wallaja-petta, and Tripaturu; Engliſh hardware, glaſs-ware, and looking-glaſſes; China ſugar-candy; Bengal ſugar; dates; and almonds. The returns from Bangalore are chiefly betel-nut, ſandal-wood, black pepper, true cardamoms, ſhicai, and tamarinds. Cloths, I ſuſpect, are alſo ſent; but the merchants here deny it. Pearls and red coral were formerly brought up from the low country; but ever ſince the war this trade has been at a ſtand. The balance of money is in general due by the low country merchant.

The duties levied by the Nabob on cloths amount to four canter'raia pagodas, or 3s. 8½d. on the bullock-load. This, on coarſe goods, amounts to about four per cent. of their value; but on fine goods is a mere trifle. Small articles of various kinds pay only 2½ pagodas, or about 20 pence, on the bullock-load. No eſtimate can be formed of the per centage, to which this amounts; as ſome bullock-loads coſt five pagodas, and ſome 500. On all goods going from this country the duties are 1¼ canter'raia pagodas, or one ſhilling on the bullock-load. Salt pays nothing. The whole of the duties are no great burthen, and the merchants do not complain of any trouble or delay in the collection. They conſider the duties as a pledge for the protection of the government of the country through which they paſs; and the cuſtom-houſes are bound to make good all loſſes by robbers.

No direct trade has been yet carried on between Bangalore and the Company's jaghire; but ſome Gujerati merchants, now here, are making the neceſſary arrangements for opening a trade directly with Madras.

Tanjore merchants bring hither pearls, and take away money.

The merchants of the Bara mahal, and Saliem diſtricts, annexed by Lord Cornwallis to the Company's dominions, ſend cotton cloths, and take back the ſame articles that are carried to Wallaja-petta. Agents from Kiſhna-giri and Vanambady conſtantly reſide here; and merchants occaſionally come from Saliem and Dara-puram. The merchants here have no agents at thoſe places, but occaſionally ſend goods thither.

In the dominions of the Raja of Myſore a conſiderable trade is carried on with ſeveral places in the Nagara diſtrict, namely Bidderuru, Bogunji, Sringa-giri, Copa, Kigganymara, Calaſa, Munday-cara, and Muturu. From theſe places are imported

great quantities of betel-nut, black pepper, ſandal-wood, and cardamoms, partly by the merchants of Bangalore, and partly by thoſe of the Nagara diſtrict. The returns from hence are grain, tobacco, tamarinds, blankets, muſlins, turbans, coloured cotton ſtuffs, and ſilks, the manufacture of this place; and the paper of the Lower Carnatic. Both parties prefer ſelling their goods by wholeſale, and laying in their returning inveſtment by the ſame means; but they are ſeldom able to do ſo, and are more commonly reduced to the neceſſity of leaving part of their goods in the hands of an agent, and of purchaſing their new inveſtments at the different weekly markets in the country. Three quarters of the returns from Bangalore to Nagara are made in caſh.

From Seringapatam the imports to Bangalore are black pepper, ſandal-wood, and cardamoms: the return is made in every kind of cloth manufactured here, with all the kinds of goods brought from the Lower Carnatic, to a far greater value than that of the goods imported from Seringapatam.

From Gubi and its neighbourhood, in the centre of the Raja's dominions, are imported pepper, betel-nut, and cocoa-nuts. The merchants of Bangalore make the purchaſes at the weekly markets, and carry with them chiefly money; but alſo turmeric, the produce of this place; and oxen from Hoſſo-cotay, and Colar.

To Chatrakal (Chittledroog) the merchants of Bangalore ſend the manufactures of the place, and in return receive country blankets. The dealers carry their own goods from one place to the other, and generally return with the produce in caſh.

From Doda Balla-pura occaſional traders bring fine red cotton cloth manufactured there, and take back the produce in money.

From Namagundla, beyond Nandi-durga, are brought jagory, raw ſugar, and ſugar-candy, which are alſo ſold for caſh.

The places eaſt from Bangalore, ſuch as Colar, and Nurſapura, ſend money, and procure betel-nut and black pepper.

Betel-nut is the principal article of trade at Bangalore, and is of two kinds; the beſt, called deſhavara, comes from the Nagara diſtrict; the inferior quality is called wallagram, and comes from Gubi, and all the places ſouth from Sira, and north from Madura. This laſt is chiefly reſerved for country uſe: but the deſhavari is diſperſed through the country to the eaſtward, as far as Madras. It is all what is called *boiled nut*.

In this country black pepper is next to betel-nut, the moſt common article of commerce. Of this alſo there are two kinds, the codali, and baygadi; the difference in value is inconſiderable, but the codali is reckoned rather the beſt. Much of it is ſent down to the Baramahal, and to the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot. This was one of the articles in which the Sultan traded.

Sandal-wood is alſo a conſiderable article of commerce at Bangalore. The beſt comes from the Nagara diſtrict, and from the country bordering on the weſtern Ghats. An inferior kind comes from Madura, Denkina-cotay, Deva-ráyana-cotay, and other places in the ridge of hills which run north from Capala-durga. Each kind is divided into three ſorts: the firſt is that which is between the root and firſt branches; the ſecond is that of the large branches; and the third is that of the ſmall branches, ſo far as theſe contain red wood. The ſandal tree, according to the idea of the natives, is of two kinds; male and female: the former of which is dark, the latter pale-coloured; both are of the ſame value. The ſandal of the old tree is ſaid to be more valuable than that from a young one; but the merchants, in forming an eſtimate of its value,

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go entirely by the ſtrength of its ſmell. During Tippoo's government none of the ſandal-wood came to this market: he either did not allow it to be cut, or elſe ſtored up in his forts whatever was felled.

Black blankets, or cumlies, are here a conſiderable article of commerce; and ſome merchants of the Carubaru caſt, trade in nothing elſe. They are brought chiefly from Gori Bideruru in the Madhu-giri taluc, and alſo from Sira, Chatrakal, and Balahari. Theſe laſt are by much the beſt; next to them are thoſe from Chatrakal. They vary in price from four fanams, or 2s. 9½d. to 15 pagodas, or 3l. 3s. 6¾d. By far the greater part are under the value of one pagoda, or 6s. 8½d. They are chiefly retailed here for country uſe.

The importation of cotton wool to Bangalore is very great, and is carried on entirely by the Pancham Banijigaru. There are two kinds of cotton wool; one called red, and another white; which diſtinction does not ariſe from any difference in the plants, but from the quality of the ſoil in which they are raiſed. The white is the beſt; and both are imported clean, and fit for uſe. It comes moſtly from the dominions of the Marattahs, and the Nizam; and is brought hither by the merchants from Naragunda, Navalagunda, and Savonuru in the Duab; from Jalalu, the diſtrict in which Gajéndraghur is ſituated; and from Hubuli, in which ſtands Darwara, all of which belong to the former: and from Balahari and Advany, which belong to the latter power. All the merchants are natives of theſe places, and in the Marattah country are very well protected. They ſell by wholeſale to the traders of Bangalore, who retail it out in the town and neighbourhood. A bullock-load of cotton, coming from the Marattah country to Bangalore, and worth from 14 to 20 Ikeri pagodas, or from 5l. 10s. 3d. to 8l. 1s. 8d. pays in all, of tranſit duties, nearly two canter'raia pagodas, or 13s. 5d. In this neighbourhood it has been in vain attempted to cultivate cotton. For family uſe a little has been raiſed; but the produce has been very ſmall.

A kind of drug merchants at Bangalore, called gandhaki, trade to a conſiderable extent. Some of them are Banijigaru, and others are Ladaru, a kind of Muſſulmans. They procure the medicinal plants of the country by means of a ſet of people called Pacanat Jogalu, who have huts in the woods, and, for leave to collect the drugs, pay a ſmall rent to the gaudas of the villages. They bring the drugs hither in ſmall caravans of ten or twelve oxen, and ſell them to the gandhaki, who retail them. None of them are exported. Small traders from the neighbouring towns bring popli and muddi barks; honey, and wax; agalaſunti, and hayguntigay, two medicinal roots; myrobalans; and Dinduga gum; all which they procure from the Eriligaru. The whole wax of the country uſed formerly to be brought hither; but now a great part of it is carried directly to the Lower Carnatic. The quantity annually procured does not exceed a hundred maunds, or about 2,425 pounds. The Dinduga gum might be had to the extent of two or three hundred maunds, or from 4,850 lbs. to 7,275 lbs. a year, if money were advanced for it at the rate of from 8 to 12 fanams a maund, or from 1l. 3s. 4d. to 1l. 15s. 1d. the hundred weight. At preſent a ſmall quantity only is collected for the uſe of the ſilk-weavers. The cotton-merchants from the Duab of the Kriſhna ſupply the gandhaki with cut, or terra japonica; with aſafœtida, mailtuta and maiful, two ſubſtances uſed by the natives in cleaning their teeth; coſta, a medicine; loduchica, a dye; ſulphur, alum, borax, and opium. From the gandhaki theſe merchants purchaſe muddi and popli dyes, lac, and wax. The lac is partly bought from the Woddar, who collect it in the neighbourhood; and partly from traders, that bring it from Madhu-giri, Godagiri, Banir-

gutta,

gutta, and Denkina-cotay. The ſpices, the Tagaſhay ſeed, and indigo, are procured by the gandhaki from the Lower Carnatic. Foſſile alkali, or ſoda, is partly brought from Kriſhna-giri in the Bára-mahál; and partly from Chin'-ráya-pattana, Gutalu, and Holy Naraſinga-pura. Tonda flowers, for dyeing, are brought from Nagara, and from Denkina-cotay; thoſe produced in the latter place are the beſt. Moſt of the Capili-podi dye, or flower produced on the fruit of the Rotleria tinctoria of Dr. Roxburgh, comes from Chin'-ráya pattana; but a little is procured from Rámagiri. The Coſſumba, or Carthamus tinctorius, that grows in the country, is not nearly ſufficient for its demand; and much of this article is imported by the cotton-merchants from the Duab.

The trade in ſalt from the Lower Carnatic is very conſiderable, as none but the pooreſt people eat that made in the country. It is carried on by two claſſes of people: the Woddaru, or tank-diggers; and the Coramaru, who, in the intervals between their commercial expeditions, make baſkets. The ſalt is brought up from the Lower Carnatic by people of the ſame caſts; and by thoſe, who reſide here, is diſtributed throughout the country as far as Magadi, and Chinapatam. The people who bring the ſalt take back, in return, tamarinds, ſeeds for making oil, and all kinds of grain that happen to be cheaper here than in the low country.

Goods of all kinds are tranſported by cattle in back-loads. The beſt cattle are uſed in the cotton trade, and belong to Pancham Banijigaru, natives of the country where the cotton grows. Theſe people ſpeak the Karnata as their native language, but do not intermarry with the Pancham Banijigaru of Bangalore. The bullocks employed in this trade are very fine animals; and each brings from 12 to 15 maunds of cotton, or from 327½ to 409¾ lbs. They travel daily at the rate of three computed coſſes, which may be about twelve Britiſh miles; and in three hours they perform this journey. Beſides ſtraw, they are fed on oil-cake, and the ſeed and leaves of the cotton plant. They coſt from 15 to 25 pagodas, or from 5l. os. 8½d. to 8l. 7s. 10¾d. In the ſame manner are fed the oxen which are employed in tranſporting betel-nut, pepper, and moſt other kinds of goods; but theſe coſt only four or five pagodas, or from 1l. 6s. 10½d. to 1l. 13s. 7d. They alſo travel three coſſes a day; but their average load is only eight maunds, or 206¼ lbs. Many Banijigaru follow the profeſſion of carriers, and keep oxen for the purpoſe. The rate of hire is always fixed on the average load of eight maunds, and never according to time, but always by diſtance. The carriage of a bullock-load of pepper, betel-nut, or other articles that ſtow well, and may be equally divided, coſts 15 fanams from Bangalore to Wallajapetta, diſtant about 145 Britiſh miles; on articles that cannot be ſo well divided the price is about 18 fanams. The firſt gives $1\frac{500}{1000}$ penny a mile for the hundred weight; the ſecond gives $1\frac{846}{1000}$ penny. The carriers are not anſwerable for any accident that may happen to the goods; the merchant therefore muſt ſend with them ſome truſty perſon, who is generally a younger branch of the family. The bullock employed in carriage is always ſhod with ſlight iron ſhoes.

Buffaloes of the northern breed are ſometimes employed, eſpecially by cloth-merchants; their great ſize enabling them with convenience to ſupport a bulky article. They are very fine animals, and their common load is 15 maunds, or about 410 lbs. with which they travel at the rate of 12 or 15 miles a day; but they require higher feeding than the bullock does.

The people who tranſport ſalt and grain generally uſe aſſes, or a very poor kind of bullock. The aſs carries from 40 to 50 ſeers meaſure, or from $1\frac{39}{100}$ buſhel to $1\frac{74}{100}$ buſhel. They can travel about ſix miles a day, and are all males purchaſed from the

the waſhermen who breed them. Two men take charge of twelve loaded aſſes. Theſe creatures get nothing to eat but what they can pick up by the ſides of the road. Their coſt is from 1½ to two pagodas, or from 10s. 0¾d. to 13s. 5¼d.

The bullocks employed by theſe people are treated much in the ſame manner as the aſſes; but each carries from 60 to 80 ſeers of grain, or from $2\frac{0}{160}\frac{8}{0}$ buſhels to $2\frac{7}{160}\frac{8}{0}\frac{4}{0}$ buſhels. Merchants, who deal in betel-nut, pepper, &c. have ſometimes had recourſe to this poor kind of conveyance; but it is very rarely done, the ſlowneſs with which theſe cattle travel rendering the dealer liable to ſuffer great loſs from fluctuations in the markets.

This is the information collected from all the moſt reſpectable merchants of the place. According to the cuſtom-houſe accompts the imports are ſalt; ſugar-candy; cocoa-nuts; betel-nut; pepper; cut, or terra japonica; ginger; capili, patunga root, and muddi dyes; wax; lac; ſteel; falſe gilded paper; indigo; ſandal-wood; ſalt-petre; ſulphur; yellow arſenic; cinnabar; braſs and copper, wrought and unwrought; lead; zinc; paper; dates; caſturi, a kind of turmeric; benjamin; ſompa, one of the carminative ſeeds; aſafœtida; camphor; cardamoms; cloves; nutmegs; mace; gopichandana, a clay uſed by the Bráhmans for making their marks; rudrakſhi, a fruit uſed by the Bráhmans for their beads; almonds; opium; golai, a kind of opium; ſanacallu, the ſtone uſed for powdering ſandal; balapum, or pot-ſtone; allum; five medicinal ſalts, from Madras; bang; oil of ſeſamum; ghee; honey; oil of the melia azadarichta; cocoa-nut oil; Carnatic tobacco; Madras cloths, cotton, ſilk, and woollen; raw ſilk; red and white cotton thread; carpets; Thibet cow tails; coſſumba flowers; Burrahunpour cloths; Balahari cloths; Caſhemire goods brought by Goſſais, who travel with horſes and camels; the goods are, muſk, ſaffron, carpets, and ſhawls; mutabi, or gold cloth of Hyder-ábád; cumlies, or country blankets from Chatrakal and Balahari; Engliſh blankets, or hutſu cumlies; paints; goats, and ſheep from Penu-conda; hard-ware; palmira; and date jagories; molaſſes; myrobalans; wheat from Balahari and Penu-conda; beſides the produce of the neighbouring country.

The trade of the country not having been yet opened a year ſince the inhabitants had deſerted the place, no proper eſtimate can be formed of the quantity of exports and imports; but it is on the increaſe every month, and is now about one fourth of the quantity that was exported and imported in the moſt flouriſhing time of Hyder's government. The ſon of the perſon who had then charge of the cuſtom-houſe, ſtates the following particulars of the trade at that period. In one year there were imported 1500 bullock-loads of cotton wool; 50 bullock loads of cotton thread; 230 bullock-loads of raw ſilk; 7000 bullock-loads of ſalt; foreign goods from Madras 300 bullock-loads. At the ſame time were exported of betel-nut 4000 bullock-loads, and of pepper 400 bullock-loads.

Although, in common reckoning, the day begins at ſun-riſe, yet this is by no means the caſe in the Chandramánam almanac. Some days laſt only a few hours, and others continue for almoſt double the natural length; ſo that no one, without conſulting the panchánga, or almanac-keeper, knows when he is to perform the ceremonies of religion. What increaſes the difficulty is, that ſome days are doubled, and ſome days altogether omitted, in order to bring ſome feaſts, celebrated on certain days of the month, to happen at a proper time of the moon, and alſo in order to cut off ſix ſuperfluous days, which twelve months of thirty days would give more than a year of twelve lunations. Every thirtieth month one intercalary moon is added, in order to remove the difference between the lunar and ſolar years. As the former is

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the only one in uſe, and is varying continually, none of the farmers, without conſulting the panchánga, know the ſeaſon for performing the operations of agriculture.

Theſe panchángas are poor ignorant Bráhmans, who get almanacs from ſome one ſkilled in aſtronomy. This perſon marks the days, which correſpond with the times in the ſolar year, that uſually produce changes in the weather, and ſtates them to be under the influence of ſuch and ſuch conjunctions of ſtars, male, female, and neuter; and every one knows the tendency of theſe conjunctions to produce certain changes in the weather. The poor panchángas are as much in the dark as their neighbours, and actually believe that the year conſiſts of 360 days, ſix of which are loſt, nobody can tell how. As for the ſkill in aſtrology by which the learned are ſuppoſed to be able to foretel the ſeaſons, I have never met with even a Vaidika Bráhman, that doubted its exiſtence. It is, however, looked upon as a common ſcience, as not having any thing miraculous in it, nor being communicated to its profeſſors by divine favour.

The office of panchánga in every part of this country is hereditary, and is always held by a Bráhman, who acts as puróhita, or family prieſt, to all the perſons of pure deſcent in the town or village. In Bengal, Bráhmans who have loſt caſt act as puróhitas for the low or impure caſts; but both here, and in the Lower Carnatic, ſuch an office would be conſidered as too degrading for even the moſt reprobate of the ſacred order. The office of puróhita conſiſts in reading at certain ceremonies, ſuch as marriages, births, funerals, the building of a new houſe, or the like, what are called mantrams, amd ſáſtrams. Mantrams are certain fixed forms of prayer, or invocations of the deity; and the high dignity of the Bráhmans ariſes from the power which certain mantrams, pronounced by them, are believed to poſſeſs. For inſtance, by a proper mantram, the deity may be removed from any inſpired image into a pot of holy water, and the image having been ornamented by profane hands, the deity may be again transferred back from the pot of water. Sáſtrams are portions of the writings eſteemed ſacred; and of which certain parts are appointed to be read on particular occaſions, ſuch as I have above mentioned.

I aſſembled at different times the chief perſons of ſome of the moſt conſpicuous caſts at Bangalore, and procured from them the following account of their cuſtoms.

The Banijigas, or Banijigaru, are in this country a very numerous claſs, and are of three kinds, the Pancham, the Jaina, and the Telinga Banijigaru.

The Pancham Banijigaru are by the Muſſulmans called Lingait, as being the chief perſons of the ſect, who wear, round their necks, a ſilver box containing an image of Siva in ſhape of the Linga, under which form only he is ever worſhipped. From this circumſtance they are alſo called Sivabhactaru, and Lingabuntaru; but in this country there are many other lower caſts, who wear the ſame badge of religion. The Pancham Banijigaru are alſo the heads of the right hand ſide. They admit of no diſtinction of caſt among themſelves, except that ariſing from a dedication to the ſervice of God; but they do not admit of any proſelytes from other Hindu races; nor do they intermarry with any of the lower caſts that wear the Linga. The Bráhmans allege, that they are Súdras; but this, in general, they earneſtly deny. The manner in which the Bráhmans reaſon with them is this: you are, ſay they, neither Bráhman, Kſhátri, nor Vaiſya. If therefore you are not Súdras, you muſt belong to one of the low, or impure caſts. Many of the Lingait, rather than endure ſuch a terrible degradation, are induced to acknowledge themſelves of the Súdra caſt. It muſt however be obſerved, that Vánija, from which their name is probably derived,

is ſaid to be a Sanſcrit word, ſignifying any perſon of the Vaiſya caſt who follows trade.

The Pancham Banijigaru are divided into a number of tribes, which ſeem to derive their names from certain places where they were formerly ſettled. Two perſons of different tribes never intermarry; but all perſons of the caſt can eat together, and the whole are under the juriſdiction of the head-man *(pedda chitty)*, of whatever tribe he may be. This office is, as uſual, hereditary; and the perſon who enjoys it is exempted by government from houſe-rent, and from one half of the cuſtoms on his goods. He finds merchants coming from a diſtance in lodging and warehouſes, ſettles diſputes among his clan, and puniſhes them for miſdemeanors. In general, he is ſupported by the officers of government, who puniſh ſuch of his followers as do not give him the cuſtomary obedience. His judicial authority, however, is not arbitrary. All his proceedings are open; and he cannot act contrary to the advice of his council, which conſiſts of all the old and reſpectable men of the caſt.

Beſides this diviſion into tribes, which ariſes from the names of places, there ſeem to be other diſtinctions among the Linga Banijigas; ſome are called Aray, that is, Marattahs, and ſome Teliga, that is, Telingas; and neither of theſe ever intermarry with each other, or with thoſe who are of the Karnata nation. Some perſons allege that Pancham, the title commonly given to the whole, is only the name of a diviſion; and that there are alſo Linga Banijigas called Budugulu, Lulgunderu, and Turcanaru.

The Pancham Banijigaru are chiefly traders. They may, however, follow any profeſſion, except ſuch as belong to the moſt diſgraced caſts; and this exception ſeems rather to ariſe from a wiſh to keep themſelves reſpectable, than from any poſitive law. Like all other worſhippers of Siva, they bury the dead, and never offer ſacrifices. They do not purchaſe their wives, of whom they may marry as many as they pleaſe. The women are not confined, but cannot marry a ſecond huſband; and after the ſigns of puberty appear, a girl is no longer marriageable. Adultery is very rare; that is to ſay, among the women; for among the people of this country the term is never applied to the infidelity of married men. The Pancham Banijigas never eat animal food, nor take any intoxicating ſubſtance. They cannot eat, except when the ſun ſhines; of courſe, in cloudy days they are under the neceſſity of faſting.

Like moſt other Hindu caſts, the Pancham Banijigas conſiſt of a portion that follow worldly affairs, and another that dedicate themſelves entirely to what they call the ſervice of the gods; that is to ſay, idleneſs, meditation, prayer, abſtinence, and the mortification of the paſſions. Among this caſt, theſe conſecrated perſons are called Jangamas, Einaru, or Wodearu. Any Pancham Banijiga, who is qualified by his education and manners, may become a Jangama; but the deſcendants of a Jangama never betake themſelves to honeſt induſtry. They always ſubſiſt upon charity; and moſt of them wander about with a great number of ſmall bells tied to their legs and arms, in order to give the inhabitants of the villages notice of their preſence; ſo that they may come out to invite the holy men to their houſes, or to beſtow charity. Many others live about the matas, or colleges of the Gurus of the caſt, and act as their ſervants.

The Gurus or Swamalus of the Pancham Banijigaru are Sannyáſis; that is, men who have forſaken all, and they poſſeſs an abſolute authority in all religious matters, among which is included the chaſtity of the women. Of theſe Gurus, or Sannyáſis, there are four that are called thrones, and whoſe matams are called baly-hully; huginy, near Nagara; ſri-ſhela, near Nundyal; and canelly, near Bangaluru. Theſe thrones ſeem to be independent of each other; and their occupants for the time being

being are ſuppoſed to be actual incarnations of Siva. When a Guru leaves this world, and is reunited to Siva in heaven, he is in general ſucceeded by a perſon of his own nomination. The Guru generally educates four or five children of his own family, with a view of chooſing the fitteſt of them for his ſucceſſor. Theſe pupils are taken into the matams at five or ſix years of age, and until they attain their thirteenth year, are called Mari; after which they are not by name diſtinguiſhed from the common Jangamas; but if they chooſe to marry, they muſt relinquiſh all hopes of becoming a Guru. The pupil is made a Guru (ſage), or an incarnation of God, by receiving from his maſter a particular upadéſa; and in caſe of a Guru's dying without having diſcloſed this awful ſecret, the other Gurus aſſemble, appoint the moſt promiſing pupil to ſucceed, and at the ſame time deliver to him the upadéſa of his rank. The Guru, when he pleaſes, may marry; but he is thereby degraded from being a portion of the divinity, and from his power; and no one has yet been found ſo deſirous of marriage, as to relinquiſh theſe pre-eminencies.

There are many inferior matams which are occupied by Sannyáſis, called Mahántina. Theſe originally received an upadéſa from ſome of the four chief Gurus, and were ſent to diſtant parts to manage the concerns of their ſuperiors; but, though they all acknowledge the ſuperiority of the four Gurus, yet they educate pupils in the ſame manner; and from among theſe appoint their ſucceſſor, by teaching him their upadéſa. Theſe pupils, till they arrive at the age of puberty, are called Putta Dévaru. The Mahántina having ſent deputies to different places, even theſe have now aſſumed a ſeparate juriſdiction, and educate their own ſucceſſors.

The Mahántina attend at marriages and funerals, and puniſh all perſons of the caſt, for every kind of offence againſt religion, by ordering every good man to avoid communication with the delinquent. This excommunication is not removed, till, by the interceſſion of friends, and the moſt humiliating requeſts of the offender, he obtains pardon by paying a fine under the name of charity. On this occaſion, the Mahántina beſtow ſome conſecrated water and victuals, which wipe away the offence. The Gurus occaſionally viſit the different Mahántina throughout the country; but it is the Guru only of the matam from whence the Mahántina originally came, that poſſeſſes any juriſdiction over the inferior.

The Pancham Banijigaru worſhip only Siva, his wife, and his ſons: but they allege that Brahmá and Viſhnu are the ſame with Siva. They ſuppoſe, that their ſect has exiſted from the beginning of the world; but that at the time of Bejala Rája, who reigned about ſeven hundred and twenty years ago at Kalyána Pattana, the Kings and moſt of the people were Jainas. At this time Baſwana, the ſuppoſed ſon of a Bráhman, became prime miniſter of the Rája, and reſtored the worſhip of Siva. Many of the Jainas were converted, and their deſcendants now form the Jaina Banijigaru, who, although they have the ſame religion with the Pancham, are never admitted to the prieſthood, nor to intermarry with the original ſect. Bejala Rája having been put to death by Jagadíva and Bomanna, two ſervants of Baſwana, that miniſter reigned in his ſtead; and then promulgated the law which this ſect now follow; and this, with an account of all the actions of Baſwana, are contained in a book called Baſwana Purána; which was written by a Bráhman called Bhimakavi, at the deſire of Baſwana. The ſect are in poſſeſſion of another book of great authority. It conſiſts of ſix Sáſtrams written by a Jangama named Nijaguna, who, in the converſation which he had with an image of Siva at a temple on a hill near Ellanduru, received the neceſſary inſtruction. After he had finiſhed the book, this Jangama did not die; but the image, opening, received him into its ſubſtance.

It

It continues ever ſince to be held in great eſtimation. Theſe booksare open to the vulgar; but it is ſaid, that the Jangamas have ſome books which are kept ſecret.

The Teliga Banijigaru derive their name from having originally come from the Telinga country, which, in the dialect of Karnata, is called Teliga. They all retain the Telinga language, and allege that all Banijigas are deſcended from a perſon called Prithivi Mala-chitty. By his firſt wife, who was of the Viſhnu ſect, he had the anceſtors of their caſt; and by his ſecond wife, who worſhipped Iſwara, or Siva, he had the anceſtors of the Lingabantaru. They are evidently an inferior people, and more ignorant than the other Banijigas, owing probably to their being under the Brâhmans, who exclude their followers from a ſhare of their learning. In the Teliga language they are called Balija; whence, probably, is derived the name Buljewar, which is beſtowed by the Muſſulmans on all Banijigas.

The true Telinga Banijigas are merchants and traders of all kinds, farmers, and farmers' ſervants, and porters for the tranſportation of goods or baggage; but never artiſts, nor mechanics. They are divided into a number of tribes, all of which can eat together; but one tribe never marries with another. The chiefs of the Lingabantas have a civil juriſdiction over the Teliga Banijigaru; but in order to ſettle matters relating to their own caſt, they chooſe the man whom they judge to be moſt capable; and in the abſence of their Gurus, this man calls an aſſembly of the elders, and ſettles the affair.

Their Gurus are all hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Brâhmans, and never puniſh any delinquent without the advice of a council of elders. In their viſits, theſe Gurus live in the temples, and aſſemble the people in order to collect their contributions, and to beſtow upadéſa and chakrántikam on ſuch as chooſe to receive them. The panchánga acts as their puróhita, attending at births, marriages, and funerals, and on each occaſion receives charity.

Among the Teliga Banijigaru the cuſtom of Dáſéri prevails. A Dáſéri is a man dedicated to the ſervice of the Tripathi Viſhnu; that is to ſay, who ſubſiſts by begging in the name of that idol. When a ſick man is in great danger, he frequently vows, if he recovers, to take Dáſéri, or to make one of his ſons aſſume that profeſſion; and ever afterwards the eldeſt ſon of the family muſt follow that buſineſs, but the younger ſons follow ſome induſtrious employment. The Dáſéri may marry, and may be a rich man; as the younger branches of his family live in his houſe, and cultivate the ground, or carry on trade: but he himſelf wanders about, and collects grain and ſmall money from thoſe who are charitable. They get by rote a prayer in Telinga poetry, which they conſtantly bawl out in the ſtreets, and endeavour farther to attract notice by blowing on a conch. It ſeems to be only the Súdras of the Viſhnu ſect that follow this idle life, and few of them are able either to read or write.

The Telinga Banijigaru are acknowledged to be true Súdras, and they allow this to be the caſe. A few of them learn to read and write accompts, but they never attempt any higher kind of learning. They eat ſheep, goats, hogs, fowls, and fiſh, and may uſe bang; but they ought not to drink ſpirituous liquors. They bury the dead, and the women formerly uſed to bury themſelves alive with their deceaſed huſbands; but this cuſtom has fallen into diſuſe. They pray to Viſhnu, and all the gods of his family; and alſo to Dharma Râja, an inferior god of a beneficent nature; but with the Brâhmans he is not an object of worſhip. In caſe of danger, they offer bloody ſacrifices to ſeveral deſtructive ſpirits; ſuch as Marima, Putalima, Mutialima, and Gungoma, which is a lump of mud made into a ſort of temporary image. The Brâhmans of this country abhor this kind of worſhip, and call all theſe gods of the vulgar evil ſpirits,

Saktis, or miniſters of Siva. They never offer ſacrifices at the temples of theſe deities, and much leſs ever act as their púját́is. Influenced, however, by ſuperſtition, although they condemn the practice, they in ſickneſs occaſionally ſend a ſmall offering of fruit or money to theſe deities; but, being aſhamed to do it publickly, the preſent is generally conveyed by ſome child, who may be ſuppoſed to have made the offering by miſtake. The ſmall temples of theſe deities are very numerous, and the púját́is are in general of the impure caſts. I am inclined indeed to believe, that they are the original gods of the country; and that theſe impure caſts are the remains of the rude tribes that occupied the country before the origin of the Bráhmans, or other ſects, that introduced forms of worſhip more complicated, and more favourable to the prieſthood.

Many of the people who burn lime are a kind of low Teliga Banijigaru, as they can eat in the houſes of that claſs; but their native language is the Karnataka, or Canareſe; and the two tribes do not intermarry. They are divided into ſeveral families, and no man marries out of his own; but they can all eat together. They have hereditary chiefs, who ſettle diſputes relating to caſt; but in civil affairs they are ſubject to the chiefs of the Pancham Banijigaru. They do not wear the linga, yet they conſider as their Guru the Nidamavudy Swámalu, who is a Mahántina Einaru, and lives in the Bala-pura diſtrict. They never eat with the ſect of Siva; and uſe animal food, and bang; but are not allowed to drink ſpirituous liquors. They bury the dead. They are allowed a plurality of wives, who are not confined, and are ſo induſtrious that they are looked upon as a ſupport to their huſbands. They are never divorced, except for adultery; and if their infidelity has not been with a man of a very low caſt, the parties are frequently reconciled by the Swámalu, who makes them eat together ſome conſecrated victuals, which, with ſome holy water, puts an end to all differences. None of them can either read or write. They never become Dáſéri. The god of their caſt is Vencaty Rámana, or the Tripathi Viſhnu: but they pray alſo to Dhárma Rája, and offer ſacrifices to Marima, and other deſtructive ſpirits.

Another inferior kind of Teliga Banijigas are the Goni makers. They will willingly eat in the houſes of that caſt; but theſe will not return the compliment. They will alſo eat the meat prepared by a Pancham Banijiga. They have their own hereditary chiefs, who are as ignorant as their followers, none of them being able either to read or write. Some of them are farmers, and ſome are ſmall traders, which does not effect any difference in caſt. They do not wear the Linga, and Guru is one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans, whoſe family title is Tata Achárya. The preſent Guru, named Ráma Achárlu, lives here. Thoſe who are natives of this country bury their dead, and the Goni makers of the Lower Carnatic burn theirs; but this does not prevent the two from intermarrying. They are allowed a plurality of wives. Without danger of loſing caſt they can eat hogs, fowls, mutton, and fiſh, and can drink ſpirituous liquors.

The Dévángas are a ſet of weavers, conſiſting of two nations, Karnata, and Telinga.

The Karnata or Canara Dévángas in this country all wear the linga, but are a diſtinct caſt from the Pancham Banijigas, with whom they neither eat nor intermarry. The ſame is the caſe between them and the Teliga Dévángas. Their Guru is Cari Baſwa-uppa, who from the place of his reſidence, is commonly called the Nidamavudy Swámalu. The Dévángas pretend that he is totally independent of the Gurus of the Linga Banijigaru; but I have reaſon to think that this is a vain piece of pride, and that he is one of the Mahantina before mentioned. The Guru ſends Jangamas to all the villages where Dévángas reſide, and receives contributions under the name of charity.

charity. Owing to a diſpute about the burning of the body of the Raja's mother, this prieſt incurred the heavy diſpleaſure of Tippoo, and was under the neceſſity of flying to the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, and ſtill remains there at Trinomaly. The learning is chiefly confined to the Swámalu and his pupils. Moſt of the Jangamas are acknowledged, even by their followers, to be very ignorant. The ſect have a book called Dévánga Purána, which every one may read. It was written by Dévánga Muni, the common anceſtor of the race. The Jangamas read the Baſwana Purána, and poſſeſs many books that the Dévángas are not permitted to ſee. Out of theſe they repeat portions to the laity at the annual ceremony performed in memory of their deceaſed parents, at births, and at funerals. Theſe portions are committed to memory by the Jangamas, it not being lawful for the laity even to look at the books; but as theſe are written in the vulgar language, and of courſe are underſtood by every one, the Dévángas are laughed at by their neighbours for conſidering them as of any value. The panchánga attends at marriages, and reads a mantram in Sanſkrit; which, being unintelligible, is very highly valued. The knowledge of the laity is confined to the keeping of accompts and writing letters. The Gurus and Jangamas poſſeſs the ſame authority over the Dévángas, as they do over the Pancham Banijigas.

The proper god of the caſt is Iſwara or Siva, and his wife and family; eſpecially his ſervant the Baſwa, and his ſon Ganéſa, who has particular authority over the loom, and, when his worſhip is neglected, is apt to make it go wrong.

The hereditary chiefs of the Canara Dévángas are called Ijyamána. With the aſſiſtance of a council of the elders, theſe chiefs take cognizance of all offences againſt the ceremonies of caſt. They reprimand for ſmall offences; for thoſe of a higher nature, excommunicate; and, in caſes of great importance, ſend the accuſed perſon to the Swámalu for his deciſion. The chiefs and councils endeavour to ſettle all civil diſputes between members of the caſt, firſt by admonition; then by excommunication of thoſe who are unreaſonable; and finally by applying to the officers of government, who generally enforce the decrees of the Ijyamánas.

The whole of the Canara Dévángas can intermarry. They are allowed a plurality of wives, which they purchaſe from their parents, paying from 4 to 16 pagodas (1l. 6s. 2½d.—5l. 7s. 5½d.) for each, according to their circumſtances. The wives are not ſhut up, nor are they ever divorced except for adultery. They eat no animal food, nor uſe any intoxicating ſubſtance, except as a medicine. They bury the dead, and believe that after death good men are united to God; bad men ſuffer tranſmigration. The Nidamavudy Swámalu is looked upon as the ſame with Iſwara, and even a common Jangama is conſidered as a portion of the deity.

The Teliga Dévángas retain their native Telinga language, but are divided into two ſects; of whom one worſhips Viſhnu, and the other Iſwara; but both ſects intermarry, the wife always adopting the religion of the huſband.

The Teliga Dévángas of the ſect of Siva do not wear the linga, although they conſider Cari Baſwa-uppa as their Guru. The prieſt admoniſhes them to waſh their heads, and to pray regularly to Iſwara; and, as uſual, requires from them contributions. He has a ſmall due on every marriage. The panchánga reads mantrams at births, marriages, and funerals; at the amáváſya, or laſt day of the lunar month, and at the tithi, or day on which their parents died; on both of which days a faſt, in commemoration of their deceaſed parents, is obſerved by the greater part of the Hindu race. On theſe occaſions the Jangamas attend, but merely to receive charity. Concerning a future life, they have ſimilar opinions with thoſe who wear the linga. They offer bloody ſacrifices to the Saktis. They bury the dead; and the cuſtom

cuſtom of the widow burying herſelf alive with her huſband's body was once prevalent among them, but has now become obſolete. Girls, after the age of puberty, continue to be marriageable. A man is allowed to take many wives, but is not permitted to ſhut them up, nor to divorce them for any cauſe except adultery. The men confine their learning to the being able to read and write accompts. They eat fowls, fiſh, hogs, ſheep, and goats, but account it unlawful to drink ſpirituous liquors.

The Teliga Dévángas of the Viſhnu ſect are followers of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans, and are acknowledged by them to be Súdras.

The hereditary chiefs, or Ijyamánas, of all the Dévángas are the ſame; each man in the place ſubmitting to the authority of the chief of the ſect that is moſt numerous.

The Shaynagas, or Shaynagaru, form a very numerous and wealthy claſs of weavers. They are divided into two nations, Telinga, and Canara; but of the former, there are none in this neighbourhood.

Although by far the greater part of the Canara Shaynagas are ſettled below the Ghats, in countries where the Tamul language is ſpoken; and though all theſe who are ſettled now in this neighbourhood came up from the Lower Carnatic about eighty or a hundred years ago; yet the whole caſt retain the language of Karnata as their native tongue. This confirms the truth of a tradition prevalent among them, of their having all originally gone down from this country; but they can aſſign no date, nor any reaſon for ſuch an emigration. They are divided into two claſſes; one dedicated to religion, and called Einaru, Jangamas, or Wodearu; the other follow lay profeſſions. All the weavers can intermarry; but they are never honoured by an intermarriage with the Einaru, nor are they ever admitted into that ſacred order. They wear the lingam, and conſider their prieſts as portions of the deity. They bury the dead. They can eat in the houſe of a Pancham Banijiga; but the two caſts never intermarry.

The hereditary chiefs of the Canara Shaynagas are called Ijyamána, and, with a council of elders, poſſeſs the ſole cognizance of tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt, as well as of civil diſputes; for the power of the Jangamas is confined to admonition. They do not ſhut up their women; and are not allowed to take a ſecond wife, unleſs the firſt dies, or has no children. When a man marries his firſt wife, he muſt give her father 101 fanams, or 3l. 7s. 10d.; for a ſecond he muſt give 131 fanams, or 4l. 7s. 11¾d. No divorce can take place, except for adultery on the ſide of the woman; the wife in India having no remedy for her huſband's infidelity except her tongue; and in caſe of her being too free in the uſe of that weapon, the men very frequently repreſs it by beating.

The weavers learn to read and write accompts, and letters on buſineſs; but in this country theſe are reckoned very mean accompliſhments. A plain compoſition in proſe, and conſiſting merely of common ſenſe, is looked upon as a kind of reading beneath the dignity of a man of learning, who ought always to compoſe in poetry; and the more obſcure he renders his meaning by allegories the better. The books containing the doctrines of the ſect are confined entirely to the Einaru, whoſe duty it is to explain them to the laymen. The chief book in uſe among them is called the Márkandiya Purána; and they do not receive as canonical the Baſwana Purána.

Among the Einaru of the Shaynagas are ſeveral high prieſts called Putta Dévarus or Swámalus. Theſe are all Sannyaſis, and ſeem to be independent of each other.

Thoſe which are known to the people here, are, Sankara Dévaru, who lives at Changamau near Trinomaly; Bhuſágara Swámi, at Narafingha pura, near Arnee; Gangádhara Swámi, at Kunji; Sénavera Dévaru, at Chinamangala near Trinomaly; and Gurufiddha Dévaru, at Trinomaly: all which places are in the Lower Carnatic. Theſe Putta Dévaru have their matams at the places above mentioned; but travel occaſionally through the country occupied by the weavers, collecting the contributions of the charitable, beſtowing advice on the adults, and the linga on the children, who receive it with ſome particular ceremonies. Each of the Putta Dévarus educates a boy, who is of the ſacred claſs by birth, who is intended to be the ſucceſſor of his maſter, and who is called Mari. The Putta Dévaru, if he chooſes, may deliver over his office to the Mari, and take a wife; in which caſe he is degraded to the rank of a common Einaru. This is frequently done, as my informants were obliged to confeſs; though they did ſo with great reluctance; for they were unwilling to diſgrace their ſwámalus before their neighbours, who conſider celibacy as a much more honourable ſtate than marriage. The married Einaru have their houſes near the different matams. Some of them live with the Sannyáſis, and are their menial ſervants; but the greater part of them, that are able to undergo the fatigue, wander about to collect charity for their ſupport. In the Lower Carnatic they are ſaid to ſell glaſs rings, and other trinkets.

The people of this caſt, with whom I converſed, were either ſo ignorant, or ſo unwilling to ſpeak on the ſubject of their religion, that I cannot depend much on what they ſaid. The Jangamas of the Pancham Banijigaru allege, that the Swámalus of the Shaynagas are of their ſect: and the Mahántina, no doubt, attend at the funerals and other public ceremonies of the Shaynagas; but thoſe allege that this is merely for the purpoſe of begging, and that they perform no part of the ceremony. The Panchánga reads mantrams at marriages and births, and receives the uſual fees.

The Coramas, or Coramaru, are a ſet of people conſidered by the Bráhmans as of an impure or mixed breed. They make baſkets, and trade in grain and ſalt to a conſiderable extent; but none of them can read or write. They live, in general, in ſmall camps of moveable huts, which are ſometimes ſtationary near large towns; but they are often in a ſtate of daily motion, while the people are following their mercantile concerns. The coramas conſiſt of four families, Maydraguta, Cavadiru, Maynapatru, and Satipatru. Theſe are analogous to the Gótrams of the Bráhmans; for a man and woman of the ſame family never intermarry, being conſidered as too nearly allied by kindred. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, and purchaſe them from their parents. The agreement is made for a certain number of fanams, which are to be paid by inſtalments, as they can be procured by the young woman's induſtry; for the women of this caſt are very diligent in ſpinning, and carrying on petty traffic. When the bargain has been made, the bridegroom provides four ſheep, and ſome country rum, and gives a feaſt to the caſt; concluding the ceremony by wrapping a piece of new cloth round his bride. Should a man's wife prove unfaithful, he generally contents himſelf with giving her a beating, as ſhe is too valuable to be parted with on ſlight grounds; but, if he chooſes, ſhe may be divorced. In this caſe, he muſt aſſemble the caſt to a feaſt, where he publicly declares his reſolution; and the woman is then at liberty to marry any perſon that ſhe chooſes, who is willing to take her.

The coramas do not follow nor employ the Bráhmans; nor have they any prieſts, or ſacred order. When in diſtreſs, they chiefly invoke Vencaty Rámana, the Tripathi Viſhnu, and vow ſmall offerings of money to his temple, ſhould they

eſcape.

eſcape. They frequently go into the woods, and ſacrifice fowls, pigs, goats, and ſheep, to Muni, who is a male deity, and is ſaid by the Bráhmans to be a ſervant of Iſwara: but of this circumſtance the coramas profeſs ignorance. They, as uſual, eat the ſacrifices. They have no images, nor do they worſhip any. Once in two or three years the coramas of a village make a collection among themſelves, and purchaſe a braſs pot, in which they put five branches of the melia azadarichta, and a cocoa-nut. This is covered with flowers, and ſprinkled with ſandal-wood water. It is kept in a ſmall temporary ſhed for three days, during which time the people feaſt and drink, ſacrificing lambs and fowls to Marima, the daughter of Siva. At the end of the three days they throw the pot into the water.

The Panchálas, or Panchálaru, a name corrupted by the Muſſulmans into Panſhcal, are a caſt that follow five different trades, goldſmiths, carpenters, blackſmiths, maſons, and copperſmiths. Theſe occupations do not occaſion any difference of caſt; the ſon of a man of any one of the trades may, if he pleaſes, follow any other, and all of them can eat together and intermarry. Each trade, it is true, has a head-man; but the whole are ſubject to one hereditary chief, who is here a goldſmith. He is the leader of the left hand ſide; and at preſent the diſpute between him and the chief of the Banijigas runs ſo high, that government have been obliged to part the town into two diviſions. In the one of theſe the right hand ſide is not allowed to perform any ceremonies, nor to go in proceſſion; and the other diviſion is kept equally ſacred from the intruſions of their adverſaries. The head-man of the goldſmiths has a ſimilar juriſdiction with other chiefs of caſts; and, with the aſſiſtance of his council, can levy fines, which are given to the goddeſs Kálí; that is to ſay, to her prieſt.

The Panchálaru are divided into two ſects; one worſhipping Siva, the other adoring Viſhnu; but this does not produce any ſchiſm; the two parties eating together, and intermarrying; and when this happens, the wife adopts the religion of her huſband. Kálí is conſidered as the proper deity of the caſt; but receives no bloody ſacrifices from her votaries. Both ſects are prohibited from animal food, from ſpirituous liquors, from divorce (except in caſe of adultery), and from marrying a girl that has arrived at the age of puberty. The Bráhmans read mantrams at the births, marriages, and funerals of both ſects; and no diſtinction is made by either, whether the Bráhman be a worſhipper of Siva, or of Viſhnu.

The moſt numerous and richeſt of the Panchálas belong to the ſect of Siva, and wear the linga; but they have nothing in common with the Pancham Banijigas, and in fact are their moſt bitter enemies. This ſect bury the dead.

The Panchálas who worſhip Viſhnu are called Bagota, and have among them a family dedicated to religion. The eldeſt ſon of this family always ſucceeds to the dignity of Guru on the death of his father; the other male branches of the family are ſupported by the contributions of the ſect, and paſs their time in devotion and ſtudy. The women of the family intermarry with the working men of the caſt. The Guru is named Viper Vencaty Achárya; Vipur being his name, and Vencaty Achárya his title. He lives at Wadiga-palla, which is twelve coſſes from Bangalore, and in the Doda Bala-pura diſtrict. He travels about among his followers, receiving their contributions and beſtowing Upadéſa, and Chakrántikam, or Mudradárana as it is called in the Sanſkrit language.

The Madigas or Madigaru, are looked upon as a very low caſt. They dreſs hides, make ſhoes, and ſome of them cultivate the ground, acting as ſervants to the farmers. They are divided into ſmall tribes of ten or twelve houſes, and intermarry with the daughters of theſe houſes only, in order to be certain

of the purity of their race; of which they ſeem to be as fond, as thoſe caſts that are eſteemed infinitely ſuperior in rank. Some of the richer among them take two or more wives; but this is not common as a girl's father requires from 30 to 80 fanams (1l. 0s. 1¾d. — 2l. 13s. 8¾d.) They never divorce their wives for any crime, except adultery. They eat carrion, and all manner of animal food, and avowedly drink ſpirituous liquors. Their religious worſhip ſeems to be exactly the ſame with that of the Coramaru; but they have a prieſtly tribe, who never intermarry with the laity, who live entirely on their contributions, and are called Jambu. There is a matam of Jambu at Cuddapa; and the office of high prieſt there is hereditary. This perſon takes frequent rounds through the country, collecting money, and admoniſhing his followers. I have never ſeen any of the Jambu; and, if they have any learning among them, they keep it entirely to themſelves, as none of the laity can either read or write.

The Madigaru, who by the Engliſh of Madras are called Siclars, have no hereditary chiefs; but, in caſe of any fault being committed by a perſon of the caſt, the elders aſſemble, and puniſh him according to cuſtom.

The Rungaru are a tribe admitted to be of the Súdra caſt. They are tailors, and printers of calico cloths. They have hereditary chiefs, with the uſual juriſdiction, and follow the rules of their caſt. Their Guru is an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaiſhnavam, who reſides at Seringapatam. He puniſhes obſtinate offenders, and beſtows upadéſa; and in return takes their contributions. He does not favour this caſt by giving them chakrántikam.

The Jotyphanada, or Jotynagarada Ganagaru, are a kind of oil-makers, who deal largely in that commodity, and have two oxen in their mills. They pretend to be of the Bheri, or Nagarada ſect of the Vaiſya caſt; but this is not admitted by either the Bheri or Bráhmans. They are a real Karnataca tribe. Two families here wear the linga, and are not admitted either to eat or intermarry with the others, who are all followers of one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans, who lives here, and is called Nullary Chakravarti. He beſtows on them upadéſa, and ſometimes chakrántikam, but that rarely. When they marry, he gives them a ſtring or thread, to be worn over the ſhoulder. This ſhould be given to the real Vaiſya only; but a relaxation is made in their favour, as they pay for the badge; and the preſervation of the privileges of the lower caſts is looked upon as a matter of very little importance. The Guru comes ſometimes in perſon, and at others ſends his agents, to levy the dues which are paid at marriages, and to receive the caſual charity that is given according to the ability and diſpoſition of his followers.

Theſe oil-makers offer ſacrifices to the Saktis, or deſtructive powers; making vows to do ſo, when they are in ſickneſs or diſtreſs. Some of them take Dáſéri; and their deſcendants ever afterwards follow the ſame manner of living, and refuſe to intermarry with the induſtrious part of the caſt, whom they conſider as their inferiors. Some of the oil-makers burn, and ſome bury the dead. There have been inſtances, in the memory of man, of ſome of their widows having burned themſelves along with the bodies of their huſbands; but it is a very rare occurrence. Their wives can be divorced for adultery only, and are not ſhut up, although the men are allowed a plurality of women. They eat no animal food, nor is it lawful for them to drink ſpirituous liquors. They poſſeſs no learning, farther than being able to read and write accompts; and a few poems in the Andray, or poetical language of Telingana, which the Dáſéri commit to memory.

The people who, in the language of Karnata, are called Chitrakaru, are commonly better known by the Muſſulman appellation Jinigar, or Jiligar. They make cheſts, trunks, ſcrutoires, beds, and palankeens, paint houſes, draw pictures of the gods and of women, gild, act as tailors, make gold thread, and ſword ſcabbards, turn wood, and bind books. They never cultivate the ground, nor act as merchants. They pretend to be of the Kſhátriya caſt; and their Guru, in conſequence, indulges them with a thread like that of the Bráhmans; but their pretenſions to high rank are entirely diſavowed by all other caſts. They have among them ſome rudiments of learning. In the Brahmanda Purána, which is the book that they conſider as appropriated to their caſt, it is related, they ſay, that their anceſtors, on account of ſome injury done to the Bráhmans, were condemned to follow their preſent mechanical occupations. They are divided into two ſects; one worſhipping Siva, and the other Viſhnu: but this diviſion produces no difference of caſt, as they can all eat and marry together, the wife, as uſual, adopting the religion of her huſband. The worſhippers of Siva do not wear the linga, but are followers of the Smartal Bráhmans. A Vaidika Bráhman reſiding here beſtows the thread and upadéſa, and attends at births, marriages, and funerals, which are performed on the pile, and are ſometimes accompanied by the ſacrifice of a wife. Thoſe who worſhip Viſhnu are followers of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans. Neither diviſion of theſe people eat animal food, nor drink ſpirituous liquors. They are allowed plurality of women, but do not confine them. Like all the other tribes of this country, however, they do not willingly admit any perſon of a different race into the inner apartments of their houſes; eſpecially if he be of a caſt that they conſider as inferior to their own; perſons of their own tribe, and thoſe whom they conſider as of higher rank, can go into every part of their houſe, except the kitchen. The circumſtances which ſeem chiefly to add dignity to a caſt are, its being reſtricted from the pleaſures of the world, eſpecially thoſe of the table; the following no uſeful employment; and the being dedicated to what they call piety and learning. Almoſt every man endeavours, as much as poſſible, to aſſume at leaſt the external appearance of theſe qualifications; and in the people of this country a hypocritical cant is a remarkable feature. Even young men of active profeſſions, when talking on buſineſs, will frequently turn up their eyes to heaven, and make pious ejaculations, attended with heavy ſighs.

The Shalay are a caſt of weavers, divided into two diſtinct tribes, that never intermarry, and have ſeparate hereditary chiefs. They are of Telinga origin, and in their families retain that language: according to tradition, they have been in this country for ſix generations.

The Samay Shalay wear the Linga, and of courſe are worſhippers of Iſwara, and the gods of his family. They reject the worſhip of the Saktis, or deſtructive powers. Their Gurus are the Einaru of the Pancham Banijigas, with which caſt the Samay Shalay can eat, but they cannot intermarry. When their Guru viſits the town, each Shalay of this ſect muſt preſent him with two fanams (1s. 4d.); and when a Samay Shalay waits on the Guru at the matam, he muſt make an offering of ten fanams, (6s. 8½d.) The Guru does not give upadéſa; but, in place of it, beſtows the linga. In caſe of the Guru's abſence, this may be done by any Einaru. The Einaru attends at births, marriages, funerals, and on the occaſion of building a new houſe. The Panchánga attends at marriages to read the mantrams, or ſervice proper for the ceremony, and receives the uſual fees. On theſe occaſions, the Einaru waſhes the bridegroom's feet, and gives him ſome conſecrated victuals. They bury the dead, and

and the widow is ſometimes buried alive at the ſame time, but not in the ſame grave with the deceaſed huſband. Widows cannot marry a ſecond time, as is the caſe throughout India with females of any caſt above thoſe that are reckoned impure. The men are allowed a plurality of wives; but, except for adultery, can neither confine nor divorce them. They cannot legally eat animal food, nor drink ſpirituous liquors. The laymen are permitted to read ſeveral Puránas; ſuch as the Baſwa Purána, which gives an account of the laws of their religion: and the Shalayſwara Purána, which is extracted from a book called the Bráhmanda Purána, and contains the rules of their particular ſect, as the original work contains the rules of every ſect whatever.

The worſhippers of Viſhnu, among this claſs of weavers, are called Padma Shalay, and give the following account of their origin. The whole Shalay formerly wore the linga; but a houſe having been poſſeſſed by a devil, and this ſect having been called upon to caſt him out, all their prayers were of no avail. At length ten perſons, having thrown aſide the linga, and offered up their ſupplications to Viſhnu, they ſucceeded in expelling the enemy; and ever afterwards followed the worſhip of this god, in which they have been imitated by many of their brethren. The deſcendants of theſe men, who are called Sadana Aſhorlu, or the celebrated heroes, never work; and having dedicated themſelves to the ſervice of god, live upon the charity of the induſtrious part of the caſt, with whom they diſdain to intermarry.

The Guru of the Padma Shalay is Tata Achárya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans. He lives at Doda Bala-pura, and beſtows upadéſa and chakrántikam. He has here a deputy, a Vaidika Bráhman, who attends at births, marriages, and burials. Widows are never buried alive. The Padma Shalay are allowed a plurality of wives; but cannot confine their women, nor divorce them, except for adultery. They cannot legally eat animal food, nor drink ſpirituous liquors; but are permitted to uſe ganja, or hemp, which the Engliſh in India uſually call bang. Some among them are able to read poetry, and have a book called Márkandiya Purána, which is alſo followed by ſeveral ſects that wear the linga, and is ſaid to have been written by a Riſhi named Markanda.

The Comatigas ſay, that they are the only true Vaiſya, which is the third in rank of the pure caſts; and they pretend, that now they are next in rank to the Bráhmans, as the ſecond pure caſt has become extinct. In both theſe pretenſions they are ſupported by all the Bráhmans who are not deſirous of flattering ſome Rája that pretends to be a Kſhatri. They are found thinly ſcattered in every part of India, and are not prevented from eating in common, or from intermarriage, by any difference of nation or ſect. A Comatiga coming from Káſi or Benares, on being examined, and found to be acquainted with certain cuſtoms peculiar to the caſt, and which are kept ſecret, is received here into all families, and may marry any of their women. They deal in cloth, and all kinds of merchandize, eſpecially money and jewels; but are not allowed to ſell ſpirituous liquors, nor any intoxicating ſubſtance; nor do they ever cultivate the ground, or follow any mechanical profeſſion. They have hereditary chiefs, called Pedda Chitties; and the chief of each town or diſtrict is totally independent of the others. When a town is very large, the chief, for the parts that are remote from his houſe, appoints inferior officers, who ſettle trivial diſputes. Theſe chiefs poſſeſs the uſual juriſdiction, and enjoy more than common immunities, for they pay nothing to government. They can in no caſe act without the aſſiſtance of all the elders in the place. The Comatigas are not allowed to take animal food, nor any thing that will intoxicate. Polygamy is allowed to the men, and the women

are not divorced for any cauſe, except adultery. In this country they are not confined; but in the northern parts of Hindoſtan the Comatigas follow the example of their neighbours, and ſhut up their wives. Many of this caſt read books compoſed in poetry; that which is conſidered as peculiarly belonging to it, is called Vaiſya Purána, and is imagined to have been compoſed by the goddeſs Kanyaká Paraméſwarí, which is one of the names of the wife of Iſwara. They all burn the dead, and ſometimes the widow accompanies on the pile her departed huſband. The women are no longer marriageable after the ſigns of puberty have appeared; and widows are condemned to perpetual celibacy. Some families of this caſt worſhip Viſhnu, and their Guru is Bhadra Achárya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans, who reſides at Sri Rangam near Tritchinopoly. Younger branches of the family reſide at different places, and act as deputies for the chief. The one who acts in this neighbourhood reſides at Doda-Bala-pura, and is called Chicana Botalu. The other families of this caſt worſhip Siva, and have for their guru a Sannyáſi Bráhman of the Smartal ſect, who lives at Sivaganga, and acknowledges the Sringa-giri Swamalu as his ſuperior.

The Ruddi are one of the tribes of Súdra caſt, which being much employed in agriculture, are called Woculigaru in the language of Karnata, and Cunabi in that of the Decany Muſſulmans. Beſides cultivating the land, both as farmers and as their ſervants, they act alſo as porters, and ſometimes carry on a ſmall trade in grain. Like all the other Súdras employed in agriculture, they have formed a part of the native foot militia, that ſeems to have been eſtabliſhed throughout India, and in which probably every man of this deſcription was enrolled. The conſidering the Kſhatriya as the military caſt ſeems an error. At preſent, the Ruddi frequently ſerve as Candaſhara, or the armed men, that without diſcipline collected the revenue, and compoſed the moſt conſiderable body in the armies of all native princes. They appear to form a numerous race of men; many of them live below the Ghats, and ſome are of Telinga, while others are of Karnata extraction. They can all eat together, but they never intermarry, except with particular families, the purity of whoſe deſcent they conſider as well known. They acknowledge an inferiority to another claſs of Súdras who cultivate the land, and are called Sadru; for they will eat in the houſe of a Sadru, but he will not return the compliment by eating in theirs, which, among the Hindus, is a ſure criterion of rank. They have Ijyamánas or hereditary chiefs, poſſeſſing the uſual juriſdiction and immunities. Some of them can read and write accompts; but none proceed farther in learning. They eat hogs, ſheep, goats, veniſon, and fowls,, and can take bang (or the leaves of the *Cannabis ſativa*); but loſe caſt by drinking ſpirituous liquors. The men are allowed polygamy; but do not ſhut up their women, who are very induſtrious, and perform much of the country labour. They are divided into two ſects by a difference of religion; one party worſhipping Viſhnu, and the other Siva; but this does not prevent intermarriages. Thoſe who worſhip Viſhnu are followers of the Sri Vaiſhnavan Bráhmans; but do not receive either upadéſa or chakrántikam, contenting themſelves with a little holy-water, which they obtain in return for their charity. Thoſe who worſhip Siva are followers of a kind of Jangamas, but do not wear the linga. The people with whom I converſed ſeemed to conſider theſe as the ſame with the Jangamas of the Pancham Banijigas; but this caſt informed me, that they were diſtinct, and that the Gurus of the Ruddi were the ſame with thoſe of the Curabaru, whoſe chief reſides at Cangundy in the Bâra-mahál. In their viſits, the Gurus of both kinds receive from one to ten fanams (from 8d. to 6s. 8½d.) from each Ruddi, according to his circumſtances.

ſtances. The Panchánga attends at births, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies; and on each occaſion receives a fanam. At the new and full moons, he alſo gets ſome trifling preſent of grain. Beſides the worſhip of the great gods, they offer ſacrifices to the deſtructive powers; among whom a female ſpirit, named Chaudéſwarí, has in this neighbourhood many temples. The Púјári, in at leaſt one of them, is an oil-maker of the caſt formerly deſcribed, and his office is hereditary. The Ruddi is one of the lower caſts employed in agriculture, and allowed to be of pure deſcent; but many of its members are rich, and are the Gaudas, or hereditary chiefs of villages.

The Bheri are a kind of merchants, who call themſelves alſo Nagaratra, corrupted by the Muſſulmans into Nagarit. They pretend to be of the Vaiſya caſt; but this is denied both by the Bràhmans, and by the Comatigas. They deal in drugs, grain, cloth, and money, and travel about in caravans. Some of them are farmers; but they never cultivate the ground with their own hands; nor do they ever follow any mechanical profeſſion. They are divided by religion into two ſects, that do not eat together, nor intermarry; and each has its own hereditary chief, who acts independently as to matters of ceremony; but in matters of a civil nature, the chief of the ſect that is moſt numerous in the place aſſumes the ſole authority. Theſe chiefs are called Ijyamána, and poſſeſs the uſual juriſdiction; but are not indulged with any immunities from taxes. When a man wants to marry, he goes to his hereditary chief, as is indeed uſual with all the higher caſts, preſents him with betel, and diſcloſes his intention. The chief ſends for the father of the girl, and endeavours to bring the matter to a favourable concluſion. As for the girl, ſhe is not at all conſulted, and is indeed too young to have formed any attachments, as ſhe muſt be married before any ſigns of puberty appear; for afterwards ſhe is conſidered as being deflowered, and incapable of marriage. Owing to the cuſtom of polygamy, however, very few of the women in this country live in a ſtate of celibacy, except young widows of the higher caſts, who never can marry again, and who are very numerous; for matches between old men and mere children are common. The comfort of having children, however, is in general all the pleaſure that married women of rank in India enjoy. Where polygamy prevails, love is little known; or if it does poſſeſs a man, he is generally captivated by ſome artful dancing girl, and not by any of his wives; all of whom were married before they could either excite or feel that paſſion.

The Nagaratra, who worſhip Viſhnu, are here the moſt numerous ſect. They burn their dead, and the rules of caſt require the widow to burn herſelf with her huſband's body; but this cuſtom has fallen into diſuſe. They do not intermarry with ſuch of their ſect as, being originally of the Lower Carnatic, ſpeak the Tamul language as their native tongue. Their Guru is Trimula-tata Achárlu, an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans; but, as forming part of left hand ſide, they are in, all matters belonging to that diviſion, under the authority of Dharma Siva Achárlu, a Smartal Sannyáſi, and who, they ſay, beſtows upadéſa and chakrántikam on them, in the ſame manner as their own Guru. My interpreter, however, ſuſpects that in this there is ſome miſtake; as the latter ceremony is performed with the point of Viſhnu's ſpear, which a Smartal Bráhman, ſo far as he knows, never uſes. Their own Guru comes once a year, receives contributions, beſtows upadéſa and chakrántikam, and, as uſual, exerciſes ſpiritual juriſdiction. The Panchánga acts as their Puróhita; and it is of no conſequence, whether or not he be of the ſame ſect with them. Some of this caſt are able to read poetry, and peruſe a book called Vaiſya Purána, which they conſider as belonging to their caſt.

The

The Palliwánlu are the only perſons in the Colar province (of which this is a part) who cultivate kitchen gardens. They alſo cultivate the ground, both as farmers, and as their ſervants. They are all of Tamul extraction; and, although they have been in this country for many generations, ſtill ſpeak the Tamul language in their own houſes, and intermarry with the Pallí of Arcot and Vellore. They are properly called Vana Pallí, and muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the Mina Pallí, who are fiſhermen. This is one of the moſt numerous of the tribes of the Tamul nation, but is conſidered as rather low. They have hereditary chiefs called Gaunda, who poſſeſs the uſual juriſdiction. None of them can read. They are allowed to eat animal food, and to drink ſpirituous liquors. Their women continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and are very laborious. They cannot be divorced for any cauſe, except adultery; but the men are permitted to have a plurality of wives. They bury their dead.

The Palliwánlu have no Guru; but the Panchánga acts as their Puróhita at births and marriages, at the Amáváſya, and at the annual commemoration of their deceaſed parents. They wear the mark of Viſhnu's ſect, and ſometimes pray to Vencaty Rámana; but the proper god of their caſt is Dharma Rája. His images exactly reſemble thoſe of Godama, who is frequently called by that name; but by the people here their god is ſaid to be the eldeſt brother of the five ſons of Pándu, who lived at the commencement of this Yugam. He is a beneficent deity, like Godama, abhorring blood; and is worſhipped by offerings of fruit, flowers, and the like. The Palliwánlu have temples of this god attended by Púјáris of their own caſt. Like all the other inhabitants of this country, they are much addicted to the worſhip of the Saktis, or deſtructive powers; and endeavour to avert their wrath by bloody ſacrifices. Theſe are performed by cutting off the animal's head before the door of the temple, and invoking the deity to partake of the ſacrifice. There is no altar, nor is the blood ſprinkled on the image; and the body ſerves the votaries for a feaſt. The Paliwánlu have temples dedicated to a female ſpirit of this kind named Mutialima, and ſerved by Púјáris of their own caſt. Theſe prieſts can neither read nor write, but their office is hereditary. Their families can intermarry with thoſe of the laity, who cultivate the prieſt's garden, and give him annually a ſuit of clothes. The Palliwánlu alſo offer ſacrifices to Márimá, whoſe Púјáris here are Curubáru; and to Putálimá, whoſe Púјáris are Lingáit. They ſometimes take the vow of Dáſéri.

Chap. V. — *From Bangalore to Doda Bala-pura.*

HAVING finiſhed my inquiries at Bangalore, on July 3d, 1800, I went to Agara, a fortified village two coſſes diſtant, which is inhabited by farmers, and where a great many mangoes are raiſed for the Bangalore market. The intermediate country is good, but does not contain a number of inhabitants nearly ſufficient to cultivate the whole.

The Gauda, called corruptly Gaur, and in the Muſſulman language the Potail, is the chief Ryut, or farmer, in the village, and receives the whole dues of government. The rent of each field of dry land is fixed by an old valuation, which it is ſuppoſed was made in the time of Kriſhna Ráyalu; and for any field more cannot be legally demanded; but the equal diviſion of the crops is always wiſhed for by the farmers. This, they allege, ariſes from the flouriſhing ſtate in which the country was when the valuation was made, compared with its preſent poverty; but conſidering the great diminution of the value of gold and ſilver ſince that period, I am more inclined

to believe, that the preference given to a diviſion of crops ariſes from the facility which that plan offers for defrauding the government.

The office of Gauda was originally hereditary; but now theſe perſons are appointed by the Amildar, and continue in place ſo long as they keep up the collections to their ſuppoſed value, or until ſome other man undertakes, by bringing a greater number of farmers, to make the revenue more productive. The Gauda ſettles all diſputes in the ſame manner as the hereditary chiefs of caſts do. His council always conſiſts of four elders. In caſe of any delinquency in the village, the Gauda and his council inſtruct the Shanaboga, or accomptant, to write out a ſtatement of the caſe, and to tranſmit it to the Amildar for his information and deciſion. He frequently advances money for the other farmers, to enable them to pay their rents, and has the whole of their crops as his ſecurity. The whole remuneration for his trouble, ſo far as is avowed, is the ſhare which he receives in the diviſion of the wet crops.

The Shanaboga, called Shanbogue by corruption, and Curnum by the Muſſulmans, is the accomptant of the village. He is always a Bráhman, and his office is hereditary. He is under the orders of the chief of the village, who is almoſt always a Súdra; but the allowances of the accomptant are greater, as he muſt give up the whole of his time to buſineſs. He keeps all the accompts, and writes all the letters as dictated to him by the chief of the village. Theſe two officers ought to be a mutual check on the conduct of each other.

The ſervants under the chief and accomptant of the village are the Toti, Talliari, Nirgunty, Tarúgara, and Alitigara.

The office of the Toti and Talliari is the ſame; but the firſt is of the Whalliaru caſt, and the ſecond is either a Madiga or a Bayda. Theſe perſons hold their places by hereditary right, and are the watchmen of the village. They are ſent on all meſſages, and as guides for perſons travelling on public buſineſs. They watch the crops in the day-time, and aſſiſt the farmers to do ſo at night. Their moſt peculiar duty, however, is to aſcertain the boundaries of each field, and of each farmer's poſſeſſion.

The Nirgunty is generally a Whallia; but ſometimes a Súdra holds the office, which is hereditary. His duty is, to divide the water of the tank or canal, and to convey the proper ſhare to each man's field. He, of courſe, has the charge of the ſluices, and of the ſmall canals and drains for watering the fields. He alſo aſſiſts in watching the crops.

The Tarugara, or Aduca, collects the farmers, and prevents them from following any other occupation than that of cultivating the land. The lower claſſes of people in India are like children; and, except in the more conſiderable places, where they meet with uncommon encouragement to induſtry from Europeans, are generally in ſuch a ſtate of apathy, that, without the orders of government, they will hardly do any thing. The duty of the Aduca is to buſtle among the farmers, and to call them out to work. He may therefore be called the beadle of the village.

4th July. — I went three coſſes to Sirja-pura, one of the manufacturing towns dependent on Bangalore. The weavers of Sirja-pura are of the caſts called Devangas, Shalay, and Togotaru. The cloths were formerly made of a very fine quality, but at preſent the only demand is for coarſe goods. The merchants here act merely as brokers, and the weavers frequently carry their own goods for ſale to Bangalore. Purchaſes are made here by traders from Seringapatam, Sira, Chatrakal, Codeal, Savanuru, Gubi, Bangaluru, Colar, Malavagul, Cangundy, Hoſſo-cotay, Bala-pura, Tumcuru,

Tumcuru, Magadi, and Krishna-giri. The merchants of this place bring their cotton from Bangaluru, Hosso-cotay, and Colar.

Owing to a want of hands, much of the country through which I passed to-day is waste; but by the way I saw many fortified villages. The country is remarkably bare. The crops of dry grains ought now to cover the ground; owing, however, to the want of rain, they have not yet begun to spring.

5th July. — I went four cosses to Walur, and by the way passed through a manufacturing town named Lacor. It is not quite so large as Walur; but is a well built mud fort, strengthened by a fine hedge.

I found the Bráhman who had been attentive on my former visit, and who had called himself Amildar, or chief of a district. This I now learned was a falsehood. He was only a parputty, or chief of a subdivision; and his civility seems to have arisen from a desire of being considered as a great man, and of receiving attentions to which he was by no means entitled. Having been now detected, he did every thing, so far as he could venture, to cross my wishes. This assumption of titles to which they have no right, is a very common piece of vanity among the natives of India, though it often leads to very severe mortifications: all the amildars here wish to be called subadars, or chiefs of principalities, and from all their dependents receive this title; but in the Raja's dominions two persons only have a just claim to this appellation.

Every where in Karnata the palanquin-bearers are of Telinga descent, and in their own families speak the language of their original country. In the language of Karnata they are called Teliga Bestas, but in their own dialect they are called Bui. Having assembled those who live here, they gave me the following account of their cast. Their proper occupations, beside that of carrying the palanquin, are fishing, and the distillation of rum. Wealthy men among them become farmers; but none of the cast hire themselves out as farm-servants. They are acknowledged to be of the Súdra cast, but rather of a low rank. Their hereditary chiefs are called Pedda Bui, which among the Europeans of Madras is bestowed on the head-man of every gentleman's set. They are allowed a plurality of wives, who are not confined. Though they all can eat together, they never intermarry, but with certain families, which are well known to each other, so as to avoid all danger of an impure race. They are allowed to eat sheep, goats, and fish, but ought to lose cast by drinking spirituous liquors. I well know, however, that this law is very much neglected. They bury the dead, and are all worshippers of Vishnu. They make offerings of fruit and flowers to the Saktis, but never offer bloody sacrifices to these destructive powers. Their Gurus are hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans, who receive their contributions, and bestow on them holy water, and consecrated victuals; but do not give them upadésa nor chakrántikam. At births, marriages, and funerals, the panchánga, or astrologer, attends as puróhita, or priest. Some of them are taught to read and write accompts; but they never acquire any farther learning.

The potmakers and dyers form one cast, and are all properly called Cumbharu; but those who dye are, on account of their trade, called Nilgaru. The two trades are followed indifferently by persons of the same family; but the cast is divided into two nations, the Telliga and Karnata, that do not intermarry. Those here are of the former nation, and give the following account of themselves.

They retain the Telinga language, being a tribe of that nation. They can eat in the house of a Karnataca potter, but he will not return the compliment; as they are allowed

allowed to eat animal food, which he abhors. Even among thoſe of the Telinga nation, all good men abſtain entirely from this indulgence. It is not lawful for them to drink ſpirituous liquors. They are allowed polygamy; but do not confine their women, nor divorce them for any cauſe except adultery. Girls continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and are very laborious in making pots. Widows cannot marry again; but it is never expected that they ſhould burn themſelves with the dead bodies of their huſbands.

They follow no other trades than thoſe of potters and dyers. The hereditary chiefs of this caſt are called Gotugaru, or renters, and live at the kaſba, or chief town of the diſtrict. They poſſeſs the uſual juriſdiction, and are exempted from all duties, on condition of collecting the rent that is paid to government by the pot-maker of every village. This office is hereditary, and we have ſeen that, on condition of furniſhing the cultivators with pots, he receives conſiderable dues on all the produce of the land. In many parts of India, the pot-maker is bound to ſupply all travellers with pots for dreſſing their victuals; but here this is done to ſuch travellers only as are going on public buſineſs, and in conſideration of this the potter pays nothing for his clay. They uſe a wheel, but are very unſkilful in their art; for they are entirely ignorant of any glazing or enamel.

The potters of the Telinga nation ſay, that they are of the Sáliváhanam caſt; as that mighty King was the ſon of one of their women. The Bráhmans allege, that ſhe was impregnated by one of the ſacred order. Theſe potters wear a thread like the Bráhmans, and allege, that they are poſſeſſed of mantrams, or forms of prayer, which they can read, and which are endowed with conſiderable power. This is altogether denied by the Bráhmans, who laugh at the prayers of the potters, as being low traſh in the vulgar language. The potters certainly underſtand the Andray, or poetical language of their nation, and are poſſeſſed of a tranſlation of the Bhágavata Purána in their language.

A few of theſe potters worſhip Siva, and are followers of the Smartal Bráhmans; but by far the greater part are of Viſhnu's ſide, and follow the hereditary chiefs of the A'ayngar. On their followers of this tribe theſe Gurus beſtow upadéſa, chakrántikam, and holy water. The renter ſettles all diſputes, and puniſhes delinquents; the power of the Guru being confined to the beſtowing of ſpiritual gifts, and the receiving of contributions, both as dues on marriages, and as annual tribute, beſides what he gets as charity at caſual viſits. The panchánga, or aſtrologer, acts as their puróhita, or family prieſt, and reads mantrams, or ſet forms of prayer, in the Sanſkrit language, at births, marriages, funerals, new moons, and at the annual commemoration of their father's death, which is only called Tithi when the parties are Bráhmans. Some of the potters underſtand the Sanſkrit, ſo far at leaſt as to be able to repeat the prayer after the aſtrologer, which is ſuppoſed to add conſiderably to its efficacy. At theſe ceremonies there attend for charity all the Bráhmans of the neighbourhood, who are vaidikas, and who think that they can get any thing worth their while. Theſe worſhippers of Viſhnu among the potters never take the vow of Daſeri; but when they are ſick they ſometimes make a vow to live by begging, for a certain number of days after they recover. This is looked upon as very agreeable to the gods, and a ſure way of obtaining their favour. They offer bloody ſacrifices to the Saktis, or deſtructive ſpirit; but never act as prieſts in their temples. They never pray to Dharma Raja.

6th July.—I went three coſſes to the place which in our maps is named Vackaleer; but which the natives, to my ear, pronounce Waculeray. The half of the way next

Walur paſſes through a very barren country, on which, even at this ſeaſon, there is ſcarcely a leaf of graſs to be ſeen. It is thinly covered with buſhes and ſtunted trees. Beyond this there is ſome cultivation; and towards ſome rocky hills, at the foot of which Waculeray ſtands, the ſoil becomes good, and is well cultivated and wooded. Waculeray contains about a hundred houſes, and is fortified by a wall and citadel, both of mud. It has no hedge. The reaſon aſſigned by the farmers for living thus together, and for ſhutting themſelves and their cattle within the walls of a fort, is, the frequency of robbers, who live in the hills and woods, and who in the night plunder every thing that is not well ſecured.

The farmers in this town are ſeventeen houſes; and there are twenty-two houſes of Bráhmans, who live better, and are better lodged than the Súdras, although, except two or three officers of government, they all ſubſiſt upon charity.

7th July. — I went three coſſes to Colar. The firſt part of the road paſſed through a narrow valley, confined between two ridges of low, rocky, naked hills. The valley in many places has formerly been cultivated; but now the whole is waſte, and covered with buſhes, among which the oleander *(Nerium odorum)* is common. Farther on, the hills to the right diſappearing, the country in that direction is level to a great extent, ſeems to be very fertile, and has probably once been almoſt all cultivated. It contains many reſervoirs, but from the want of trees looks very naked. The ſpots which at preſent are cultivated do not ſeem to be more than a tenth part of the country.

8th — 11th July. — I paſſed theſe days at Colar, examining the ſtate of agriculture in its neighbourhood. This is the moſt level country that I have ſeen above the Ghats; but it contains many bare rocky hills, which are ſituated at conſiderable diſtances, with level ground between them. Rice forms a very large proportion of the crop, and equals in quantity the ragy. The country is very poorly watered, and often ſuffers from a want of rain; for an old revenue officer of the place remembers four famines that aroſe from this cauſe.

Colar has a large mud fort, which is now repairing. The town contains ſeven hundred houſes, many of which are inhabited by weavers. It was the birth-place of Hyder Aly, whoſe father lived and died in the town. A handſome mauſoleum was erected for him by his ſon; and near it a moſque, and a college of Moullahs, or Muſſulman prieſts, with a proper eſtabliſhment of muſicians, were endowed to pray for the repoſe of his ſoul. The whole is kept up at the expenſe of the Company.

On the hill north from the town was formerly a durga, or hill-fort, in which for ſome time reſided Coſſim Khán, the General of Aurungzebe, who, towards the end of the 17th century, made the firſt regular eſtabliſhment of Muſſulman authority to the ſouth of the Kriſhna river. Colar was the capital of one of the ſeven pergunnahs, or diſtricts, into which that General divided his conqueſts, which had been formerly invaded by the Muſſulman King of Vijaya-pura (Bejapoor), and afterwards had become ſubject to the Marattahs. The other pergunnahs were, Sira, Budihalu, Baſwapattana, Penu-conda, Hoſſo-cotay, and Burra Bala-pura. Theſe formed what the Muſſulmans called the ſubah of Sira, or the Carnatic Bejapoory Balaghaut, which are recent diſtinctions not at all known to the natives, and of which the memory is likely ſoon to be entirely obliterated.

The hill-fort above Colar has not been rebuilt ſince it was deſtroyed in an invaſion of the Marattahs, who in the courſe of the 18th century made many attempts to recover

this country. On the top of the hill are four ſmall villages, which have their fields, gardens, and tanks, raiſed high above the level of the country, in the ſame manner as it is above the parts near the ſea. Their little territories are ſurrounded by high rocks, and ſeparated by woody ridges, like a perfect epitome of Karnata Proper, or Balaghat, as it has been called by the Muſſulmans. The ſoil is fertile, and the water in many places being near the ſurface renders it fit for gardens. Although hill-forts are generally reckoned unhealthy, this ſeems to be by no means the caſe on this mountain. The inhabitants rather look upon the air as more healthy than common, and laſt year their cattle ſuffered much leſs than thoſe of their neighbours. The hill ſeems to attract more moiſture than the level country, and to be more favoured with rain; for a certain field on it annually produces a crop of rice, without any artificial watering, which in this arid climate is looked upon as a kind of miracle. There is a ſpring of water, which flows from the ſide of the hill in a ſmall ſtream; and, ſuch a thing being here very uncommon, the Bráhmans have conducted it along a gutter formed in the rock; and where it falls from thence, have, under a building, placed ſome ſtones, which the obliging imagination of the natives conceives to reſemble a cow's mouth. The place, as being holy, is much frequented; and a ruinous temple at ſome diſtance attracts to its annual feaſt about ten thouſand pilgrims.

Even in ſuch a remote place, to which every acceſs is ſteep and difficult, I found, that the inhabitants were not protected by their extreme poverty, but each village was provided with fortifications. The people ſaid, that whenever any neighbouring Polygar was troubleſome, the Baydaru, or hunters, were accuſtomed in the night time, under pretence of being the Polygar's men, to go and plunder their neighbours. This they always did by ſurpriſe, as their love for plunder is at leaſt equalled by their cowardice. Whenever theſe ruffians are prowling about, one or two men keep watch in a tower; on the firſt alarm, all the inhabitants fly to their arms, and retiring to the tower, from thence fire upon the robbers, who in general atttempt to carry away the cattle.

The trade and manufactures of Colar had been entirely ruined by Tippoo; as it was in the immediate neighbourbood of his enemy's dominions, with whom he would allow of no communication. Both are now rapidly on the increaſe, and exceed even what they were in the reign of Hyder. No army came this way in the laſt war; but they ſuffered a little in the invaſion by General Smith, and conſiderably by that of Lord Cornwallis. The merchants ſuffered much by Tippoo's forcing goods on them at a high rate; and ſtill more by his capriciouſly forcing them to change the places of their abode. He frequently founded new bazars, or market towns, and compelled merchants to remove thither; although the place might be quite out of the way by which their trade was uſually conducted. From the officers of the Nabob of Arcot, merchants meet with no annoyance. Some of them, being conſtant traders take from the cuſtom-houſes what they call cowl, or protection; and on that account pay only one-half of the duties that are exacted from occaſional viſitors. A merchant who has this kind of protection, for every 800 maunds of betel-nut, worth about 550l. pays to the Nabob's cuſtom-houſes, on the way between this and Wallaja-petta, 33 ſtar pagodas, or a little more than 12l.

In the country villages much coarſe cloth is made by the Whalliaru weavers. Thoſe in the town are Dévángas and Shaynigaru, who make the white cotton cloth with ſilk borders called putaynſhina. They make alſo the muſlins called ſada ſhilla, and dutary, and white turbans.

Merchants from Balahari, Advany, Naragunda, Navalagunda, Maynaſhigy, Jaliali, and Anigiri, places near the Kriſhna river, bring cotton wool, cotton thread, dark blue cotton cloth, terra japonica, aſafœtida, dates, almonds, and mailtuta, which is uſed as a dentifrice. The merchants of Balahari take back in caſh three fourths of the returns, and the remainder in caſtor-oil, popli dye, and jagory. The other merchants take back the whole in caſh. The merchants of Hyder-Nagar bring betel-nut, black-pepper, and ſandal-wood. They take back caſh, and a little white muſlin. Here the merchants of Seringapatam purchaſe cloth with caſh. The merchants of Gubi bring betel-nut, and black-pepper; and take back cloth, and ſome money. From Sira the ſame articles are brought; the returns are entirely in cloth. From Bala-pura are brought ſugar, and ſome cloth fitted for the dreſs of women. From the Lower Carnatic the merchants bring ſalt, and the goods that are imported by ſea from Europe, China, Malacca, &c. with a conſiderable balance of money due for the betel-nut, black-pepper, garlick, tamarinds, ſhicai (fruit of the mimoſa ſaponaria), and grain, that are ſent from hence. The ſilk is all brought from Bangalore, and no cotton grows in the country.

In this place are ſettled a kind of ſhoe-makers called muchaveru; they are Rajputs, and in their families retain the Hinduſtány language, as having originally come from the country which the Muſſulmans call Agimere. Like all the perſons of an unmixed breed from that country, they pretend to be of the Kſhatriya caſt; but this high rank is denied by the Bráhmans to even the higheſt of the Rajputs, thoſe whoſe profeſſion is agriculture and arms, and who, the Bráhmans say, are merely the higheſt claſs of the Sùdras, like the Nairs of Malabar, or Káyaſtas of Bengal. Theſe ſhoe-makers are not allowed to eat nor to intermarry with the Chitrakaru, nor with the weavers, who come from the ſame country; and much leſs with the Rajputs properly ſo called, who are by caſt the cultivators and defenders of the ſoil. They came into this country with Coſſim Khán, the General of Aurungzebe, and ſettled chiefly here and at Sira. They follow no other profeſſion than that of making ſhoes. The proper Gurus of this caſt are the Vairágis, who read to them, and receive their charity. The panchánga, or aſtrologer, attends their marriages, and gives them a kind of upadéſa. None of them can read. They are worſhippers of Viſhnu, and do not pray nor offer ſacrifices to the Saktis, nor to Dharma Raja; but contribute their ſhare of the expence at the ſacrifices, and feſtivals, which the village as a public body performs in honour of theſe gods. They are allowed to eat mutton and fiſh, but not to drink ſpirituous liquors. They are allowed to marry ſeveral wives, and confine them after the cuſtom of their own country. They have chiefs, who determine matters relating to caſt, but their office is not hereditary: they are elected in an aſſembly of the people.

The Telega Uparu are a tribe of Telinga origin, as their name expreſſes; and retain in their families the language of their original country. They can give no account of the time when they came to Colar. Their proper occupation is the building of mud walls, eſpecially thoſe of forts; but ſome of them are farmers, and ſome farmers' ſervants, or Batigaru; they act alſo as porters. They have hereditary chiefs called Ijyamána, who poſſeſs the uſual juriſdiction. None of them can read or write. They are allowed to eat veniſon, mutton, fowls, ſwine, and fiſh; but cannot avowedly drink ſpirituous liquors. They are allowed a plurality of wives, who are very laborious, and each coſts five pagodas (1l. 16s. 7½d.), which are preſented to her parents. The girls continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty; but a widow cannot take a ſecond huſband. They bury the dead. They never take the vow of Daſeri, or of dedicating themſelves to the ſervice of the gods. The god of their caſt is Viſhnu;

but they pray to Dharma Rája, and offer ſacrifices to the Saktis. They have no knowledge of a future life, and pray only for temporal bleſſings. Their Gurus are the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans, who on the richer part of the caſt beſtows upadéſa and chakrántikam. The panchánga, or aſtrologer, attends only at marriages.

A Smartal Bráhman, reckoned a man of learning, but who ſeems to be very unwilling to open ſuch ſtores as he poſſeſſes, denies all knowledge of the worſhippers of Jain, Buddha, or the Linga, farther than that he has heard them mentioned. The doctrines of all other ſects, but his own, he conſiders as contemptible, and not worthy of notice.

He believes in a ſupreme god called Nárâyana, or Para Brahmă, from whence proceeded Siva, Viſhnu, and Brahmā; which ſtill, however, are all the ſame god. His ſect pray to Siva and Viſhnu, with many of their wives, children, and attendants, among whom are the Saktis, or deſtructive powers. Siva, however, is the principal object of their worſhip; for they conſider him as the moſt powerful mediator with Nárâyana, who is rather too much elevated to attend to their perſonal requeſts. They abhor bloody ſacrifices; but do not reprehend their followers of the Súdra caſt for uſing that manner of worſhip. They ſay, that it is the cuſtom of the Súdras; and that what theſe low people do is of little or no conſequence. When a good Bráhman dies, his ſpirit is united to God; but a bad one is firſt puniſhed in a purgatory, and then by paſſing through various other lives, as an animal, or as a perſon of ſome of the low caſts, till at laſt he becomes a Bráhman, and has another opportunity by his good works of gaining heaven.

Sringa-giri, ſouth from Hyder Nagar, is by this perſon conſidered as the chief throne of the Brahmans. Their God aſſumed the form of a Bráhman named Sankara Achárya, and, having become a Sannyáſi, eſtabliſhed his mata or college, at the place at which there has ever ſince been a ſucceſſion of Sannyáſis, who are the Gurus of the order, and are called Swamalus. In different places of India theſe have eſtabliſhed agents, or deputies, who are alſo Sannyáſis, and aſſume the title of Swamalu. Originally theſe agents were all ſent from the college at Sringa-giri; but now, although they acknowledge the ſuperiority of the repreſentative of Sankara Achárya, they all educate young men in their own matas, or colleges, and from among them appoint their ſucceſſors. In the chief college at Sringa-giri there are many diſciples, who are all of Vaidika families, who never marry, and who are carefully educated in ſuch learning as the Bráhmans poſſeſs. They are called Brahma Cháris; and from among them the Guru, when he is about to die, ſelects the one that appears to him moſt deſerving, and reveals to him the upádeſa peculiar to his rank, by which the favourite becomes his ſucceſſor. The inferior Swamalus (properly Swámyálu) educate in a ſimilar manner their ſucceſſors. Should the Sringa-giri Swamalu die without appointing a ſucceſſor, the deputies or agents aſſemble, and ſelect from among the Brahma Cháris the moſt deſerving perſon, and, revealing to him to him the upadéſa, conſtitute him their chief. Till he is on the point of death, a Swamalu is very unwilling to deliver the upadéſa to a ſucceſſor; as, immediately on getting poſſeſſion of it, his power becomes equal to his own; and if he ſhould recover, the new Swamalu might remove to another college, and act independent of his authority.

Beſides the vedas, and eighteen puránas ſuppoſed to have been written by Vyáſa, which are common to all Bráhmans, the Smartal ſect follow, as peculiar to themſelves, four ſaſtrams, or books, called Mimáſa, Tarka, Vyákaranam, and Védánta, which are ſaid to contain a ſyſtem of logic, metaphyſics, and grammar, that is neceſſary to explain

explain the doctrine of the Védas; and the Sankara Bhaſhá, a commentary which explains the doctrine of the Sutras.

The Gurus of the Smartal ſect ſeem to act chiefly in an epiſcopal capacity; that is, as ſuperintendants of the manners of their followers. They would not appear to perform any ceremony for the ſect, which, as being followers of Siva, does not admit of chakrántikam; and among the Smartal, it is the puróhita who gives upadéſa. When a Smartal commits any fault, if the Guru or his deputy be near, he aſſembles ten learned men of the ſect, and with their advice puniſhes the delinquent. If, however, the fault be of ſuch a nature as to deſerve excommunication, which is the higheſt puniſhment, the Guru muſt for the purpoſe aſſemble a trimataſteru,. or council, compoſed of the moſt learned men of the three ſects, Smartal, A'ayngar, and Madual. Theſe councils may be held, and may puniſh delinquents, without the preſence of either Guru, or deputy. The faults that occaſion a loſs of caſt, and for which no pardon can be given, are, I. Sexual intercourſe within the prohibited degree of conſanguinity. II. Sexual intercourſe with any prohibited caſt. III. Eating forbidden food, or drinking intoxicating liquors. IV. Stealing. V. Slaying of any animal of the cow kind, or of the human ſpecies; but a Bráhman is permitted to kill his enemy in battle. VI. Eating in company with perſons of another caſt, or of food dreſſed by their impure hands. VII. Eating on board a ſhip food that has been dreſſed there. VIII. Omitting to perform the ceremonies due to their deceaſed parents. For ſmaller offences, the Guru or his deputies puniſh in various ways; by commanding pilgrimages, or faſts; by fines; by holding burning ſtraw to the body of the delinquent, which is ſometimes done with ſuch ſeverity as to occaſion death; by ſhaving the head, ſo as to occaſion a temporary ſeparation from the caſt; and by giving large draughts of cow's urine, which is ſuppoſed to have the power of waſhing away ſin. Ordeals are alſo in uſe; and a moſt barbarous one is applied to thoſe who, having had ſexual intercourſe with a perſon of another caſt, allege that it was by miſtake. If the criminal be a woman, melted lead is poured into her private parts; if it be a man, a red hot iron is thruſt up. Should they be innocent, it is ſuppoſed that they will not be injured. A male Bráhman, however, even if married, may with impunity have connection with a dancing-girl, all of whom in this country are dedicated to the ſervice of ſome temple.

The low caſts, that are followers of the Smartal Bráhmans, ſeem to engage very little of the Guru's attention. They occaſionally give them holy water, and the aſhes of cow-dung to make the mark of Siva on their foreheads, and receive their contributions; but they leave the puniſhment of all their tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt to their own hereditary chiefs; at whoſe deſire, however, they reprimand and impoſe fines on obſtinate offenders. They ſeem to have no wiſh to conſtrain other caſts to any particular dogmas, or mode of worſhip: the only thing, they think, in which a Súdra ought to be inſtructed to believe, is, that the Bráhmans are infinitely his ſuperiors; and that the only means of gaining the favour of the gods is by giving them charity. With regard to all ſects that refuſe to acknowledge theſe grand doctrines, and even among themſelves concerning points of faith, no men can be more intolerant, nor violent.

If the fines impoſed by a Guru appear to his council to be immoderate, they have the power to reduce the amount. If any one offers charity, that, conſidering the man's circumſtances, the Guru thinks too ſmall, he has no power to extort more; but he may reprimand the perſon for his want of the great virtue of charity.

This

This man ſays, that the Bráhmans are ſeparated into two great diviſions; one of which occupies the countries toward the ſouth, and the other the countries toward the north. He holds in great contempt thoſe from Káſi or Benares, as being men from the north; and would not even admit them to the honour of eating in his houſe. Theſe Bráhmans, he ſays, eat fiſh, offer bloody ſacrifices, and commit other ſimilar abominations. The northern Bráhmans are, however, at leaſt as proud as thoſe from the ſouth, and allege ſeveral reaſons for holding them in contempt; among which the moſt urgent is, that the women of the ſouthern Bráhmans are allowed to appear in public.

None of the ſouthern Bráhmans can, without loſing caſt, taſte animal food, or drink ſpirituous liquors; and they look upon the ſmoking of tobacco as diſgraceful. All thoſe who have been married are burned after their death, and their wives ought to accompany them on the pile; but this cuſtom has fallen very much into diſuſe, and inſtances of it are extremely rare; whereas in Bengal it ſtill continues to be common. A woman can on no account take a ſecond huſband; and, unleſs ſhe is married before the ſigns of puberty appear, ſhe is ever afterwards conſidered as impure. They are not at all confined, and can be divorced for no other cauſe than adultery. When a Bráhman divorces his wife, he performs the ſame ceremonies for her, as if ſhe had died.

Although all the ſouthern Bráhmans can eat together, yet they are divided into nations, that never intermarry; and, although they have long been living intermixed, they generally retain in their families the language of the country from whence they originally came.

Each nation has its Vaidika, who ſubſiſt by charity, and dedicate their lives to ſtudy and devotion; its Lokika, who follow worldly purſuits; and its Numbi, or prieſts who officiate in temples, and debaſe themſelves by receiving monthly wages, and by performing menial duties to the idols. The Lokika and Vaidika may intermarry; but in accepting of his daughter for a wife, a poor Vaidika does honour to the greateſt officer of government; and ſtill more in giving him a daughter in marriage. The Lokika are never admitted to become Sannyáſis; this, however, is not conſidered as ariſing from any invincible rule of caſt, but only from their want of the proper qualifications.

Each nation again is divided into the ſects of Smartal, A'ayngar, or Sri Vaiſhnavam, and Madual; but in one nation one ſect is more prevalent than in another. A difference of ſect does not properly conſtitute a difference of caſt; as the ſon of a Smartal may become a worſhipper of Viſhnu; and, on the contrary, an A'ayngar may become a follower of the Sringa-giri college; but ſuch changes are not common. The Smartal and Madual eat together, and intermarry, although the one worſhips Siva and the other Viſhnu; and on ſuch occaſions the woman always adopts the religion of her huſband, which ſeems to be a proof of a great degradation of the ſex, who are not conſidered as worthy to form an opinion of their own on a point of this importance. The Sri Vaiſhnavam or A'ayngar will not marry, nor eat with a Madual, although they both worſhip Viſhnu; and ſtill leſs will they have any communication with a Smartal; which ariſes, however, not from any difference in caſt, but from a hatred to the doctrines entertained by theſe ſects.

The Bráhmans of every nation are divided into certain families, called gótrams; and a man and woman of the ſame family never marry together. The connection of gótram is entirely in the male line; and the Bráhmans who ſpeak Engliſh tranſlate it by our word couſin, and ſometimes by brother, or, what is analogous to it, by the

keeping up the purity of the breed; and never marry but with the daughters of families, with whoſe deſcent, from long vicinity, they are well acquainted. Like the Súdra, they are divided into ſeveral ranks that do not intermarry. The higheſt are here called Moraſu Whalliaru, and are cultivators of the ground, weavers, and ſmelters of iron ore. Inferior to theſe are Maligara Whalliaru, or muſicians; Naindaru Whalliaru, or barbers; and Aſaga Whalliaru, or waſhermen. Theſe again are quite diſtinct from the muſicians, barbers, and waſhermen of the pure tribes, who, though lower than the cultivators, are all of Súdra caſt. All the different ranks of Whalliaru, though they do not intermarry, eat together, and join in their public ceremonies. The Whalliaru are not permitted to build their huts within the walls of towns or villages; but, if there be any hedge, they generally inhabit between it and the ditch. In very large places their huts form ſtreets, and into theſe a Bráhman will not deign to put his foot; nor in a place ſo impure will a Súdra build his houſe; in like manner as a Bráhman is very unwilling to occupy a houſe in a ſtreet which the Súdra inhabit. A Bráhman, if he be touched by a Whallia, muſt waſh his head, and get a new thread; and a Súdra, who has been ſimilarly defiled, is obliged to waſh his head. A Bráhman of this country will not give any thing out of his hand to perſons of lower birth, of whom he is not afraid; but throws it down on the ground for them to take up. He will receive any thing from the hand of a perſon of a pure deſcent; but when a Whallia delivers any thing to the Bráhman, he muſt lay it on the ground, and retire to a proper diſtance, before the Bráhman will deign to approach. Europeans, from their eating beef, are looked upon by the natives here as a kind of Whalliaru; and nothing but the fear of correction prevents them from being treated with the ſame inſolence.

The proper buſineſs of the diviſion of Whalliaru, called Moraſu, is the cultivation of the ground, in which both men and women are very induſtrious; but they do not appear to have ever formed a part of the native militia, like the Súdra cultivators, nor to have been entruſted with arms, until they began to enter into the Company's ſervice. From among them ſeveral families hold, by hereditary right, the low village offices of Toti and Nirgunty, or of watchmen and conductors of water. Some few of the cultivators are farmers; but by far the greater part are yearly ſervants or Batigaru. Some of them weave coarſe cloth, and ſome ſmelt iron ore. They have chiefs called Gotugaru, who, with a council as uſual, ſettle all diſputes and matters of caſt.

The Guru of the Whallias is called Kempa Nullari Einaru, and lives at Tripathi. He is married, and wears the mark of Viſhnu. They do not know of what caſt he is; but he does not intermarry with the Whalliaru; and my interpreter ſays that the Gurus of this low tribe are all of the people called here Satánana. The Guru occaſionally comes round, lives in the huts of his followers, and receives their contributions. He puts the mark of Viſhnu on their foreheads, and exhorts them to pray to that god, and to thoſe of his family. They have no prieſt that attends at births, marriages, burials, nor at the ceremonies performed in honour of their deceaſed parents; nor do they ever receive upadéſa or chakrántikam. They pray to Dharma Raja, and offer ſacrifices to Marima, Caragadumma, and Gungoma. The púJári, or prieſt, who officiates in the temple of this laſt deſtructive ſpirit, is a Whallia; and hers are the only temples into which any of this tribe are ever admitted. They eat the ſacrifices offered even to this deity, peculiar to their caſt. Their Guru never joins in any of theſe ſacrifices; none of them can read or write. They are allowed to drink ſpirituous liquors, and to eat beef, pork, mutton, fowls, and fiſh; nor have they

they any objection to eat an animal that has died a natural death. Their marriage ceremony consists in a feast, at which the bridegroom ties the bridal ornaments round the neck of his mistress. Except for adultery, a man cannot divorce his wife; and if she has children, he cannot during her life take another; but if a man, in a reasonable time after marriage, have no children by his first wife, he may take a second. Widows are not permitted to marry again; but it is not expected that they should burn themselves, nor preserve celibacy with great exactitude. Many of this cast take the vow of Daseri.

The Togotas, or Togotaru, are a class of weavers of Telinga origin, and in their families retain that language. They follow no other trade than weaving, and have hereditary chiefs called Jjyamána, who possess the usual authority. Many of them can read and write accompts; but none attempt any higher kind of learning. Idle, stupid fellows, that cannot get a living by their industry, take the vow of Daséri, and go about praying with a bell and conch. They have no tradition concerning the time when they came into this country. They all eat together, but intermarry only with such families, as by long acquaintance know the purity of each other's descent. They cannot lawfully drink spirituous liquors, but can eat fish, fowls, and mutton. It must be observed, that, throughout the southern parts of India, fowls are a common article of diet with the lower casts; whereas in Bengal, their use is confined entirely to Mussulmans. In Bengal again ducks and geese are commonly used by the Hindus; but in the southern parts of India these birds are not at all domesticated, except by Europeans. It is not usual for the weavers of this cast to take more than one wife, unless the first prove barren; but there is no law to prevent them from taking as many as they please. Parents that are poor take money for their daughters, when they give them in marriage; those that are in easy circumstances do not. Widows cannot marry again, but are not expected to kill themselves. A woman can only be divorced for adultery. The Gurus of these weavers are hereditary chiefs of the Aáyngar, who, in return for the contributions of their followers, bestow upadésa and chakrántikam; of course they are worshippers of Vishnu. The panchánga, or village astrologer, whether he be a follower of that God, or of Siva, attends at births, marriages, funerals, at the ceremonies performed in honour of their deceased parents, and at the building of a new house; and on each occasion gets a fee of one fanam, or eight-pence. On other occasions, when a weaver wants to pray, like other Súdra, he calls in a Satánana, who reads something in an unknown language, and gives the votary some holy water, which he consecrates by pouring it on the head of a small image that he carries about for that purpose. A similar ceremony when performed by a Bráhman, from the charity that accompanies it, is called dhana, and is supposed to be much more efficacious in procuring the favour of the gods.

13th July. — In the morning I went three coss from Calura to Silagutta. The rains having become heavy, the people are now busy sowing their ragy. The showers are frequent, and the winds from the westward are strong. A great part of the country is overgrown with stunted bushes, even where the soil appears to be tolerably good, and has never been in a state of cultivation. Perhaps one half is rated in Krishna Ráyalu's accompts, and of that two thirds may be in actual cultivation; for the country is in a better state than that through which I passed yesterday. It does not contain so many small rocky hills; but I have in front, Nandi-durga; on my right, Rymabad, or Rymangur; on my left Chintamony; and

on my rear, Ambaji-durga. By the way I paſſed three large villages, all ſtrongly fortified with mud-walls and hedges.

Silagutta is a town containing about five hundred houſes, ſeveral of which are occupied by weavers. It formerly belonged to a family of Polygars, named Narayana, who poſſeſſed Devund-hully (corrupted into Deonelly), Nandi-durga, and the two Bala-puras. The country around is the prettieſt of any that I have ſeen above the Ghats. It has two fine tanks, like ſmall lakes; and their banks are covered with gardens. At a diſtance it is ſurrounded by hills occupied by durgas, or hill-forts, of which five are in ſight.

I aſſembled here ſome intelligent panchángas, or aſtrologers, and farmers, and procured from them the following account of the prevailing ſeaſons; which may be conſidered as applicable to the north-eaſtern and middle parts of the dominions of the Myſore Raja.

The almanacs divide the year into three equal portions, called candaia; and each of theſe again is divided into two ritugalu, or ſeaſons, of which each contains two months. The names of theſe ſeaſons having been taken from the climate of a country not entirely ſimilar to this, are not always applicable to the ſeaſons of this place. They are, I. Vaſanta Ritu, or ſpring ſeaſon; which contains Chaitra and Vaiſáka, or this year from the 26th of March to the 23d of May. In this the trees flower, the weather is hot and clear, with very gentle winds from the weſtward. There are occaſional ſhowers of rain, or hail, but they are not accompanied by ſqualls of wind. II. Griſhma Ritu, or the ſcorching ſeaſon, includes Iyaiſhtha and Aſháda, or in this year from the 24th of May to the 21ſt of July. The air is rendered cool by clouds, and ſtrong weſterly winds. The rains are heavier than in Vaſanta, but are not at their height. Thunder is common, but not very ſevere. III. Varſhá Ritu, or the rainy ſeaſon, comprehends Srávana and Bhadrapada, or from the 22d July to the 18th of September. At this ſeaſon the rains ought to be very heavy, and the air to be cool, with frequent and violent thunder and lightning. The winds are weſterly, and from the middle of Aſháda to the middle of Srávana, or about our month of July, are very violent; afterwards they abate. IV. Aſwaja and Kartika from Sarat Ritu, which this year extends from the 19th of September to the 16th of November. At this ſeaſon there are long falls of rain; but it is not very heavy, and there are conſiderable intervals of fair weather. The winds are light, and come from the northward. During the rain, to the feelings of the natives, the air is very cold; in the intervals it is temperate. The thunder is moderate. V. Hémanta Ritu, or the ſeaſon of dew, comprehends Márgaſirſha and Pauſhya, or from the 16th of November to the 14th of January. At this ſeaſon there is no rain, but there are heavy dews; and thick fogs obſcure the ſun, and render the air very cold. The winds are moderate, and come from the northward. VI. Sayſhu Ritu, or the ſeaſon of moonſhine, comprehends Mága and Phálguna, or from about the middle of January to the middle of March. There are ſometimes ſlight ſhowers, but the weather is in general dry and clear, with very little dew. The winds are light, and come from the eaſtward. The warm ſeaſon commences; but the heat, according to the ſenſation of the natives, continues moderate. This is the ſeaſon of the principal rice harveſt. The air is moſt unhealthy, and occaſions moſt fevers, during the firſt and laſt ſeaſons, or in the hot and dry weather. By the natives this country is eſteemed very healthy; they acknowledge, however, that the air of the durgas is very bad.

The Morafu are an original tribe of Karnata, who are admitted by all parties to be Súdra, and who, as being cultivators of the land, are called Woculigaru; which by the Muſſulmans has been ſhortened into Wocul. In the two Bala-pura diſtricts they are very numerous, and formed a part of the native foot militia, called in this language Candaſhara. They are cultivators of the ground, both as maſters and ſervants, and occaſionally hire themſelves as porters. They form three tribes; Morafu, properly ſo called, Morafu Moſcu, and Teligu Morafu, which laſt would appear from the name to be a tribe of the Telingana nation. Theſe tribes eat together, but do not intermarry; and even in each tribe perſons confine their marriages to a few families, whoſe deſcent is known to be pure. My informants are of the Morafu, properly ſo called, and muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the impure tribe called Morafu Whallias, who are not Súdra.

The men of this tribe, but not the women, can eat with thoſe of another tribe of cultivators called Sadru. A principal object of worſhip with this caſt is an image called Kála Bhairava, which ſignifies the black dog. The temple is at Sitibutta, near Calanore, about three coſſes eaſt from hence. The place being very dark, and the votaries being admitted no farther than the door, they are not ſure of the form of the image; but believe, that it repreſents a man on horſeback. The god is ſuppoſed to be one of the deſtroying powers, and his wrath is appeaſed by bloody ſacrifices. The throats of goats and ſheep are cut before the door of the temple as ſacrifices, and the fleſh is boiled for a feaſt to the votaries. In this the prieſt, or pujari, never partakes. He is a Satánana, and worſhips the god by offerings of flowers and fruit. He, as uſual, conſecrates water by pouring it over the head of the image, and afterwards ſells it to the votaries. At this temple a very ſingular offering is made. When a woman is from 15 to 20 years of age, and has borne ſome children, terrified leſt the angry deity ſhould deprive her of her infants, ſhe goes to the temple, and, as an offering to appeaſe his wrath, cuts off one or two of her fingers of the right hand. To the deſtructive female ſpirits called Gungoma, Yellama, Marima, and Putalima, the Morafu offer ſacrifices. They do not pray to either Viſhnu, or Siva. None of them here have ever ſeen a Guru belonging to their caſt; but they have heard, that about the time of their birth (about 50 years ago), a Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhman came to the place, and was called their Guru. The panchánga acts as their puróhita at marriages, and at the ceremonies performed, both annually, and at the new moons, in commemoration of their deceaſed parents. The Bráhmans, when they ſubjugated the different rude tribes in the ſouth of India, ſeem to have made very little difficulty about religious opinions and cuſtoms. Every tribe ſeems to have retained their own; and the Brahmans were contented with an acknowledgment of their authority, and with contributions given for the performance of certain ceremonies, much connected with aſtrology and magic; by pretenſions to which their power was probably extended. They themſelves have perhaps been influenced by the ſuperſtitions of their converts, whoſe gods, being malignant ſpirits, they adopted as ſervants of Iſwara, the power of deſtruction. The Bráhmans, when in ſickneſs and diſtreſs, invoke with fear and trembling the power of Bhairava, and of the female Saktis; who were formerly, perhaps, conſidered by the natives as the malignant ſpirits of the woods, mountains, and rivers; and worſhipped by ſacrifices, like the gods of the rude tribes which now inhabit the hilly region caſt from Bengal, and whoſe poverty has hitherto prevented the incurſions of the ſacred orders of their more learned weſtern neighbours.

None of the Morafu can read or write; and they never take the vow of Daſéri. They believe in tranſmigration as a ſtate of reward and puniſhment, and of courſe

believe

believe in the immortality of the ſoul; which, ſo far as I can learn, is not in this country an univerſal belief among the lower caſts, nor among the rude tribes who inhabit the hills. They have hereditary chiefs, called Gauda. The preſent poſſeſſor of that rank here is a boy. He is brought into the aſſembly, and ſits there, while the heads of families ſettle all diſputes, and puniſh all tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt. It is lawful for a Moraſu to eat every kind of animal food, except beef and carrion. They are prohibited from drinking ſpirituous liquors. The men are allowed polygamy, but, except for adultery, cannot divorce their wives. The women ſpin, work in the fields, and are very induſtrious. Widows cannot marry again, but are not expected to bury themſelves alive with their dead huſbands' bodies.

I have formerly mentioned, that the tribe called Bheri, or Nagaratra, is divided into two ſects; of which one worſhips Viſhnu, and the other Siva. The doctrines of the former have been already explained. Thoſe who worſhip Siva are ſubdivided again into two parties; of which the one wears the linga, and the other does not. Theſe laſt I have now aſſembled: they ſay, that they are of the Vaiſya, or third pure caſt; but this is denied by the Comaties and Bráhmans. They deſpiſe the oil-makers, who call themſelves Nagaratra, as being greatly their inferiors. They neither eat, intermarry, nor have common hereditary chiefs with the Viſhnu Nagaratra. They are a tribe of Karnata deſcent; and are dealers in bullion, cloth, cotton, drugs, and grain. Some of them act as porters; but they never formed any part of the militia, nor cultivated the ground, nor followed any handicraft trade. They cannot lawfully eat any kind of animal food, nor drink ſpirituous liquors. They have a knowledge of accompts, but attempt no higher kind of learning. They are allowed many wives, but do not ſhut them up; nor can they divorce them for any cauſe except adultery. In order to preſerve the purity of the caſt, they intermarry with ſuch families only, as their forefathers have been accuſtomed to do. They burn the dead; but the widows are not expected to burn themſelves. They do not wear the linga; but pray to Siva, alleging Viſhnu to be the ſame. They never offer bloody ſacrifices to Marima, nor to any other of the Saktis. They never take the vow of Daſéri; but, when in ſickneſs or danger, make mental vows to Vencaty Rámana, the idol at Tripathi, or to the Siva at Nunjinagodu; and promiſe, in caſe of being ſaved, to feed a certain number of Bráhmans, or to ſend a ſum of money to theſe temples.

The proper Guru of this caſt is a Smartal Bráhman, called Dharma Siva Achárya; who reſides at Kunji, and whoſe office is hereditary: but in affairs relating to the left-hand ſide they are ſubject to Munaiſwara Swámi, who is the Guru of that diviſion of this tribe which wears the linga. Dharma Siva Achárya beſtows holy water on his followers, and receives their contributions under the name of charity. A certain ſum is paid for each public ceremony, and another is given for holy water. Once in four or five years this perſonage comes, and receives the ſums that have been collected for him at the different villages. On theſe occaſions he puniſhes any of his followers who may have been guilty of a tranſgreſſion of the rules of caſt, and there is no ſlighter puniſhment than excommunication; but he cannot inflict this without the conſent of the heads of the caſt aſſembled in council.

The panchánga, or village aſtrologer, acts as puróhita at marriages, funerals, births, on the building of a new houſe, and at the ceremonies performed monthly and annually in honour of deceaſed parents. On theſe occaſions the puróhita reads prayers in the Sanſkrit language. The Nagaratra endeavours to repeat after him; but it being an unknown tongue he ſeldom is able to proceed farther than a few of the firſt words, and then muſt hearken quietly to the remainder, as the Bráhman does not chooſe to pronounce

nounce it leiſurely, or at leaſt diſtinctly. He is indeed ſeldom able to read fluently; and all intervals are filled up by a repetition of the laſt word, accompanied by a moſt ſonorous naſal twang, which is continued until he is able to make out the following word. This kind of unintelligible cant is, however, preferred greatly to all prayers that are pronounced in the vulgar tongue; which, indeed, are conſidered as of little or no efficacy, eſpecially if they are extemporary.

There is here a tribe of Teliga Banijigas, who follow no other profeſſion than that of gardeners. They allow themſelves to be inferior to thoſe who are merchants, or farmers; but pretend to be ſuperior to the weavers of ſackcloth. In their families they retain the Telinga language, and follow the uſual ceremonies of the Súdra, who have the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans us their Gurus. By theſe teachers they are kept in a moſt beaſtly ſtate of ignorance, nor could they give me a rational anſwer to any queſtion that I propoſed relative to their cuſtoms. They are, however, very active and ſkilful in their buſineſs. The people, who here are commonly called Satánana, call themſelves Vaiſhnavam, as being the very chief of the worſhippers of Viſhnu, an honour to which no other caſt ſeems to think them entitled. The Bráhmans allege that they are Súdra; but this title is rejected with ſcorn by the Vaiſhnavam, although they have received the Bráhmans as their Gurus. The Vaiſhnavam ſeem to be the ſame tribe with thoſe called Boiſtum in Bengal; but it muſt be confeſſed, that many of the rules of the two caſts are very different; yet perhaps not more ſo than the rules obſerved by the Bráhmans of the two countries. The Bráhmans evidently entertain a jealouſy of the Vaiſhnavam, and endeavour to render them as ridiculous as poſſible; for their profeſſion approaches too near to that of the ſacred order. I am inclined to ſuſpect, that they are the remains of a very extenſive prieſthood, who formerly held the ſame ſtation with reſpect to the Whalliaru, that the Bráhmans do now to the Súdra, and who with their followers formed the heretical ſect called Vaiſhnavam. This would be cleared up, perhaps, by a converſation with a ſect called the Válmika Satánana, who are ſaid to be the proper Gurus of the Parriar below the Ghats: but I have not had an opportunity of inveſtigating this matter.

The Satánana are divided into two ſects beſides the Válmika. Both contend for a priority of rank; and they neither intermarry, nor eat in common. If we were to judge by the circumſtances that give rank to Bráhmans, the Tricoveluru Satánana ought to be the higheſt; but the other claſs call themſelves Pratama, or firſt. They are alſo called Coil Satánana, as being a kind of officiating prieſts in the temples.

The Tricoveluru Satánana, in order to procure worldly enjoyment, act as ſchoolmaſters to inſtruct the youth in the reading and writing, both of Sanſkrit and of the vulgar languages; and alſo in muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental. Some alſo, who are rich, become farmers. The proper manner, however, in which they ought to ſubſiſt, is by begging; and by this rejection of worldly enjoyment, like the Bráhmans, they expect in a future ſtate to obtain a high reward. They intermarry, and eat among one another, without any diſtinction of family, learning, or profeſſion; and have no objection to a man of any nation, provided he can ſhow that he is a Satánana. The Bráhmans allege, that on ſuch occaſions they are not very ſcrupulous in their inquiries. They have hereditary chiefs, who with the aſſiſtance of a council ſettle diſputes, and puniſh delinquents. They are not allowed to take animal food, nor ſpirituous liquors. Here they bury, below the Ghats they burn, the dead. They are allowed two wives, who can only be divorced for adultery. Their native language is the Telinga; yet the book peculiar to the caſt is in the poetical language of the Tamul nation. This they call the Védam; but the Bráhmans call it Trivéda Prabandam. They allege, that they read the eighteen Puránas;

Puránas; but this the Bráhmans deny. They worſhip Viſhnu by ſet forms of prayer; but addreſs Siva only mentally, or by extemporary petitions, when they conſider themſelves in danger from his deſtructive power. They never worſhip in any manner Dharma Rája, Marima, Putalima, or any other of the Saktis. None of them take the vow of Dáſéri; but ſome aſſume a life of celibacy, and live entirely by begging. In this caſe, they never cut their hair, and are called Ekángi. They cannot aſſume this order without ſome ceremonies having been performed by their Gurus, who are both the Sannyáſis and the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans. Theſe confer upadéſa and chakrántikam without reward, and at the ſame time give the Satánana a dinner; which, as being a kind of charity, is rather an acknowledgment of the Bráhman's inferiority; the perſon who receives the charity being, in this country, conſidered as of a higher rank than the donor. By charity here muſt always be underſtood ſomething given to a perſon aſking for it in the name of God, as having dedicated himſelf to a religious life. Alms given to the neceſſitous poor and infirm, are received with great thankfulneſs, ſuch perſons being very numerous above the Ghats.

In the Tamul language, the Satánana are called Satany. Thoſe who ſerve in temples, and who are thence called Coil, on account of their aſſumed ſuperiority, take the name of Pratama. They ſay, that their proper office is that of Pujári in the temples of Viſhnu, and of the gods of his family. The Puja conſiſts in chaunting ſome prayers, and pouring ſome water over the head of the image, and thus making what they call holy water; which is diſtributed among the people to drink, and to pour on their heads when they pray. As the image is always well rubbed with oil, the water impregnated with this forms no pleaſant beverage; but that renders the drinking of it more meritorious. The prayers uſed by the Pratama Satany, on ſuch occaſions, are in the Tamul language; and although the holy water conſecrated by them is good enough for the Súdra, it is of no uſe to a Bráhman, who in his ceremonies can employ ſuch only as has been conſecrated by a Bráhman Pujári. The Satany adorns the image with flowers, cloths, and jewels, and anoints it with oil. They and the Bráhmans who are in the ſervice of the temple are the only perſons that may touch the image; they therefore perform all the menial offices about the ſhrine, and place the images on their chariots, or beaſts of carriage, when they are going in proceſſion. The Súdra are only permitted to drag the ropes by which the carriage is drawn. A few of this kind of Vaiſhnavam are farmers, and ſome are employed to cultivate flower-gardens, eſpecially thoſe which are reſerved for the uſe of temples. Many of them obtain permiſſion from their Guru, and by receiving a new upadéſa become Ekángi, aſſume a red or yellow dreſs, and, leading a life of celibacy, ſupport themſelves by begging. They never take the vow of Dáſeri. Their native language is the Telinga; but their caſt book is the Triveda Prabandam, and they can alſo read ſlókams or verſes in Sanſkrit. They neither eat animal food nor drink ſpirituous liquors. They burn the dead, and their widows ought to burn themſelves; but this cuſtom has become entirely obſolete. Widows, and girls, above the age of ten, are not marriageable. The men are allowed many wives; but do not ſhut them up, nor divorce them for any cauſe except adultery. Like thoſe of the Bráhmans, the women of the Satánana never ſpin, nor follow any productive induſtry; but they bring water for domeſtic purpoſes, and cook the family proviſions. The Pratama Vaiſhnavam are all equal, and can all intermarry and eat in common. The hereditary chief of all thoſe in this neighbourhood reſides at Manſunipulla, and, with a council as uſual, poſſeſſes a juriſdiction both civil and criminal. Their Guru is Puttara Achárya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Aayngar Bráhmans. He beſtows on them upadeſa and chakrántikam; and on theſe occaſions

expects

expects charity. They pray only to Vishnu and to the gods of his family, and abhor the worship of Siva, or of his followers the Saktis.

15th July.—I went three coss to the place which in our maps is called Chinna Balabaram; the nature of which name no one here understands. By the Mussulmans it is called Chuta Balapour, and the native appellation is Chica Bala-pura. The country the whole way has been arable; but at present a great part of it is uninhabited, and one of the finest rice-grounds that I have ever seen above the Ghats is quite waste. About forty years ago Chica Bala-pura belonged to Nárayana Swámi, a Polygar, who possessed also Doda Bala-pura, Devund-hully, and Silagutta, a country producing a yearly revenue of 100,000 pagodas, or 33,579l. os. 4d. He resided chiefly at Chica Bala-pura, and Nandi-durga was his principal strong hold; from the strength of which he had been able to resist the power of the Mussulmans of Sira. This place then contained a thousand houses of merchants or traders; and, although not a fortress of much strength, it was a mart of great importance. Hyder, after reducing the neighbouring countries, laid siege to it; and the Rájá, unable to resist, agreed to pay 100,000 pagodas; but after some delay the Mussulman was persuaded to go away with only 60,000. These the Rájá levied by a contribution from the merchants of this town, which was not given without great reluctance, and is considered as the commencement of their misfortunes. Soon after, the Rájá of Gutti coming to the assistance of his friend Nárayana Swámi, that Polygar became refractory, and again drew upon himself the anger of Hyder, who took all his forts, and expelled him from the country. The place continued to enjoy considerable prosperity under Hyder, although, in consequence of the contribution exacted by the Rájá, many of the mercantile houses had withdrawn; for in India, as elsewhere, merchants cannot endure to be taxed. They were soon after entirely dispersed by the tyranny of Tippoo; but he added much to the ornament and strength of the fort. On the arrival of Lord Cornwallis the Rájá was reinstated; and, after the retreat of the British army, like the other Polygars who had been restored to their countries, he refused submission to Tippoo. Ishmael Khán, the father of one of the Sultan's wives, was sent with an army to reduce them. In besieging one of the forts he met with considerable loss; and it was only from its ammunition having been exhausted, that the place surrendered. It is said, that the garrison, consisting of seven hundred men, obtained terms of capitulation which were not observed; the chief officers were hanged, and every soldier had either a hand or a leg cut off with the large knife used by the Madigaru, who in this country are the dressers of leather; the only favour shewn to the garrison was the choice of the limb that was to be amputated. A similar punishment was at the same time inflicted on 700 of the neighbouring farmers, who had occasionally stolen into the place, and assisted in its defence. As they had no means of stopping the hemorrhage, except by applying rags dipped in boiled oil; and as many were too poor, and the greater part, on such an occasion, too friendless to procure assistance, a small proporton only of these wretches survived. Some of them are here now, and subsist by begging; and the messenger of Purnea, who attends me, was present at the execution, as one of Tippoo's soldiers. This barbarous punishment had, however, the desired effect; and every Polygar instantly quitted the country. In the last war, the heir of the family returned, and for five months occupied the place. The people here seem to be attached to him; but those of Silagutta consider him as a ruffian, like most other Polygars. The Mysore government offered him terms, which he despised. Rather than accept of any thing less than what his family

family formerly poſſeſſed, he preferred retiring to the countries ceded to the Nizam, where there is a kind of licence for all manner of diſorder.

The town is now beginning to revive; and I am told, that both it and the country round are more populous, and better cultivated, than they were under Tippoo's government; the vicinity of the Nizam's dominions affording excellent means of obtaining a ſupply of inhabitants. The trade is entirely confined to the purchaſe and ſale of articles produced in the neighbourhood, except that they get ſome cotton-wool from the Nizam's country, and ſend thither ſome ſugar and jagory. The manufacture of ſugar of a fine quality is in great perfection, but on a very confined ſcale, and is kept a profound ſecret by a family of Bráhmans. Weavers of white cotton cloth are beginning to aſſemble, and fifteen houſes of them are now at work. The place contains 400 houſes, of which no leſs than 100 are occupied by Bráhmans. Formerly they had a great extent of charity lands; but, theſe having been all reſumed, they are very poor. Moſt of them are Vaidika, and therefore few chooſe to follow any uſeful profeſſion. Thirty of the houſes are of ſuch high rank, that they live entirely upon charity.

16th July.—I remained at Chica Bala-pura where I find that a large proportion of the inhabitants ſpeak, as their native dialect, the Telinga language; yet the Nárayana family were of Karnata extraction. At this place the regulations of Kriſhna Ráyalu were never received, owing perhaps to its having been in poſſeſſion of the Nárayana family before it became ſubject to the yoke of the Anagundi Kings, who were of Telinga deſcent.

The Bráhman, who is here reckoned the moſt learned of the Sri Vaiſhnavam ſect, ſays, that Ráma Anuja Achárya made 700 Sannyáſis, each of which had a mata, or college, and 74 hereditary chiefs. The Sannyáſis are now reduced to five that are called thrones (Singhaſanas); but the whole of the hereditary chiefs remain. About 500 years ago a ſchiſm aroſe in the ſect concerning the interpretation of certain of their books. Some of the Sannyáſi and ſome of the hereditary chiefs followed one interpretation, and ſome another; and each was followed by the whole of the diſciples belonging to his college, or houſe. Hence the Sri Vaiſhnavam are divided into Tangalay and Wadagalay, who will neither eat together, nor intermarry. The Sri Vaiſhnavams of the country ſouth from the Kriſhna river will not intermarry with either Smartal or Madual; but thoſe from Golconda are not ſo ſcrupulous; and many who originally came from that country are now ſettled in theſe parts. The differences between the two ſects of Aayngar conſiſt in ſome ceremonies: for inſtance, at prayers, the Wadagalay ring a bell, which the Tangalay hold in abhorrence. Beſides, the Wadagalay think, that in order to obtain future bliſs, it is very neceſſary to be regular in their devotions, and liberal in their charity to pious Bráhmans. Their opponents attach leſs importance to thoſe duties. This man denies that his ſect ever beſtow proper upadéſa on their Súdra followers, or ever read proper mantrams to them. Theſe ceremonies are reſerved for the three higher caſts only; and of theſe the ſecond is entirely extinct. Thoſe who are pretenders to this rank are by the Bráhmans treated merely as Súdra. On ſolemn occaſions the panchángas, or village aſtrologers, read ſome prayers to the Súdras; but they are not taken from the Védas, and are conſidered as of very little efficacy. Theſe Bráhmans do not conſider themſelves as at all bound to inſtruct the Súdras, nor to prevent them from offering bloody ſacrifices to evil ſpirits.

According to my informer, the Aayngar always exiſted; but before the time of Ráma Anuja, from the want of charity, they had fallen into a low ſtate; for at that

time the worſhippers of Linga, Jain, and Buddha, three of the twenty-one heretical ſects, were very numerous. The hereditary chiefs do not ſend fixed deputies to reſide among their diſtant followers; but they occaſionally ſend agents to make circuits, beſtow chakrántikam, and receive charity. My informer inſiſts poſitively, that the Sannyáſis never beſtow their upadéſa on any perſon, but their intended ſucceſſor; leſt the Bráhman ſo dignified ſhould eſtabliſh a ſeparate throne. Sometimes the intended ſucceſſor gets the upadéſa early, and is ſent to travel till his predeceſſor dies. The agents employed by the Sannyáſis, to prevent them from aſpiring to the dignity of their maſters, are always married men.

The Numbi are an inferior order of Bráhmans, whoſe duty is to act as pujáris in the temples. They are all Vaidika, and never follow any worldly occupation; but are deſpiſed on account of their receiving fixed wages for performing their duty. The other Bráhmans originally, perhaps, all lived by begging, which is the proper occupation of the caſt, and the moſt dignified manner of living, as being moſt agreeable to God; and in conſequence acquired an hereditary ſuperiority over the Numbis, which is kept up even by the Lokika, who have betaken themſelves to worldly buſineſs, and who for wages will ſerve even men. Whatever may be the cauſe, no Lokika, much leſs any Vaidika, will eat or intermarry with a Numbi; but theſe receive the ſame upadéſa with the others, and are permitted to read the ſame books. They all marry, and their offices are hereditary. They are divided into two ſects, that do not intermarry. Thoſe of the one act in the temples of Viſhnu, and follow as Gurus the heads of the Aayngar ſect. The others are pujáris in the temples of Iſwara, and follow as Gurus the Smartal Sannyáſis. The Madual have no Numbis; and their Gurus are the only perſons of the ſect who perform the office of pujári in any temple.

The Aayngar ſay, that Para Brahma, Náráyana, or Viſhnu, is the ſupreme god. He is repreſented by images having one head, and under that form is worſhipped in all temples. He aſſumed four great forms, or avatárs, Anirudha, Pratimána, Vaſudéva, and Sankarſhana: the forms of theſe avatárs may be ſeen in temples, but they are only worſhipped by the angels. The ſupreme deity then aſſumed eleven incarnations, or inferior avatárs. Ten of theſe are common objects of worſhip with men; the eleventh, or Budha, is held in abhorrence. Bráhmá, the ſon of the ſupreme deity, was born with five heads; but loſt one of them in an intrigue which he had with the wife of his ſon Iſwara. He is repreſented in temples with four heads; but his images are placed there merely as ornaments, and never occupy the ſacred place where the object of worſhip ſtands. Iſwara, the ſon of Brahmá, has five heads, and is held in abhorrence by the Aayngar, as being the huſband of Parvati, who has taken the form of many deſtructive ſpirits, ſuch as Marima, Putalima and the like. Fear of immediate deſtruction ſometimes tempts the Aayngar to pray to the deſtroying powers; but in general they pretend, that they are entirely occupied by thoughts of happineſs in the next world, which can only be procured by the favour of the avatárs of Viſhnu, or of their wives, all of whom are incarnations of Máyá. The ſervants of the avatárs, ſuch as Hanumanta, are not proper objects of worſhip; but ſome Numbis, in order to procure bread, officiate as prieſts in their temples; for the populace believe, that theſe beings have the power of beſtowing temporal bleſſings.

The moſt learned Smartal here ſay, that Para Brahma is the ſupreme god, and Máyá, or Sakti Prakriti, is his wife. They deny the four forms of God worſhipped in heaven; but ſay, that from Máyá proceeded three great avatárs, of a good, of a kingly, and of a deſtructive nature; and named Viſhnu, Brahmá, and Iſwara, or

Siva. Viſhnu has aſſumed a great number of inferior avatárs, or incarnations, of which however ten are more diſtinguiſhed than the others. The three avatárs, called Viſhnu, Brahmá, and Iſwara, are however to be conſidered as all the ſame with Para Brahma; and Parvati, the wife of Siva, is the ſame with Máyá. All the Saktis are a kind of avatárs of Parvati; but Bráhmans ought not to worſhip her under theſe forms. To obtain wiſdom, the Smartal worſhip Siva, and his wife Parvati; Geneſwara, their ſon, to prevent him from obſtructing their views; and Viſhnu to obtain heaven. They do not allow that there is any image of Para Brahma or Náráyana; and ſay, that the image ſo called by the Aayngar, is one of the forms of Viſhnu. This ſect evidently believe in a kind of Trinity, there being three forms which are eſſentially the ſame, and yet different; but their doctrine is very diſtinct from that taught by Chriſtians; as they have in their ſupreme god-head a male and female power, from whence proceed three perſons of the male ſex, accompanied alſo by three female perſons, and the female is always called the Sakti, or power of the deity.

The Smartal ſay that it was God who aſſumed the form of Sankara Achárya, and that he lived long before the time of Ráma Anuja. At that time all Bráhmans were Smartal; but the Kings and people were moſtly followers of Buddha, or of the other heretical ſects.

All theſe Bráhmas, when aſked for dates, or authority, ſay, that they muſt conſult their books, which may be readily done; but when I ſend my interpreter, who is alſo a Brahman, to copy the dates, the Brahmans here pretend that their books are loſt.

The Pacanat Jogies belong to a tribe of Telinga origin, that is ſcattered all over the peninſula; and in their own language they are called Jangalu. The proper buſineſs of their caſt is the collecting, preparing, ſelling, and exhibiting of the plants uſed in medicine. As a guide in the practice of phyſic, they read the Vaidya Saſtram, which is written in the Telinga language; and they alſo ſtudy the Abara, which is the moſt approved dictionary, or ſchool-book, in that dialect. They are very poor, and go about the ſtreet, each crying out the names of certain diſeaſes, for which he pretends to have a powerful ſpecific. Their virtuous men, after death, are ſuppoſed to become a kind of gods, and frequently to inſpire the living; which makes them ſpeak incoherently, and enables them to foretel the event of diſeaſes. Medicine in this country, has indeed fallen into the hands of charlatans equally impudent and ignorant. Such of the Jangalu as are too lazy and unſkilled to practiſe phyſic, live entirely by begging. In whatever country they have ſettled, they can all, without diſtinction, intermarry; which by their neighbours is looked upon as a great indecency, and as ſubverſive of the purity of caſt. They keep as many wives as they can; and never divorce them, adultery being either unknown, or not noticed. They do not marry their girls till after the age of puberty. A widow cannot take a ſecond huſband; but ſhe is not expected to bury herſelf with the body of her huſband. They can lawfully eat ſheep, goats, hogs, fowls, and fiſh; and intoxicate themſelves with ſpirituous liquors, opium, and hemp. They have moveable huts, which they pitch on the outſide of towns, and wander about the country, ſelling and collecting their drugs. Aſſes are their beaſts of burthen. They have no hereditary chiefs, but follow the advice of old men, who have, however, no power of excommunication. They conſider Iſwara and Viſhnu as the ſame god, and, when in diſtreſs, pray mentally to theſe deities. They offer ſacrifices to Gangoma, Yellama, Gorippa, &c.; and in diſtreſs make vows of money to Dharma Raja. Their Guru is the Sri Shela Bichawutta, who ſits on the Surya

Singhásana, or throne of the ſun. He is a married man of hereditary rank, and wears the linga, of which the Jangalu are not conſidered worthy. When one of them goes to the Guru, he makes a profound reverence, and, according to his ſlender means, preſents a ſmall ſum. The Guru, in return, gives them ſome conſecrated aſhes of cow-dung, with which they make the mark of Siva on their foreheads; and he takes their beads in his hand, by which the prayers repeated on them become more efficacious. At their marriages the panchanga reads prayers (mantrams). At the Amavaſya, or new moon, they faſt; but they obſerve no ceremony in honour of their parents.

The Aſagaru, Aſagas, or waſhermen, in this country are of two kinds, Súdra, and Whalliaru. The former are of two nations, Telinga and Karnata. Theſe laſt are by far the moſt numerous; and, although they will not intermarry with the Telinga waſhermen, yet they will eat in common. They have no hereditary chiefs; but the collector of the diſtrict, who is appointed by the government, and receives a ſalary, carries all complaints to the cutwal of the Kaſba, or police officer of the chief town of the diſtrict, who ſettles them according to cuſtom. The waſhermen of every village, whoſe office is hereditary, waſhes all the farmers clothes, and, according to the number of perſons in each family, receives a regulated proportion of the crop. Out of this he muſt pay to government a certain ſum, which in general is collected by the head waſherman of the Kaſba. They follow no profeſſion but that of waſhing; and in all public proceſſions, are bound, without reward, to carry a torch before the images, and the chief officer of government. Both men and women waſh. Their proper beaſts of burthen are aſſes, each houſe keeping for breeding and labour two or three ſhe aſſes. The female colts are reſerved to keep up the breed; and the males are ſold to the different petty traders that uſe this kind of cattle. The waſhermen confine their marriages to a few families that they know to be of pure deſcent. They marry a number of wives if they can afford it; but that is ſeldom the caſe. The girls, even after the age of puberty, continue to be marriageable; but cannot take a ſecond huſband. They can be divorced for no other cauſe than adultery. None of them can read: in fact, although admitted to be Súdras, they are a caſt moſt deplorably ignorant. They never take the vow of Dáſeri. They are allowed to drink ſpirituous liquors, and to eat fiſh, fowls, and hogs; but will not touch carrion. They worſhip a god called Bhúma Dévaru, who is repreſented by a ſhapeleſs ſtone. At Bangalore, and ſome other large towns, they have temples dedicated to this god, and ſerved by a púJari of their own caſt. To Bhúma Dévaru they offer fruit, and ſolicit him not to burn or deſtroy their cloth. They ſacrifice animals to Ubbay; which, ſo far as I can underſtand, means ſteam. They conceive that it is God who makes their water boil, and occaſionally burns their cloth; and alſo that the ſteam, iſſuing from the water, is the more immediate reſidence of the divinity, whom therefore they call Ubbay; but they believe Ubbay and Bhúma to be the ſame. This ſeems to be the proper worſhip of the caſt; but they addreſs themſelves to any other object of ſuperſtition that comes in their way, praying to Viſhnu and the other great gods, and ſacrificing to Putalima and the Saktis. Theſe prayers and ſacrifices ſeem intended merely to procure temporal proſperity. I could not perceive that they had the ſmalleſt knowledge or belief of a ſtate of future exiſtence. Their Gurus are of the Satánana caſt; but where they live, or what they do, is to their followers totally unknown. They come round occaſionally, beſtowing holy water, and getting food and money as charity. The panchánga attends at marriages, and tells them the times of the new moon; at which period almoſt all Hindus obſerve a faſt in memory of their

their deceaſed parents. They ſay, that, as they waſh the clothes of the aſtrologer, or panchánga, he occaſionally comes, and tells them ſome lies; for that he is never at the trouble of predicting the truth, except to thoſe who are rich.

The Wully Tigulas, like the Vana Pallis, are a caſt of Tamul or Tigula origin; and their only employment is the cultivation of kitchen gardens. They have loſt their original language; but when there is a ſcarcity of girls here, they go down to the Lower Carnatic, and get wives from the parent ſtock. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, and never divorce them, but content themſelves with giving their females a good drubbing when they prove unfaithful. The girls continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and are very induſtrious in gathering the produce of the garden, and in carrying it to market. They do not ſpin. This caſt has hereditary chiefs called Gaunda, which is the Tamul name for the head man of a village. None of them can read. With the Vana Pallis they eat, but cannot intermarry. They are allowed to eat animal food, but not to drink ſpirituous liquors. They bury the dead, and have ſome faint notions of a future ſtate; but rather as a thing of which they have heard, than as a thing of which they are firmly convinced, or in which they are much intereſted. They take the vow of Dáſeri, which literally means ſervice; the perſon, who takes the vow, thereby dedicating himſelf to the ſervice of God. They are admitted into all temples, ſo that they are not conſidered of an impure deſcent; but they have no Guru. At the annual commemoration of their deceaſed parents, the panchánga reads prayers (mantrams), which they do not underſtand; but at births, marriages, or funerals, no ſuch ceremony is required. They do not obſerve the amávaſyas. The caſt god is Vencata Rámana, or the Viſhnu of Tripathi. When they go into a temple of this idol, they give the prieſt ſome ſmall money, and get in return holy water and conſecrated flowers. They offer ſacrifices to the Saktis, and in fact worſhip every thing they meet, which is called a deity.

17th July.—In the morning I went three coſſes to Bhidi-caray, a ſmall fortified village ſituated on the ſide of Nandi-durga, which is oppoſite from Chica Bala-pura. I paſſed through among the hills by the ſide of Chin'-raya-conda; from whence, it is ſaid, ſprings the Pennar, or, the Utara Pinákaní, as it is called in the Sanſkrit. This river runs toward the north; and the Palar, which ſprings from Nandi, runs to the ſouth. Theſe hills may therefore be looked upon as the higheſt part of the country in the center of the land, ſouth from the Kriſhna. The ſources of the Kávéri and Tungabhadra, towards the weſtern ſide, are probably higher.

Among the hills of Nandi-durga is much fertile land, now covered with bamboos, and uſeleſs trees; but which, with a little encouragement, might be brought into cultivation: this, however, would be improper, until there be a number of people, and a quantity of ſtock, ſufficient to occupy all the lands that have formerly been cultivated, but are now waſte. Such, at leaſt, is the opinion of the amildar, who is a ſenſible man.

I took an opportunity, in company with this amildar, of examining into the management of the lac inſect; and for this purpoſe we collected all the people who follow that employment. I have always found, that the more of any claſs of people were aſſembled, the more likely I was to get juſt information: not that all of them ſpoke; ſome one or two men generally anſwered my queſtions; but they did it without fear of reflexions from thoſe who might otherwiſe have been abſent; as every one, if he choſe, had an opportunity of ſpeaking. The Hindus of all deſcriptions, ſo far as I have obſerved, are indeed very deſirous of having every kind of buſineſs diſcuſſed in public aſſemblies.

The

The people who manage the lac insect, in the hills near Nandi-durga, are of the cast called Woddaru; and for the exclusive use of the trees they pay a rent to government. The tree on which the insect feeds is the jala, which is nearly related to the saul of Bengal, or the shorea of Gærtner, and perhaps the vatica chinesis of Linnæus. All the trees that I saw here were small, not exceeding eight or ten feet in height; and their growth was kept down by the insect and its managers; for this size answers best. The tree, left to itself, grows to a large size, and is good timber. For feeding the insect, it thrives very well in a dry barren soil; and is not planted, but allowed to spring up spontaneously as nature directs. It is often choked by other trees, and destroyed by bamboos, which, by rubbing one against another, in this arid region, frequently take fire, and lay waste the neighbouring woods. By removing all other trees from the places were the jala naturally grows, and perhaps by planting a few trees on some other hills, and protecting them from being choked as they gradually propagate themselves, the lac insect might be raised to any extent on lands now totally useless, and never capable of being rendered arable. In Kartika, or from about the middle of October to the middle of November, the lac is ripe. At that time it surrounds almost every branch of the tree, and destroys almost every leaf. The branches intended for sale are then cut off, spread out on mats, and dried in the shade. A tree or two, that are fullest of the insect, are preserved to propagate the breed; and of those a small branch is tied to every tree, in the month Chaitra, or from about the middle of March to the middle of April; at which time the trees again shoot out young branches and leaves. The lac dried on the sticks is sold to the merchants of Balahari, Gutti, Bangalore, &c.; and according to the quantity raised, and to the demand, varies in price, from 5 to 20 fanams a maund. This is what is called stick-lac. In my acccount of Bangalore, I have given the process for dyeing with this substance; which after the dye has been extracted, is formed into seed and shell-lac.

I found the country beyond the hills more desolate than that near Chica Bala-pura. One-third of what has formerly been cultivated is not occupied; many of the villages are entirely deserted, and have continued so ever since the invasion of Lord Cornwallis. The people say, that they were then afflicted with five great evils: a scarcity of rain, followed by that of corn; and three invading, and one defending army, all of which plundered the country, and prevented grain from being carried from places where it might have been procured; but, in destruction, the armies of the Marattahs, and of the Sultan, were eminently active; and the greater part of the people perished from want of food. In this last war they met with no disturbance from the armies; but three-fourths of their cattle perished by disease. This was not owing to a want of forage, of which there was plenty; but is by the natives attributed to an infection, which was propagated from the cattle of the armies besieging Seringapatam. Between Colar and Chica Bala-pura the disease has this year again made its appearance; but it has not yet come to this side of the hills.

The whole land near Bhidi-caray has formerly been cultivated; and the champaign country seems to extend far to the westward, where, at the distance of thirty-two miles, Siva-ganga rears its conical head. The ragy is now coming up, and makes a wretched appearance; for in every field there is more grass than corn. Notwithstanding the many ploughings, the fields are full of grass-roots, which are indeed of great length, very tenacious of life, sprout at every joint, and are of course difficult to remove; but a good harrow would effect much. The farmers of this country are abundantly industrious; but their want of skill is conspicuous in every operation.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI. — *From Doda Bala-pura to Sira.*

THE 18th July I went two coſſes to Burra, Pedda, Doda, or Great Bala-pura, as it is called in the Muſſulman, Telinga, Karnata, and Engliſh languages. All the country through which I paſſed has formerly been under cultivation; but now it is almoſt entirely unoccupied.

On the diſſolution of the Vijaya-nagara kingdom, Náráyana Swámi, the polygar of Bala-pura, aſſumed independency; and in the fort, remains of his caſtle, ſurrounded as uſual by temples, may ſtill be traced. On the invaſion by the Mogul army under Coſſim Khán, the polygar was obliged to give up this open part of his country, and to retire to Chica Bala-pura, ſituated nearer his ſtrong holds. Doda Bala-pura formed then one of the ſeven diſtricts of the Sira government; but it was ſoon wreſted from the Muſſulmans by the Marattahs. On their decline again, after the battle of Panniput, it was ſeized by the Nizam, who gave it as a jaghir, or feu, to Abbaſs Khuli Khán, a native of the place. He enlarged the fort to its preſent ſize, made very good gardens after the Muſſulman faſhion, and built a palace with all conveniencies ſuitable to his rank. On the growth of Hyder's power, however, he was under the neceſſity of giving up the place without reſiſtance; but not chooſing to enter into that adventurer's ſervice, whom he conſidered as his inferior in rank, he returned with his children into the Lower Carnatic, and entered into the ſervice of the Nabob of Arcot. One of his wives and her grandſon refuſed to follow him; and theſe live now in the fort upon a ſmall penſion that was granted them by Hyder, and which has been continued by the Company. The fort, conſidering that it is built entirely of mud, is very large, and very ſtrong. All within, as uſual, is a ſad heap of rubbiſh and confuſion. The Aſſur Khana of Abbaſs Khuli Khán is, however, a handſome building. In this kind of temple the Muſſulmans of the Decan, infected by the ſuperſtition of their neighbours, worſhip Allah under the form of a human hand, painted on a board between two figures that repreſent the ſun and moon.

One ſide of the fort is ſurrounded by gardens; and the other three ſides by the town of Bala-pura, which contains 2000 houſes, and is fortified by a mud wall and hedge. In this town was born Meer Saduc, the deteſtable miniſter of the late Sultan. He adorned his native place by a garden, which, together with that of the Abbaſs Khuli Khan, is kept up by the Raja.

19th and 20th July. — I remained at Doda Bala-pura, making ſome enquiries.

The Gollaru, or, as they are called in their own language, the Gollawanlu, are a tribe of Telingana deſcent, and muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the Cadu, or Carridy Goalaru, who keep cattle; with whom they never eat in common, nor intermarry. They are one of the tribes of Súdra, whoſe duty it is to cultivate the ground, and to act as the village militia. This caſt has, beſides, a particular duty, the tranſporting of money, both belonging to the public, and to individuals. It is ſaid, that they may be ſafely intruſted with any ſum; for, each man carrying a certain value, they travel in bodies numerous in proportion to the ſum put under their charge; and they conſider themſelves bound in honour to die in defence of their truſt; of courſe, they defend themſelves vigorouſly, and are all armed; ſo that robbers never venture to attack them. The have hereditary chiefs called Gotugaru, who with the uſual council ſettle all diſputes, and puniſh all tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt. The moſt flagrant is the embezzlement of money intruſted

truſted to their care. On this crime being proved againſt any of the caſt, the Gotugaru applies to the amildar, or civil magiſtrate, and, having obtained his leave, immediately cauſes the delinquent to be ſhot. Smaller offences are atoned for by the guilty perſon giving an entertainment. In caſes of adultery, the chief collects four elders, who admoniſh the woman to a more decent conduct. If ſhe be repentant, the huſband takes her back; but if ſhe be impudent, he divorces her. After the age of puberty the girls continue to be marriageable, and a man may marry as many of them as he can maintain, or procure; for the former is not difficult, the women being very induſtrious, both in the field and in ſpinning. They are divided into ſeveral families, Mutſarlu, Beinday, Molu, Sadalawanlu, Perindalu, and Toralay. Theſe are like the Gótrams of the Bráhmans; the intermarriage of two perſons of the ſame family being conſidered as inceſtuous. They call the proper god of the caſt Kriſhna Swámi, who is one of the incarnations of Viſhnu; and they allege, that he was born of their caſt both by father's and mother's ſide. The Bráhmans allege, that the mother of this great warrior was of the Goala, or cow-keeper caſt; in which, perhaps, they are well founded; and they pretend, that a Bráhman condeſcended to impregnate her, which is not improbable. The Gollawanlu offer ſacrifices to the Saktis. They pray to Kála Bhairava (terrific time); but the women do not appeaſe his wrath by ſacrificing their fingers, like the female Moraſu above deſcribed. They think, that after death good men become a kind of gods; and they offer ſacrifices to theſe ſpirits: bad men become devils. The know nothing of tranſmigration. They bury the dead, and ſometimes take the vow of Daſeri. They are allowed to eat animal food, and to drink ſpirituous liquors. Although their Guru wears the linga, they do not. He is a Jangama, named Malaiſwara Swámi, who lives at Mapákáli Conda, about 14 miles north from hence. On his followers he beſtows holy water; and for every marriage accepts of a fanam, although he does not attend the ceremony. This tribe ſeems not to be much attached to any ſect; as its members alſo take holy water from the Gurus of the A'ayngar Bráhmans, and beſtow on thoſe perſons charity in money and grain. At their marriages, at the new moons, at births, and at the Todanu, as the annual commemoration of the death of their parents is called in the Telinga language, the panchanga, or village aſtrologer, reads prayers (mantrams), which are by them reckoned of great efficacy, as they are in a language which they do not underſtand.

The Cunſa Woculigaru are a tribe of Súdra of Karnata deſcent, who are properly cultivators, and who formed a part of the Candaſhara, or native militia. Their hereditary chiefs are called Gaudas, whether they are head men of villages or not. The Gauda by excommunication, or by the mulct of an entertainment, ſettles diſputes and and puniſhes tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt. In caſes of adultery, the head man, aſſiſted by his council, inquires into the matter. If the man has been of the ſame caſt, the adultreſs is only reprimanded, the huſband of courſe retaining the power of giving her corporal puniſhment, although he rarely proceeds to ſuch extremities; but if the man has been of a ſtrange caſt, the adultreſs is excommunicated. They can all intermarry, and the men are allowed to take ſeveral wives. The women are very induſtrious ſpinners, and labourers in the field, and continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty. Widows ought to be buried alive with their huſbands' bodies; and ſome of the more ſtrict people regret that the cuſtom has become entirely obſolete. They are allowed to eat animal food, but not to drink ſpirituous liquors. Some of them can read and write accompts. They all worſhip the Saktis, by ſacrificing animals,

animals, which they afterwards eat. They believe, that after death the ſpirits of good men become a kind of gods, and, by ſending dreams, warn men of what is to happen. Bad men, after death, become devils, but have no power over the living. To the ſainted ſpirits they offer ſacrifices. Some of them take the vow of Dáſeri, and ſome pray to Dharma Rája. The panchánga, or village aſtrologer, reads mantrams to them at marriages and births, and in ſome places attends at the annual commemoration of their parents' death; but in other places, thoſe who have taken the vow of Dáſeri attend at this ceremony. They are divided into two religions. One ſect worſhips Siva: theſe do not wear the linga; but their Guru is a Lingabanta Einaru, called Nanjaya, who lives near Colar: he comes occaſionally, diſtributing holy water, and accepting charity. The other ſect worſhips Viſhnu, and follows the hereditary chiefs of the A'ayngar, who on their occaſional viſits diſtribute holy water, and accept of charity.

The Lali-Gundaru deny their being Súdras, and ſay that they are Linga Banijigas; but that race will neither eat in their houſes, nor give them their girls in marriage. They are a tribe of Karnataka deſcent. They are farmers, bullock-hirers, gardeners, builders of mud-walls, and traders in ſtraw and other ſmall merchandize: but they never take ſervice as Battigaru, or hinds. The have hereditary chiefs called Ijyamánas; who, as uſual, with the aſſiſtance of a council, ſettle diſputes, and puniſh tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt, by mulcting the offender in an entertainment, or by a temporary excommunication. In caſes of adultery, the chief and his council firſt inveſtigate the buſineſs. If they find it proved, that a woman has been guilty of a connection with a man of a ſtrange caſt, the prieſt (Wodear) is called, and in his preſence ſhe is excommunicated; but if ſhe has only beſtowed her favours on a man of the caſt, her huſband turns her away, and ſhe may live with any unmarried perſon of the caſt as a concubine. The men are allowed to have a number of wives; and even after the age of puberty, the women continue to be marriageable. The ſex are very induſtrious, both at ſpinning, and working in the fields. This caſt bury the dead; and, although they offer ſacrifices of the Saktis, are not allowed either to drink ſpirituous liquors, or to eat animal food. They pray to the ſpirits of good men, thinking that they are the occaſion of dreams which foretel future events; but they know not what becomes of the ſpirits of bad men after death. Some of them are worſhippers of Viſhnu, and ſome of Iſwara. The Guru of the former is a Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhman reſiding at Ahobalum. The Guru of the Siva ſide lives at Meilar, and is called Linguppa. He wears the linga, as do alſo his followers; and he is a Sannyáſi, but of what kind the people here do not know. In his excurſions, which do not happen above once in ten years, he diſtributes holy water, and receives contributions under the name of charity. It is at their mariages only that the panchánga reads mantrams.

I have already mentioned the cuſtoms of the Nagaratras, or Bheri, who worſhip Viſhnu, and of thoſe who worſhip Siva without wearing the linga. I had here an opportunity of examining thoſe who wear that indecent badge of their religion. They will neither eat nor intermarry with either of the other two ſects; but the whole ſubmit to the authority of the ſame hereditary chiefs, whatever their religious opinions may be. They ſay, that all Bheri were formerly of the Viſhnu ſide, and that about five hundred years ago they ſeparated from it. Yet they contend, that even before this ſeceſſion, they and all other Nagarataru were under the authority of Dharma Siva Achárya, a Smartal Sannyáſi reſiding in the Lower Carnatic. For this extraordinary circumſtance they can aſſign no reaſon. This Bráhman at their marriages beſtows on them a thread, like that which is worn by the three higher caſts; for they pretend to

be Vaiſyas. For each thread, which ever after marriage they continue to wear, they pay one fanam. Under the name of dharma (duty), they alſo give contributions to this Bráhman whenever he comes to the place. On ſuch occaſions he puniſhes by whip and fine all thoſe who have tranſgreſſed againſt the rules of caſt. They are alſo ſubject to Muniſwara Swámi, a perſon of their caſt, who lives at Baſwana-pura, near Cangundy, in the Bára Mahál. He beſtows on them the linga, and an upadéſa; but his power in puniſhing for delinquencies extends only to fines. The firſt Muníſwara Swámi is believed to have ſprung from the earth at Calyána Patana; and his ſucceſſors acknowledge no ſuperiors, but are conſidered as Iſwara in a human form. The office is hereditary, and of courſe the Swámi marries. The eldeſt ſon, on the death of his father, becomes an incarnation of Siva; while the younger brothers are conſidered merely as holy men, but follow begging as their profeſſion; for in this country that is eſteemed the moſt honourable employment. They reſide in the matam, or college, with their brother, and accompany him in his travels among the diſciples. The daughters of this ſacred family never marry perſons of lower birth; but when there is a ſcarcity of women for the uſe of the men, they condeſcend to take the daughters of the Emulnaru, who among this ſect are a kind of nobility. Theſe do not intermarry with the populace; but they follow lay profeſſions, and are not in excluſive poſſeſſion of the office of hereditary chief. In the two other ſects of this caſt, there are no Emulnaru. The Bráhman Guru, and Muníſwara Swámi, are conſidered as of equal rank. The Lingabanta Jangamas are not by this caſt conſidered as their Gurus; but they receive charity, by which a kind of authority is implied. They give nothing to the Dévánga Jangamas. They do not know that Muníſwara Swami is poſſeſſed of any books: when he beſtows the linga, he prays extemporarily in the vulgar tongue. At marriages, and the ceremonies which are performed for their deceaſed parents, the panchánga and mendicant Bráhmans attend, and read mantrams. On theſe occaſions the Jangamas alſo attend, and beſides receive the whole profit of births and funerals. They bury the dead, and their widows ought to accompany them in the grave; but this cuſtom has become obſolete. Widows cannot marry again: ſuch an action, indeed, being conſidered as intolerably infamous, my informers loſt all patience when I aſked the queſtion. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, but cannot divorce them for any cauſe except adultery. They are not allowed to eat animal food, nor to drink ſpirituous liquors.

I here find, that beſides the tradeſman, there are three diviſions among the Whalliaru; and that the cuſtoms of each differ conſiderably in different villages, as might be naturally expected among a people who have no written rule. There are two tribes of Whallias that ſpeak the language of Karnata; one called ſimply Karnata, and the other Moraſu Whalliaru. Theſe laſt deny that they have any Guru; but ſay, that they give preſents to the prieſts at the temple of Kála Bhairava. They offer ſacrifices to the Saktis, to whom they are never pujáris; and in this place they never take the vow of Dáſeri. The Karnata Whalliaru ſay, that they have a god named Cadri Singuppa, which is one of the names of Viſhnu. The pujári at this idol's temple is a Vaiſhnavam, and acts as their Guru. He ſends annually a deputy to beſtow holy water, and receive charity. They alſo ſacrifice to the Saktis. The Teliga Whalliaru call themſelves Maliwanlu, and retain the Telinga language. Their religion here is the ſame with that laſt mentioned. They have no idea of a future ſtate. They never marry two wives; but, to keep up the family, if the wife has no children, they may take one concubine. Some men do not marry, and theſe may keep as many concubines as they pleaſe. The Gotugaru, or chief of the caſt, here, is not an hereditary office, but a perſon appointed by the amildar to collect the houſe rent. He is a Parriar from

the Lower Carnatic; for, as I have before obſerved, the Parriar of the Tamuls, is the ſame caſt with the Whalliaru of Karnata, and the Maliwanlu of Telingana. He ſettles all diſputes; and on all delinquents impoſes a mulct of an entertainment.

The Teliga Dévángas of the Siva ſect intermarry with thoſe who worſhip Viſhnu; and the wife always adopts the religion of her huſband. Even after the age of puberty the women may marry; and, except for adultery, cannot be divorced. Polygamy is allowed to the men, but they do not confine their women. Widows were formerly expected to bury themſelves alive with their huſbands' bodies, but the cuſtom has become obſolete. The people of this caſt are allowed to eat animal food; but not to drink ſpirituous liquors. They offer ſacrifices to the Saktis, and have the ſame opinion concerning a future life that the Canara Dévángas entertain. They can read, and write accompts. Although they do not wear the linga, they reject the Brahmáns as Gurus, and follow Cari-Baſwa Uppa, who admoniſhes them to waſh their heads, and to pray to Iſwara. He as uſual receives dharma, or charity, and on every marriage has a ſmall fee. At births, marriages, funerals, new moons, and the annual celebration of their parents' deceaſe, the panchánga reads mantrams; but the Jangamas ſhare in the profits, as on all theſe occaſions they receive charity.

I found here three Smartal Bráhmans, who were reckoned men of learning. They ſaid, that the ſacred caſt is divided into at leaſt two thouſand tribes, which from hatred to one another, never intermarry; for they might do ſo without infringing the rules of caſt. It is conſidered as inceſtuous for two perſons of the ſame Gótram to intermarry. The origin of the Gótrams is thus explained. The firſt Bráhmans that ſprung from the head of Brahmá when he created mankind are ſtill alive, and are called Riſhis. They are endowed with wonderful powers, being able to induce the gods to perform whatever they pleaſe. This power they obtained by long faſting and prayer; and they continue to paſs their time in theſe exerciſes, living in very retired places, and having been very ſeldom ſeen, eſpecially in theſe degenerate days. Each of theſe Riſhis had children, and each became thus the founder of a Gótram; all his deſcendants in the male line conſtituting one family. Every Gótram poſſeſſes Vaidika, Lokika, and Numbi, or Siva-Brahmana, as this laſt ſet are called by the Smartal.

21ſt July. — I went five coſſes to Tonday Bava, near Mahá-kálídurga, paſſing chiefly through a barren hilly country, totally uncultivated, and covered with buſhes or coppice-wood. It is part of a hilly chain that comes toward the weſt from the north of Colar, and meets at right angles the chain that extends north from Capala-durga. This chain running eaſt and weſt is called a Ghat, and the country to the north of it is ſaid to be below the Ghats. The whole of it is watered by branches of the Utara Pináкaní, or Pennar. The nature of the crops here is very different from that in the ſouthern parts of the country.

The Baydaru are of two kinds, Karnata and Telinga. The former wear the linga, and are ſaid to be numerous near Raya-durga. Thoſe in the north-eaſtern parts of the Myſore Rája's dominions are of Telinga deſcent, and retain that language. They ſeem to be the true Súdra cultivators and military of Telingána, and to have been introduced in great numbers into the ſouthern countries of the peninſula, when theſe became ſubject to Andray or Telingána Princes. The Telinga Baydas neither intermarry, nor eat in common with thoſe of Karnata extraction. Among themſelves they can all eat together; but, in order to keep up the purity of the race, they never marry, except in families whoſe pedigree is well known. Like the Bráhmans, they are divided into a number of families, of which a male and female can never intermarry. They have alſo among them a race of nobles called Chimalas. Among theſe are the hereditary

hereditary chiefs, who puniſh tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt, and who are called Gotugaru. From this claſs of nobles were alſo appointed the feudal lords, vulgarly called Polygars; but who aſſumed to themſelves the Sanſkrit title of Sanſthánica. Civil differences in this tribe are made up in aſſemblies of the heads of families, the hereditary chiefs having become almoſt extinct. No heavier puniſhment was ever inflicted by theſe, than the mulct of an entertainment. The Baydaru ought by birth to be ſoldiers, hunters of tigers, boars, deer, and other noble game, and ought to ſupport themſelves by cultivating the ground. They are both farmers and hinds, and ſometimes act as talliari, a low village officer. The are permitted to eat fowls, ſheep, goats, hogs, deer, and fiſh, and to drink ſpirituous liquors. The men are allowed to take many wives, but can only divorce them for adultery. The women are very induſtrious, both at home and in the field; and even after the age of puberty continue to be marriageable. Widows are not expected to ſacrifice themſelves to the manes of their huſbands; but they cannot marry a ſecond time. In ſome families of the Baydaru, however, they may be received as concubines. They bury the dead. They believe, that after death wicked men become devils, and that good men are born again in a human form. The ſpirits of men who die without having married, become Vírika; and to their memory have ſmall temples and images erected, where offerings of cloth, rice, and the like, are made to their manes. If this be neglected, they appear in dreams, and threaten thoſe who are forgetful of their duty. Theſe temples conſiſt of a heap or cairn of ſtones, in which the roof of a ſmall cavity is ſupported by two or three flags; and the image is a rude ſhapeleſs ſtone, which is occaſionally oiled, as in this country all other images are. Female chaſtity is not at all honoured in this way. This ſuperſtition ſeems rather local, than as belonging to this caſt; for it is followed by all the Súdras of this part of the country, and I have not obſerved it any where elſe. The Baydaru, in conſequence of vows made in ſickneſs, take Dáſeri, that is, dedicate themſelves to the ſervice of God, both perpetual and temporary. The proper god of the caſt is Trimula Dévaru, to whom a celebrated temple is here dedicated. It is an immenſe maſs of granite on the ſummit of a low hill. Under one ſide of it is a natural cavity, which is painted red and white with ſtreaks of reddle and lime. In this cavity is placed a rude ſtone, as the emblem of the god; and it is attended by a prieſt or pujári of the caſt called Santánana. To this place all the Baydaru of the neighbourhood once a year reſort. The pujári then dreſſes ſome victuals; and having conſecrated them, by placing them before the idol, he divides them among the people. Trimula, it muſt be obſerved, is the name of the hill at Tripathi, on which the celebrated temple of Viſhnu, under the name of Vencaty Rámana, is built. The Baydaru never pray to any of the Saktis, except Marima, who inflicts the ſmall-pox on thoſe who offend her. To this terrible power they offer ſacrifices, and eat the fleſh. Their Guru is Trimula Tata Achárya, an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans, who gives them chakrántikam, upadeſa, and holy water, and, when he viſits the place, receives from each perſon one fanam. At marriages, and at the annual commemoration of deceaſed parents, the panchánga acts as puróhita.

22d July. — I went three coſſes to Aſſauru, a village inhabited by cultivators, and ſaid to contain five hundred houſes, but which looks wretchedly poor.

23d July. — I went three coſſes to Doda Bailea, a fortified village inhabited by farmers, which contains about fifty houſes.

24th July. — I went two coſſes to Madhu-giri, or Honey-hill, a ſtrong durga which is ſurounded on all ſides by hills. From Bailea, theſe hills appeared as a connected chain, and are a part of that ridge which runs north from Capala-durga; but on entering among

among them, I found narrow vallies winding through in all directions. The hills are rocky and bare; but in many places the ſoil of the vallies is good. In ſome places there are cocoa-nut gardens; but many of the cleared fields are now unoccupied, and a great deal of good ground ſeems never to have been reclaimed.

The view of Madhu-giri, on approaching it from the eaſt, is much finer than that of any hill-fort that I have ſeen. The works here make a very conſpicuous appearance; whereas in general they are ſcarcely viſible, being hidden by the immenſity of the rocks on which they are ſituated. On the fall of the Vijaya-nagara monarchy, this place belonged to a Polygar named Chiccuppa Gauda; but more than a century ago it came into the poſſeſſion of the Myſore family. Mul Rája built the fortreſs of ſtone, which formerly had been only of mud. Here alſo he built a palace; in the ſuburbs he rebuilt a large temple; and near it he made fine gardens, and the handſomeſt building for the reception of travellers that I have ſeen in India. Unfortunately, it is now ruinous. The fortifications were improved to their preſent form by Hyder; the place in his time was a conſiderable mart, and poſſeſſed ſome manufactures, having a hundred houſes occupied by weavers. A Marattah chief, named Madi Row, held it for ſeven years of Hyder's government, having ſeized it after the victory which his countrymen gained at Tonuru. When he was forced to retire, he plundered the town of every thing that he could carry away; and with the exaggeration uſual in Hinduſtan, the place is ſaid to have been ſo rich, that he diſdained to remove any thing leſs valuable than gold. The oppreſſions of Tippoo had nearly ruined the place, when the deſtruction was completed by the Marattah chief, Bulwunt Row, one of Purſeram Bhow's officers. Although he beſieged the fort five months, he was unable to take it. His army was numerous, exaggerated by native accounts to 20,000 men; but they were a mere rabble, a banditti aſſembled by the Polygars, who formerly were diſpoſſeſſed of the neighbouring ſtrong holds, and who then had ventured back under the protection of Lord Cornwallis. When that nobleman gave peace to the Sultan, theſe ruffians had entirely ruined every open place in the neighbourhood; but they were immediately afterwards diſperſed by the Sultan, who purſued with ſo much activity the 500 Marattah horſe which had joined this rabble, that twenty only eſcaped with their chief. The place has ever ſince been in a very languiſhing condition, but is beginning to revive. Purnea has appointed a brother-in-law of his own to be amildar, and gives the inhabitants conſiderable encouragement.

The Idigas, or Idigaru, are a caſt of Telinga origin; and, though they have loſt all tradition concerning the time when they ſettled in this country, they ſtill retain their original language. In this they are called Inrawanlu. They can all eat in common, but keep up the purity of the breed by marrying only in certain families whoſe deſcent is known. Like the Shanar of Madras, their proper buſineſs is to extract the juice of palm trees, to make it into jagory, and to diſtil it into ſpirituous liquors; but ſome few of them have become farmers. They wiſh to be called Súdras; but their claim to be of a pure deſcent is not acknowledged by the Bráhmans, and they appear never to have been permitted to carry arms. The Idigas can read and write accompts. Although they eat animal food, they are prohibited from drinking even palm-wine. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, but can divorce them for no cauſe except adultery. Adultreſſes and widows cannot marry again; they may, however, become concubines, or cutigas. All the deſcendants of theſe form an inferior kind of breed, called alſo cutigas, with whom thoſe who are deſcended from chaſte mothers will not intermarry. The women ſell the produce of their huſband's labour, and manage houſehold affairs; but never toil in the fields. Even after the age of puberty they continue to be marriageable,

riageable, and are not permitted to bury themſelves with their huſband's bodies. They have no hereditary chiefs; but the renter, with a council as uſual, ſettles all diſputes, and puniſhes by fine all tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt. At their marriages, and at the monthly and annual ceremonies performed in commemoration of their deceaſed parents, the panchánga, or aſtrologer, reads mantrams. Their Guru is of the caſt called Satánana, and is named Cadry Singaia. Near this place he has two houſes, and his office being hereditary, he is a married man. He reads to them the hiſtory of the gods, written in the Telinga language; gives them holy water, admoniſhes them to wear the mark of Viſhnu on their foreheads, and from each perſon he receives two fanams as charity. His viſits are about once in two years. With ſuch a Guru, the principal object of their worſhip is of courſe Viſhnu; but they alſo offer ſacrifices to the Saktis, and to the Vírika, or men who, on account of chaſtity, have been ſainted. All other good men are ſuppoſed to become powerful ſpirits, but are not objects of worſhip. Bad men are puniſhed in hell. This caſt do not take the vow of Dáféri.

The Curubaru are an original caſt of Karnata, and, wherever they are ſettled, retain its language. They are divided into two tribes, that have no communion, and which are called Handy Curubaru, and Curubaru Proper. Theſe laſt again are divided into a number of families; ſuch as the Any, or elephant Curubaru; the Hal, or milk Curubaru; the Colli, or fire C.; the Nelly C.; the Sámanta C.; the Coti C.; the Aſil C.; and the Murhindina Curubaru. Theſe families are like the Gótrams of the Bráhmans: it being conſidered as inceſtuous for two perſons of the ſame family to intermarry. The Proper Curubas have hereditary chiefs, who are called Gaudas, whether they be head-men of villages or not, and poſſeſs the uſual juriſdiction. Some of them can read accompts, but they have no book. The proper duty of the caſt is that of ſhepherds, and of blanket weavers; and in general they have no other dreſs than a blanket. A few of thoſe who are rich have betaken themſelves to the luxury of wearing cotton cloth next their ſkin; for all caſts and ranks in this country wear the blanket as an outer garment. The dreſs of the women reſembles that of the females of the kingdom of Ava. The blanket is put behind the back, and the two upper corners, being brought forward under the arms, are croſſed over the boſom, and ſecured by the one being tucked under the other. As their blanket is larger than the cloth uſed by the women of Ava, the dreſs is more decent. The Curubaru were, beſides, candachara, or militia; cultivators, as farmers, as ſervants, and as gardeners; attavana, or the armed men who ſerve the amildars; anchay, or poſt-meſſengers, and porters. They are allowed to eat animal food, but in moſt places are not permitted to drink ſpirituous liquors. In other places this ſtrictneſs is not required; and almoſt every where they intoxicate themſelves with palm-wine. The women are very induſtrious, and perform every kind of work, except digging and ploughing. Even after the age of puberty they continue marriageable, and can only be divorced for adultery. In this caſt the cuſtom of cutiga, or concubinage, prevails; that is, all adultreſſes who are turned away by their huſbands, and have not gone aſtray with a ſtrange man, and all girls and widows, to whom a life of celibacy is diſagreeable, may live with any man of the caſt who chooſes to keep them. They are looked down upon by their more virtuous ſiſters; but ſtill are admitted into company, and are not out-caſts. Among the Curubaru, the children of concubines do not form a ſeparate caſt, but are allowed to marry with thoſe of a pure breed. By a connection with any man, except a Curuba, a woman becomes

becomes an entire out-caſt. The men take ſeveral wives; and, if they be good workers, do not always divorce them for adultery; but, as they thus incur ſome diſgrace, they muſt appeaſe the anger of their kindred by giving them an entertainment, and the Guru generally interpoſes his authority to prevent a ſeparation. The Curubas believe, that thoſe men who die without having been married become Vírikas, to whoſe images, at a great annual feaſt, which is celebrated on purpoſe, offerings of red cloth, jagory, rice, &c. are made. If this feaſt be omitted, the Vírikas become enraged, occaſion ſickneſs, kill the ſheep, alarm the people by horrid dreams, and, when they walk out at night, ſtrike them on the back. They are only to be appeaſed by the celebration of the proper feaſt. The peculiar god of the caſt is Bir'-uppa, or father Biray, one of the names of Siva; and the image is in ſhape of the linga; but no other perſon prays to Siva under this name, nor offers ſacrifices to that god, which is the mode by which the Curubas worſhip Bir'-uppa. The prieſts who officiate in the temples of this deity are Curubas. Their office is hereditary, and they do not intermarry with the daughters of laymen. In ſome diſtricts, the Curubas worſhip another god, peculiar, I believe, to themſelves. He is called Battay Dévaru, and is a deſtructive ſpirit. They offer ſacrifices to him in woods, by the ſides of rivulets, or ponds. The carcaſes of the animals killed before the image are given to the barber and waſherman, who eat them. Beſides theſe, the Curubaru offer ſacrifices to the Saktis, and pray to every object of ſuperſtition (except Dharma Rája) that comes in their way. They are conſidered as too impure to be allowed to wear the linga, as their Guru does. This perſon is called a wodear, or jangama; but he is married, and his office is hereditary. His title is Rávana Siddheſwara, and he originally lived at Sarur, which is near Kalyána pattana. At his viſits he beſtows conſecrated aſhes, and receives charity. He has a fixed due on marriages, and ſends his agent to collect it. At ſome of their ceremonies the panchánga attends, and acts as puróhita.

30th July. — I went four coſſes to Badavana-hully, or the poor man's village; which is fortified with a mud-wall and a ſtrong hedge, and contains about twenty houſes of cultivators. In the former war it fell into the hands of Purſeram Bhow's army; and, although the inhabitants have lived ever ſince in perfect ſecurity, it has not yet recovered one-half of its former population. The diſeaſe among the cattle laſt year did not extend toward this quarter farther than Chica Bala-pura; but this year it has killed one half of the ſtock.

The country through which I came to-day conſiſts of vallies interſperſed with detached barren hills. In theſe vallies there has been formerly a good deal of cultivation; at preſent, however, they are not half peopled. A great part of the country is covered with the wild date palm, or *elate ſylveſtris*, of which no care is taken. Even on bad ſoils it ſeems to be ſo thriving, that I have no doubt but that even there it is ſufficiently productive of juice.

31ſt July. — I went four coſſes to Sira. The greater part of the country, through which I paſſed to-day, is covered with trees, which are rather higher than is uſual in the waſtes of this country. Among them were many wild date palms. The Sultan, as I have already mentioned, with a view of enforcing the doctrine of his religion, which forbids the uſe of intoxicating liquors, gave orders that all theſe ſhould be cut. Like moſt of his other regulations, this ſeems to have been very ill obeyed; for in the central parts of his dominions no tree ſeems to be in ſuch abundance. On the way, I paſſed two ruinous villages, and one ſtill inhabited; but by far the greater

number of the fields were uncultivated, and by far the greater part of the country ſhows no traces of its ever having been reclaimed, although it ſeems in very few places to be too ſteep or too barren for the plough.

From the 1ſt to the 6th of Auguſt, I remained at Sira, inveſtigating the ſtate of that neighbourhood, as being the principal place in the central diviſion of the Raja's dominions north from the Cavery.

Sira, for a ſhort time, was the ſeat of a government which ruled a conſiderable extent of country, and ſeems to have been at its greateſt proſperity under the government of Diláwur Khan, immediately before it was conquered by Hyder. It is ſaid, that it then contained 50,000 houſes, of which Muſſulmans occupied a large proportion. By this change of maſters Sira ſuffered greatly; not owing to any oppreſſion from Hyder, but from its being deprived of the expenditure attending the court of a Mogul Nabob. It was alſo much reduced by the Marattah invaſions, which had nearly proved fatal to the riſing power of its new maſter; and its ruin was accompliſhed by his ſon Tippoo, who removed twelve thouſand families, to form near his capital the new town of Shahar Ganjam. About three hundred houſes remained, when the Marattah army, under Purſeram Bhow and Hurry Punt, took up their head quarters in the fort, which is well built of ſtone, and of a good ſize. Theſe invaders did no harm to the town, but deſtroyed moſt of the villages in the neighbourhood, and many of theſe ſtill continue in ruins. The town itſelf, although the ſeat of an aſoph, or Muſſulman lord-lieutenant, continued to languiſh till it came under the Engliſh protection. It is little more than a year ſince the army under General Harris encamped here on its route to Chatrakal; and ſince that time two thouſand houſes have been built; many of its former inhabitants, whom the Sultan had forced to Seringapatam, have returned to their native abode; and others are coming in daily from the country that has been ceded to the Nizam. The only building in the place worth notice is the monument of a Muſſulman officer, who commanded here during the Mogul government; but it is abundantly ſupplied with tombs of men who by the Mohammedans are reputed ſaints, and near which the people of that faith are anxious to be buried, as they conſider the ground holy. The only conſiderable temple was pulled down by Bahadur Khan, the laſt aſoph of the place; who was building a monument for his wife with the materials, when the arrival of the Britiſh army put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings.

The Dévángas here make two thick coarſe cloths; the one called cadi is plain, and reſembles what is made by the Whalliaru near Bangalore; and the other has red borders, like the cloth of the Togotarus. The whole of the cloth made here is uſed in the immediate neighbourhood.

The Bily-Mugga weavers conſider this name as a term of reproach, and call themſelves Curivina Banijigaru. They are an original tribe of Karnata. Some of them are dealers in cloth or grain, and a few are farmers. They have no hereditary chiefs; but infractions of the rules of caſt are puniſhed by their clergy or jangamas; who are, however, bound to act by the advice of the elders of the tribe, ſhould the fault be of ſuch magnitude as to require excommunication. An aſſembly of the heads of families ſettles diſputes. They pretend to be one of the tribes of pure Banijigas, and to be capable of being appointed to the prieſthood. They ſay, that there are ſix tribes of proper Banijigas; the Badagulu, the Pancham, the Stalada, the Turcana, the Jainu, and the Curivina. All theſe can eat together; but cannot intermarry, unleſs they have been appointed jangamas; and the deſcendants of theſe never marry with the laity, although among themſelves they loſe all former diſtinctions. Each of

theſe ſix tribes are again divided into Gótrams, and a man and woman of the ſame Gótram can never marry. The Gótrams of the Curivina are ſixty-ſix in number. They may marry as many wives as they pleaſe; but cannot divorce them, except for adultery; and it is not unuſual for a huſband to keep his wife after ſhe has been guilty of this crime. Women are marriageable even after the age of puberty; and widows may live with a man in a kind of left-hand marriage, and be called Cutigas, or concubines; but both the man with whom they live, and their children, are conſidered as legitimate. If a woman leaves her huſband, and cohabits with another man of the ſame caſt, ſhe is called a Hadra; but her children are not diſgraced. Any woman, even an unmarried one, who has connexion with a man of a ſtrange caſt, is excommunicated. A widow ought to bury herſelf alive in her huſband's grave; but the cuſtom has become entirely obſolete. The people of this caſt eat no animal food, nor drink any intoxicating liquor. They never take the vow of Dáſéri. They are allowed to read all the books belonging to the ſect, among which they do not reckon the Védas. They wear the linga, and their adorations are principally directed to that emblem of Siva. Their women offer fruit and flowers to Marima, and the other Saktis; but this is not done by the men. They do not believe in the Vírika, or ſpirits of chaſte men. Their Gurus are the ſame with thoſe of the Pancham Banijigaru; the five chief thrones being called Paravutta at Humpa, Verupacſhy near the Tungabhadra river, Hujiny, Balahully, and Nidamavudy. Their lay followers of this caſt theſe Gurus make what is called Detcha. The Detcha, having ſhaved and waſhed his head, is inſtructed in ſome mantrams, or forms of prayer, which are in the vulgar tongue, but which, like the upadéſa of the Bráhmans, are kept a profound ſecret. The Guru then beſtows on the Detcha ſome conſecrated herbs and water, and the Dechta in return gives him ſome money. This ceremony is analagous to the Dhana of the Bráhmans. The Gurus on their circuits receive alſo from their followers dharma, or charity, or rather duty, but have no fixed dues. The Einaru attend at marriages, births, and funerals, at Mala-pakſha, as the tithi of the Súdras is called, and at all great feaſts. On theſe occaſions they perform pujá to the linga, reading ſome mantrams, in the vulgar tongue however, and pouring over it ſome water and flowers, which by this means are conſecrated, and then are divided among the people whom the occaſion has aſſembled. The Einaru then eats ſomething that has been prepared for him, and at marriages receives a ſmall ſum of money. The panchánga, or village aſtrologer, attends on ſimilar occaſions, and reads mantrams in the vulgar language. He is of courſe paid for his trouble.

Here, ſome Dévángas of the Karnata nation do not wear the linga; but ſtill they conſider Cari Baſwa Uppa as their Guru. They will eat in the houſe of a Dévánga who wears the linga, but he will not return the compliment. They eat in common, but do not intermarry with the Telinga Dévángas, who, like themſelves, worſhip Siva, without wearing his indecent badge. They eat animal food; an indulgence which has probably occaſioned the ſeparation. They ought not to drink ſpirituous liquors. As a kind of excuſe, or pretence for eating the fleſh, they offer bloody ſacrifices to the Saktis. They take the vow of Dáſéri, but do not pray to the Vírika, or ſpirits of men ſainted for chaſtity. They acknowledge tranſmigration, as a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment.

The Sadru Woculigas are a caſt of Karnata origin and Súdra birth; they are divided into two tribes that ſeem to have no communion; the Cumblagataru Sadru, and the Sadru ſimply ſo called. The Sadru Proper are cultivators, both as maſters and ſervants; they

they act as Carídachara, or native militia, and sometimes trade in grain. They have no hereditary chiefs; but their disputes are settled by a council of four Sadru Gaudas, or chief farmers, who also punish all transgressions against the rules of cast, excommunicating licentious women, and other heinous offenders, and reprimanding those who have been guilty of less enormous faults. By religion they are divided into three classes, those who worship Jaina; those who worship Siva; and those who worship Vishnu under the form of Vencaty Rámana; but this does not prevent intermarriages, and the woman always adopts the religion of her husband They are also divided into a number of families analagous to the Gótrams of the Bráhmans; and a man never intermarries with a woman of the same family. They have among them a bastard race, descended from widows, who have become the kind of concubines called Cutigas; but they are not numerous, and are held in great contempt by the others. The Gauda whom I have so often mentioned is the person that gives me the information concerning the cast. He is a worshipper of Vencaty Rámana, and denies any belief in a future state; his worship of the gods being performed with a view of obtaining temporal blessings. This sect takes the vow of Daséri, and bury the dead. They can write accompts, but have no books nor science. They eat no animal food, and ought not to drink spirituous liquors. They are allowed as many wives as they can obtain; but do not divorce them for any cause except adultery. Girls continue to be marriageable even after the age of puberty; and widows are not expected to bury themselves with their husbands' bodies; but their becoming concubines of the kind called Cutigas is considered as very disgraceful to all their connections. Their Guru is Tata Achárya, an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans. He bestows on his followers holy-water, and consecrated victuals, and accepts their charity. The panchánga, or village astrologer, is their puróhita, and attends at marriages, births, the building of a new house, and at Mala-paksha, the ceremony which the Súdras annually perform in commemoration of their deceased parents. The Sadru who worship Siva are but few in number, and wear the linga. The third sect of Sadru worship only the God Jaina, but do not intermarry with the true Jainaru. These burn the dead. The Gauda says, that formerly all the Sadru were Jainu; but that his ancestors, disliking that religion, betook themselves to worship Vishnu. They have not adopted the worship of the Saktis, of Dharma Rájá, nor of the Vírika.

The Ladas, or Ladaru, have a language quite different from all the others that are spoken south of the Krishna river. This language they call Chaurasi; and say, that it is spoken at a city called Caranza, which is near the river Gódávari. In fact, it is a dialect of that spoken near Benares, to which the others have much less resemblance. The Ladaru say, that, in consequence of a famine in their own country, about five hundred years ago, they came to this neighbourhood. They serve as cavalry; trade, especially, in horses, and farm lands, but never cultivate them with their own hands. They assume the title of Kshatryas of the family of the sun, and wear a string like the Bráhmans. They will not intermarry with the Rajputs, or other pretenders to a royal descent; but they are treated by the Bráhmans merely as Súdras, and in fact seem to be the highest rank of Súdras in their native country, like the Kayasthas of Bengal, or the Kerit Nairs of Malyala. They are of 14 different families, like the Gotrams of the Bráhmans; and some are followers of the Siva Bráhmans, and some of the Sri Vaishnavam; but this does not produce a separation of cast; for the woman always adopts the religion of her husband. They have no hereditary chiefs; but the affairs of the tribe are managed by an assembly of the heads of families. For small faults these assemblies reprimand; for adultery, or for eating forbidden food, or with forbidden

perſons, they excommunicate. Many of them read Sanſkrit, and ſtudy every kind of book, except the Védas, which they never preſume to inſpect. My informers are worſhippers of Viſhnu; yet their Guru is a Smartal Bráhman, who beſtows conſecrated victuals and holy water, and receives their dharma. When they are 6 or 7 years of age, they receive from the panchánga their firſt thread, and upadéſa, at a ceremony called Upanéna. At this the panchánga reads mantrams, as alſo at births, marriages, full and new moons, at Sankrántis, or the firſt days of the ſolar months, at funerals, and at the Mala-pakſha lately mentioned. Theſe Ladas ſacrifice to the Saktis, eſpecially to the goddeſs Bhawáni. The pujáris or prieſts in the temples of this idol are called Bombolas, who obſerve the rules of Sannyáſi, eſpecially celibacy, and yet go abſolutely naked. They have diſciples who are alſo Sannyáſis, but who are not conſidered as ſufficiently holy to be allowed to ſhow their nudities. Part of the ſacrifices are eaten by the votary, and part by the Bombola; but the animal is ſometimes made a burnt offering to the idol, which in this country is done by no other caſt. This burnt offering is by the Ladas called Hómam, which is the ſame name that the Bráhmans uſe for their burnt-offerings; but theſe always conſiſt of flour, or other vegetable matter. It is true that the Bráhmans have a burnt ſacrifice of animals, which they call Yagam; but it muſt be preceded by ſuch a ſeverity of penance, and is attended with ſuch enormous expence that no one in theſe degenerate days is either willing or able to undertake ſuch an offering. The proper Sakti Púja, that ought to be performed to Bhawáni, has alſo fallen into diſuſe here among the Ladas; but my interpreter ſays, that at Madras it is very common. The votary takes an animal, and offers it as a ſacrifice to the idol in preſence of a beautiful young woman, who is perfectly naked. It is ſuppoſed that any perſon who, while in the performance of this ſacred ceremony, ſhould even look with deſire at the charms expoſed to his view, would be inſtantly ſtruck dead; no one, therefore, undertakes it who has not great confidence in the power which he has over his paſſions. By the Bráhmans this ceremony is much condemned, and ought to deprive any one of his caſt that attempted its performance; yet ſome of them are ſaid in a private manner to have recourſe to this ſuperſtition, as it is ſuppoſed to have wonderful efficacy in procuring temporal ſucceſs and felicity. Some of the Ladaru take the vow of Daſéri, and at the ſame time receive chakrántikam. Theſe beg only one day in the week, following on the other ſix their uſual profeſſions; and they never travel about as vagabonds making a noiſe with bells and conchs. The Ladus burn their dead, who ought to be accompanied on the pile by their widows; but this cuſtom has become obſolete. Widows are not permitted to become concubines of the kind called Cutigas, nor are the men allowed to keep thoſe called Hadras. A girl after ten years of age is no longer marriageable. The men may take as many wives as they can procure, but can only divorce them for adultery. Perſons of this caſt drink no ſpirituous liquors; and, as is uſual in Bengal, eat no animal food, except that which has been offered as a ſacrifice.

Chap. VII. — *From Sira to Seringapatam.*

AUGUST 7th, 1800. — Having been informed, that in the woods to the north and north-eaſt of Sira many cattle are bred, and that in the hills to the eaſtward much ſteel is made, I determined to take a ſhort journey in theſe directions, although it was in ſome meaſure retracing my ſteps. For the cattle, Pauguda and Niddygul are the principal places; there being twelve large herds in the one diſtrict, and ten in the other. Theſe places, however, being much out of my way, I determined to proceed to Madigheſhy, where, I was told, there were ſeveral herds. In the morning I went five

coſſes to Chandra-giri, or Moon-hill, which is a poor village at the foot of a high rock eaſt from Badavana-hully. Of courſe, I had before travelled the greater part of the road. In the neighbourhood of Chandra-giri are ſome fine betel-nut gardens. Formerly theſe amounted to five candacas of land, or 150 acres. In the time of a dreadful famine, which happened about thirty-ſix years ago, theſe gardens ſuffered much, owing to the wells having become dry; for they are all watered by the machine called Capily. They ſuffered ſtill more, owing to the deſertion of their proprietors, on account of the aſſeſſment which was impoſed by Tippoo, to enable him to pay the contribution which Lord Cornwallis exacted. They are now reduced to about 45 acres, or 1½ candaca.

The tank here ought to water 6 candacas of land, or 180 acres: but from being out of repair, it at preſent ſupplies one-ſixth part only of that extent. The farmers here allege, that in the laſt twenty years they have had only one ſeaſon in which there was as much rain as they wanted. In this diſtrict of Madhu-giri ſome of the villages want one quarter, ſome one half, and ſome two-thirds of the cultivators which would be neceſſary to labour their arable lands, and ſome have been totally deſerted.

8th Auguſt.—I went three coſſes to Madigheſhy. Part of the road lay in the country ceded to the Nizam, who in the neighbourhood of Ratna-giri has got an inſulated diſtrict, in the ſame manner as the Rájá of Myſore has one round Pauguda. The whole country through which I paſſed was laid waſte by the Marattah army under Purſeram Bhow; and as yet has recovered very little. In the Nizam's territory the villages were totally deſerted. The greater part of the country is now covered with low trees, but much of it is fit for cultivation. On my arrival at Madigheſhy, I was not a little diſappointed on being told by the civil officers, that in the whole diſtrict there was not a ſingle cow kept for breeding; and that the only cattle in the place were a few cows to give the village people milk, and the oxen neceſſary for agriculture.

Madigheſhy is a fortreſs ſituated on a rock of very difficult acceſs, and garriſoned by a few Company's ſepoys; in order, I ſuppoſe, to prevent any of the ruffians in the Nizam's country from ſeizing on it, and rendering it a ſtrong-hold to protect them in their robberies. At the foot of the hill is a well-fortified town, which was ſaid to contain 100 houſes, but that account was evidently greatly under-rated. In it were 12 houſes of farmers, and twenty of Bráhmans, who, except two officers of government, were all ſupported by the contributions of the induſtrious part of the community; for Tippoo had entirely reſumed the extenſive charity lands which they formerly poſſeſſed. Their houſes were, however, by far the beſt in the town, and occupied, as uſual, the moſt diſtinguiſhed quarter. The place is now dependent on Madhu-giri; but during the former government was the reſidence of an aſoph, or lord lieutenant. His houſe, which is dignified with the title of a mahal, or palace, is a very mean place indeed. The Muſſulman Sirdars under Tippoo were too uncertain of their property to lay out much on buildings; and every thing that they acquired was in general immediately expended on dreſs, equipage, and amuſement.

The place originally belonged to a Polygar family; a lady of which, named Madigheſhy, having burned herſelf with her huſband's corpſe, her name was given to the town; for, above the Ghats, this practice, ſo far as I can learn, has been always very rare, and conſequently gave the individuals who ſuffered a greater reputation than where it is conſtantly uſed. Madigheſhy was afterwards governed by Ránis, or Princeſſes, of the ſame family with the heroine from whom it derived its name. From them it was conquered by the family of Chicuppa Gauda, who retained it long after the Polygars of Myſore had deprived them of their original poſſeſſions, Madhu-giri and Chin'náráyan'-durga. During the invaſion of Lord Cornwallis, a deſcendant of Chicuppa

Chicuppa Gauda came into this country; and, when he found that the place muſt return to the Sultan's dominion, he cruelly plundered it of the little that had eſcaped Marattah rapacity. He did not leave the place, which is extremely ſtrong, till Commur ud' Deen Khan came into the neighbourhood with a conſiderable force.

In the vicinity there is very little cultivation, owing, as the natives ſay, to the want of rain. The late Sultan three years ago expended 700 pagodas (about 230l.) in repairing a tank, that ought to water eight candacas, or 240 acres of rice-land: but in no year ſince has the rain filled it, ſo as to water more than what ſows two candacas. The wells here are too deep for the uſe of the machine called capily.

9th Auguſt. — The native officer commanding the ſepoys in the fort having informed me that I was deceived concerning the herds of breeding cattle, and the village officers being called, he gave ſuch particular information where the herds were, that it became impoſſible for them to be any longer concealed. The people, in excuſe for themſelves, ſaid, they were afraid that I had come to take away their cattle for the uſe of Colonel Welleſley's army, then in the field againſt Dundia; and, although they had no fear about the payment, yet they could not be acceſſory to the crime of giving up oxen to ſlaughter. In the morning I took the village officers with me, and viſited ſome of the herds; but the whole people in the place were in ſuch agitation, that I could little depend on the truth of the accounts which they gave; and I do not copy what they ſaid, as I had an opportunity ſoon after of getting more ſatisfactory information.

The country round Madigheſhy is full of little hills, and is overgrown with copſe wood. The villages of the Goalas, or cow-keepers, are ſcattered about in the woods, and ſurrounded by a little cultivation of dry-field. The want of water is every where ſeverely felt, and the poor people live chiefly on horſe-gram, their ragy having failed. In many places the ſoil ſeems capable of admitting the cultivation to be much extended.

Near the town is a fine quarry, of a ſtone which, like that found at Ráma-giri, may be called a granitic porphyry.

Here alſo may be eaſily quarried fine maſſes of grey granite.

10th Auguſt. — In the morning I went three coſſes to Madhu-giri. The road led through pretty vallies, ſurrounded by detached rocky hills. Theſe vallies ſhowed marks of having once been in a great meaſure cultivated, and contained the ruinous villages of their former inhabitants. Ever ſince the devaſtation committed by Purſeram Bhow, and the ſubſequent famine, they have been nearly waſte; and many of the fields are overgrown with young trees. A few wretched inhabitants remain, and a few fields are cultivated; and it is ſaid, that this year greater progreſs would have been made toward the recovery of the country, had not the ſeaſon been remarkably dry and unfavourable.

On my arrival at Madhu-giri, and queſtioning Trimula Náyaka on the ſubject, I found that every town and village in this hilly country had herds of breeding cattle. One of the herds I had met on the road; but they were ſo fierce, that, without protection from the keepers, it would have been unſafe to approach them. I determined, therefore, to remain a day at Madhu-giri, and examine the particulars.

12th Auguſt. — Having been informed, that Chin'-náráyan,-durga was diſtant three coſſes, I ordered my tents to be pitched at that place; but on coming up, I found that the diſtance was only one coſs. In this country, it is indeed very difficult to get any accurate information concerning routes and diſtances.

13th Auguſt. — I went three coſſes to Tavina Caray, in company with the amildar, who

who ſeems to be a very induſtrious man. He ſays, that laſt year he brought 200 ploughs into his diſtrict, and that 200 more would be required for its full cultivation. Near Chin'-náráyan'-durga the country, for the moſt part, conſiſts of a rugged valley ſurrounded by hills; but the fields between the rocks were formerly cleared, and well cultivated, and are ſaid to be very favourable for ragy, the rock enabling the ſoil to retain moiſture. Among theſe rugged ſpots we viſited ſome iron and ſteel forges, which had indeed induced me to come this way.

As we approached Tavina-Caray, the country becomes open; and I obſerved that every field was cultivated. Tavina-Caray is a ſmall town; but ſeveral additions to it are making. Some ſtreets in the petta are well laid out; and, as an ornament before each ſhop, a cocoa-nut palm has been planted. The fortreſs, or citadel, is as uſual almoſt entirely occupied by Bráhmans. This might ſeem to be an improper place for men dedicated to ſtudy and religion; but in caſes of invaſion their whole property is here ſecure from marauders; while the Súdras, who are admitted during the attack as defenders, muſt loſe all their effects, except ſuch moveables as in the hurry they can remove.

14th Auguſt.—I went to Tumcuru, the chief place of a diſtrict, called alſo Chaluru. The country is the moſt level, and the freeſt from rocks, of any that I have yet ſeen above the Ghats; I obſerved only one place in which the granite ſhowed itſelf above the ſurface. The ſoil in moſt places is good, and might be entirely cultivated. Near Tavina-Caray it is ſo; but as I approached Tumcuru, I obſerved more and more waſte land. I underſtand, that the late amildar did not give the people proper encouragement; and about twenty days ago he was removed from his office. By the way I paſſed nine or ten villages, all fortified with mud walls and ſtrong hedges. At ſome diſtance on my left were hills; and the proſpect would have been very beautiful, had the country been better wooded; but, except ſome ſmall palm gardens ſcattered at great diſtances, it has very few trees. Tumcuru is a town containing five or ſix hundred houſes. The fort is well built, and by the late amildar was put in excellent repair. The petta ſtands at ſome diſtance. The great cultivation here is ragy, but there are alſo many rice-fields. This year there will be no kártika crop, as at preſent the tanks contain only eight or ten days water.

15th Auguſt.—I went three coſſes to Gubi; which, although a ſmall town, containing only 360 houſes, is a mart of ſome importance, and has 154 ſhops. The houſes in their external appearance are very mean, and the place is extremely dirty; but many of the inhabitants are thriving, and the trade is conſiderable.

16th Auguſt.—I went three coſſes to Muga-Náyakana-Cotay, a village in the Hagalawadi diſtrict. It is ſtrongly fortified with mud-walls, and contains 190 houſes. Before the laſt Marattah invaſion, it had, in the petta, a handſome market, conſiſting of a wide ſtreet, which on each ſide had a row of cocoa-nut palms. While Purſeram Bhow was at Sira, he ſent 500 horſe and 2000 irregular foot, with one gun, to take the place, which was defended by 500 peaſants from the neighbourhood. They had two ſmall guns, and 100 matchlocks; the remainder were armed with ſlings and ſtones. The ſiege laſted two months, during which the Marattahs fired their gun ſeveral times, but they never ſucceeded in hitting the place. On ſome occaſions they had the boldneſs to venture within muſket ſhot of the walls; but two or three of their men having been killed, they afterwards deſiſted from ſuch deeds of hardihood, and finally retired without one of the defendants being hurt. The peaſant deſtroyed the market, to prevent the Marattahs from availing themſelves of the houſes in their approach. Nothing can equal the contempt which the inhabitants

of

of Karnáta have for the proweſs of a Marattah army, but the horror which they have at its cruelty. When Purſeram Bhow left this neighbourhood, his people carried off all the handſome girls that fell into their hands; and they ſwept the country ſo clean of proviſions, that three-fourths of the people periſhed of hunger.

17th Auguſt.—In the morning I went two and a half coſſes to Conli.

18th Auguſt.—In the morning I went all over Doray Guda, which is about a mile in length, from five to ſix hundred yards in width, and is divided into three hummocks. The northernmoſt of theſe is the moſt conſiderable, and riſes to the perpendicular height of four or five hundred feet. It is ſituated in the Hagalawadi diſtrict; but, for what reaſon I know not, pays its rent to the amildar of Chica Nayakana Hully. This is the only hill in this vicinity that produces the iron ore; but as the ſame hill in different villages is called by different names, I at one time imagined that the mines had been numerous. The people here were ignorant of there being any other mine in this range of hills; but that I afterwards found to be the caſe. At Conli this hill is called Doray Guda, which name I have adopted. On all ſides it is ſurrounded by other low hills; but theſe produce no iron.

The whole ſtrata of theſe hills are vertical, and, like all others that I have ſeen in the country, run nearly north and ſouth. Where they have been expoſed to the weather, on a level nearly with the ground, which is generally the caſe, theſe ſtrata divide into plates like ſchiſtus, and ſeem to moulder very quickly. In a few places they riſe into rocks above the ſurface, and then they decay into roundiſh or angular maſſes. All that I ſaw were in a ſtate of great decay, ſo that it was difficult to aſcertain their nature; but, no doubt they are either earthy quartz, or hornſtone, variouſly impregnated with iron, and perhaps ſometimes with manganeſe. Within, the maſſes are whitiſh, with a fine grained earthy texture; but outwardly they are covered with a metallic efflorescence, in ſome places black, in others inclined to blue.

A ledge of this rock paſſes through the longer diameter of Doray Guda, and ſeems to form the baſis of that hill; but the whole ſuperſtratum, both of the ſides and ſummit, ſeems to be compoſed of a confuſed maſs of ore and clay. The ſurface only is at preſent wrought; ſo that very little knowledge can be obtained of the interior ſtructure of the hill. In its ſides the miners make ſmall excavations, like gravel-pits, but ſeldom go deeper than five or ſix feet. On the perpendicular ſurface of theſe the appearance is very various. In ſome places the ore is in conſiderable beds, diſpoſed in thin brittle vertical plates, which are ſeparated by a kind of harſh ſand, yellow, bluiſh, or green. In one place I obſerved this ſand of a pure white, and forming little cakes, readily crumbling between the fingers. In other places the ore is hard, forming irregular concretions, with various admixtures of earth, clay, and ochres. This kind has a tendency to aſſume regular forms, botroidal, and reniform, which inwardly are ſtriated with rays diverging from a center. Sometimes plates are formed of this kind of ore, which conſiſt internally of parallel ſtriæ. Another form of the ore is bluiſh, and very brittle. The whole is mixed with what the natives call cari-cul, or black-ſtone, which is brown hæmatites. This is alſo ſcattered all over the ſurface of the ground, and there eſpecially aſſumes botroidal and reniform ſhapes. By the natives it is conſidered as totally uſeleſs. In ſome pits I could obſerve nothing like a regular diſpoſition of the component parts; in others, the various ſubſtances are evidently ſtratified, both in ſtraight and waved diſpoſitions.

The manner of mining the ore is extremely rude and unthrifty. A man with a pick-axe digs on the ſide of the hill, until he gets a perpendicular face five or ſix feet wide, and as much high, having before it a level ſpot that is formed from what he

he has dug. Before him he has then a face containing ore, more or leſs intermixed with clay, ſand, and hæmatites, and covered with two or three feet of the external ſoil. He then ſcoops out the ore, and matters with which it is mixed; and having beaten them well with the pick-axe, and rubbed them with his hands, he picks out the ſmall pieces of ore, and throws away the hæmatites, ſand, clay, ochre, and large pieces of ore; aſſigning as a reaſon for ſo doing, that, as he can get plenty of ſmall pieces there is no occaſion for him to be at the trouble of breaking the large ones. The crumbling ores are alſo much neglected, as they are tranſported with difficulty. When they have dug as far as they chooſe to venture, which is indeed a very little way, the miners go to another ſpot, and form a new pit. The ore, broken as I have now mentioned, is carried down on aſſes backs, and farther cleaned from earth, and broken into very ſmall pieces, before it is put into the furnace. If it is to be carried far, it is generally tranſported by buffaloes; but this unwieldy animal is incapable of aſcending the hill, which in many places is very ſteep, and the paths are formed on the mouldering materials that have been thrown away by the miners. There is no perſon who prepares the ore for thoſe who come from a diſtance; they remain here for ſome time with their aſſes; and, when they have collected a conſiderable quantity, a number of buffaloes are brought to carry it away. The renter has no occaſion to come near the mine. He knows the men that get a ſupply of ore, and each pays yearly a certain ſum, and takes as much ore as he pleaſes. The renter ſtates the furnaces that are ſupplied from hence to be ſix in Tumcuru, ten in Hagalawadi, ſeven in Chica Nayakana Hully, and three in Sira; but I have acceſs to know that he conceals part of them; yet he is much more correct than the revenue accompts that are kept in Purnea's office at Seringapatam.

No tradition remains concerning the time when this mine began to be wrought, for the natives think that ore has been taken from it ever ſince the creation of the world; or, as they expreſs themſelves, ſince the hill was born; and, as above 100 aſs-loads are daily carried from it, I think it probable that the miners have repeatedly gone over the ſurface. At each time the natives remove only a very ſmall proportion of the iron; and after a certain number of years, new decompoſitions, and recompoſitions of the materials, ſeem capable of rendering the ſurface again fit for their manner of working.

The miners have a tradition, that formerly there had been dug into the ſouthern face of the largeſt hummock an immenſe cavern, from whence the whole neighbourhood was ſupplied with ore. The roof of this is ſaid to have given way, and to have buried the miners of ſeven villages, with all their cattle. The appearance of the hill confirms the truth of this tradition, there being evident proofs of a part of it having fallen in; and in the perpendicular ſurface, left by this convulſion, may be ſeen the mouth of a cavern, probably a part of the old mine. The time when this happened is likely to have been very remote; as, lower down than this convulſed ſurface, there is another mine, which the natives believe to be a natural cavern, and into which, not without ſome reaſon, they are afraid to enter. Indeed, none of them have attempted it; for they are perſuaded that it extends a great way into the earth, which made me curious to examine it.

The miners have evidently wrought into this part of the mine from the weſtward; and until they came to the ledge of earthy quartz, or hornſtone, before mentioned, they have carried on a regular face of conſiderable width and depth. This ledge cutting off the mine, they had by the ſide of the barren rock made a horizontal cavity into the hill, and thus formed a cavern about fifty feet long, twelve feet high,

and nine wide. It is probable, that they had then met with ſome obſtruction; for under this they have formed another mine, which cuts off the communication between the ground and the firſt-mentioned cavern. As there were evident marks of the feet of a large beaſt of prey at the mouth of the cave, I took the precaution of of making a ſepoy fire his muſket into it; and, nothing but a large flock of bats, having appeared, I went in, accompanied by two armed men. We ſoon came to a place where a bed had been formed in the ſand by ſome of the tiger kind; and having advanced about 100 feet we reached the end of the cave, where another wild beaſt had formed its bed. This, therefore, was probably the uſual haunt of a pair of leopards. We found alſo a porcupine's quill; but were uncertain whether the animal had fallen a prey to the leopards; or whether protected by its prickles, it ventured to ſhelter itſelf in their company. The ſides of the mine conſiſt partly of the ore, and partly of the rock already mentioned, which is much intermixed with the caricul, or brown hæmatites. The place is perfectly dry. It is probable that the work was deſerted when the poor people in the higher mine ſuffered. Ever ſince, the miners have contented themſelves with working on the ſurface, and even there are in conſtant fear. An annual ſacrifice is offered to prevent the ſpirit of the hill from overwhelming the miner. She is called Canicul Dévaru, or the goddeſs of ironſtone, and Gudada Umma, the mother of the hill; and is repreſented by the firſt convenient ſtone that the workmen find when they come to offer the ſacrifice. They alſo put themſelves under the protection of a benevolent male ſpirit, named Muti Raya, or the Pearl King. He is worſhipped by offerings of flowers and fruits only, and is repreſented by a ſhapeleſs ſtone, that is hid in the obſcurity of a ſhrine, which is compoſed of ſtones and flags, and which in all its dimenſions extends about ſix feet.

19th Auguſt. — In the morning I went two coſſes to a village named Madana Mada, having been detained on the way by examining the minerals of a hill, which, from a temple ſituated near it, and dedicated to Siva, is named Malaiſwara Betta. Owing to the vicinity of this temple, a white lithomarga that is found on the hill is conſidered as holy, and is uſed in place of the conſecrated aſhes which the followers of Siva employ to make the marks of their religion. The ſtrata are nearly the ſame as near Doray Guda, and conſiſt of a ſchiſtoſe decaying rock, diſpoſed vertically. Parallel to this I obſerved ſtrata of white fat quartz, from one inch to twenty feet in thickneſs. Near the temple I found the veins, or ſtrata of quartz, running parallel to each other, and from ſix to twelve inches diſtant, and at ſimilar diſtances ſending off tranſverſe bands which united the ſtrata. The interſtices of this kind of net-work were filled up with the common ſtone of the country, not much decayed. It ſeems to be a hornſtone, containing a good deal of iron, and ſome mica. The ſurface of this rock had a curious appearance. The ferrugineous brown of the hornſtone being chequered with the gray quartz; while this, reſiſting the weather beſt, ſtood up conſiderably above the ſurface, and repreſented in miniature the whin-dykes of the iſland of Mull, as deſcribed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. In ſome places I ſaw the white quartz decaying into ſand, and forming maſſes, that on the ſlighteſt touch crumbled between the fingers. As I aſcended the hill I met with a curious concretion of brown calcareous tufa. It reſembled very exactly a decayed white ant's (termes) neſt changed into lime; and amongſt its branches were impacted ſome pieces of decayed hornſtone, round which it had evidently been formed. In theſe hills ſuch concretions, I was afterwards informed, are very common; and ſome of them are of a pure white, in which caſe they are burned into lime. But this information I did

not receive in time to aſcertain the fact. I ſaw alſo ſeveral detached lumps of brown hæmatites; but on the hill there is no ore of iron, that is by the natives conſidered as workable.

The lithomarga is found in large maſſes heaped together, and incumbent on the rocky ſtrata, with various fragments of which it is intermixed; and it appears to me to have been formed from the hornſtone in a particular ſtate of decay. Its ſurface is generally ſhining, poliſhed, and conchoidal. The maſſes, ſo far as I obſerved, are not diſpoſed in ſtrata; but, internally, ſome of the pieces are compoſed of alternate thin plates of different colours. That uſed for ſuperſtitious purpoſes is of a pure white colour, and indurated ſubſtance; ſome is red, being coloured by an oxyde of iron; ſome, as I have obſerved before, is internally ſtratified, and conſiſts of alternate layers of the lithomarga and of a yellow ochre; ſome is black, reſembling very dark vegetable mould in an indurated ſtate; ſome again of the lithomarga is of a pure white colour, and friable nature; and nearly approaching to this is another clay, which is evidently decompoſed white mica. Among the lithomarga is found a black friable ſubſtance, in its appearance much reſembling charcoal; but it is undoubtedly of a foſſile nature, and probably is an iron ore. It has a bluiſh tinge, which it probably derives from manganeſe.

The temple of Malaiſwara is a very poor building; but is much frequented at a feſtival in the month of Magha. Some of the figures on the chariot of the image are exceedingly indecent. The woods above the temple are rather taller than uſual in theſe barren hills, and contain many trees of the Dupada, Chloroxylon Dupada, *Buch. MSS.* The reſin is uſed as incenſe; and muſical inſtruments, ſomewhat reſembling the guitar, are made of the wood. From the top of the hill the view is very fine; the country being compoſed of hills, cultivated fields, reſervoirs, like ſmall lakes, and palm gardens, all intermixed. In this hilly country are ſome conſiderable flocks of ſheep, but no herds of breeding cows.

Madana Mada contains 40 or 50 houſes, and is placed between two reſervoirs; one belonging to itſelf, and the other to a neighbouring village. So partial are the rains in this country, that the one reſervoir is now half full, while the other has not above a quarter of its water; the two hills, from whence they are ſupplied, being on oppoſite ſides of a very narrow valley. Madana Mada has a very fine palm garden, for the uſe of which the water of its reſervoir is entirely reſerved. When that fails, the proprietors have recourſe to the machine called capily. Three thouſand pagodas have been granted by Purnea for enlarging their reſervoir; by which means the machinery is expected to become unneceſſary, and of courſe the revenue will be greatly augmented. The gardens here contain 48,000 palm trees.

At night I was awaked by a prodigious noiſe in the village, which was at ſome diſtance from my tents. On inquiry of the ſentry, I was told, that there was no one near except himſelf; every other perſon having gone into the village as ſoon as the uproar commenced. I lay for ſome hours in great uneaſineſs, ſuppoſing that my people had quarrelled with the natives; but, it being a rainy night, I did not venture out, and was unwilling to part with the ſentry. Soon after all was quiet, and the people returned. In the morning my interpreter told me with a good deal of exultation, that one of the cattle-drivers had been poſſeſſed by a pyſachi, or evil ſpirit, and had been for ſome time ſenſeleſs, and foaming at the mouth. On this occaſion the whole people, Muſſulmans and Pagans, had aſſembled; and, in hopes of frightening away the devil, had made all the noiſe that they could: but he had continued obſtinately to keep poſſeſſion, till the arrival of the Bráhman, who, having

thrown ſome conſectated aſhes on the man, and offered up the prayers proper for the occaſion, at length procured a releaſe. The interpreter, I ſuſpect, made the moſt of his ſtory, in order to remove my infidelity; as the day before I had refuſed my aſſent to believe, that certain mantrams pronounced by a Bráhman could compel the gods to be preſent in whatever place he choſe. It is almoſt unneceſſary to obſerve, that the poor cattle-driver was ſubject to the epilepſy, the recurrence of which this night had, I believe, been occaſioned by a violent paroxyſm of intoxication, in which the whole party had been ſo deeply engaged, that until morning I could not get a man to tie up the baggage.

20th Auguſt. — In the morning I went to Chica Nayakana Hully; and by the way viſited a hill called Gajina Gúta, which produces much cavi cullu, or reddle. This hill is reckoned 1½ coſs from Chica Nayakana Hully. The part of it which I examined conſiſts of caricul, or brown hæmatites, and clay. In ſome places the hæmatites forms a kind of rock; in others it is found only in ſmall lumps, immerſed in the clay. In this hill it has every where a ſtrong tendency to decompoſition, and then in moſt places forms red ochre, but in ſome parts it falls into a yellow oxyde. I obſerved nothing in it like ſtrata. Thoſe maſſes which conſiſt of clay mixed with lumps of the hæmatites, in various ſtages of decompoſition, bear a ſtrong reſemblance, except in hardneſs, to the hornſtone porphyry found near Seringapatam; for many of the lumps of hæmatites are angular, and have a glaſſy longitudinal fracture, while their tranſverſe fracture is earthy. Whoever ſees theſe maſſes, I am perſuaded, will be ſtruck with the reſemblance, and will believe that from the one kind of mineral the other derives its origin. In all this chain of hills, however, I confeſs, I ſaw no porphyry, nor even granite. The reddle is found in large veins, or irregular maſſes, running through the rock of hæmatites, or maſſes of clay, in very irregular directions; and ſeems to be nothing more than the hornſtone of the country diſſolved into clay, and then ſtrongly impregnated with the red oxyde of iron, from a ſimilar diſſolution of the hæmatites. It always contains ſpecks of yellow ochre. People come to dig it from Hegodu Devana Cotay, Chin'-ráya-pattana, Naraſingha-pura, Gubi, and all the intermediate country toward the ſouth and weſt, and they ſend it ſtill farther toward the frontiers. For every ox-load of about 5 cucha maunds, or about 130lbs. they pay to the renter 12 dudus, or about 6d. He ſays, that about 30 loads only are annually required. He keeps no perſon on the ſpot, and is either attempting to deceive me, or is himſelf defrauded; for the excavations made to collect it are very conſiderable. It is uſed to paint walls, and to dye goni or ſackcloth, and the cloth uſed by Sannyáſis and Jangamas. The dye comes out with the leaſt water, but the colour is eaſily reſtored.

In the ſame places are found lithomargas of ſeveral colours, which ſeem to me to be portions of the clay leſs impregnated with iron than the reddle; and which perhaps derived their origin from hornſtone, that contained magneſia, as ſome are known to do.

In one of the excavations that have been made by digging out the hæmatites, and which forms a cave, I found the neſts of a flock of wild pigeons, exactly reſembling thoſe of the caves of Europe. This bird, therefore, is perhaps one of the moſt univerſally diffuſed kinds in the old world, at leaſt of ſuch as are in a wild ſtate. The common ſparrow is equally univerſal.

Chica Nayakana Hully is a large ſquare town, ſtrongly fortified with mud walls, and having bruches, or cavaliers at the angles. In its center is a ſquare citadel, fortified in a ſimilar manner. In the outer town a wide ſtreet runs all round, and on both hands

ſends off ſhort lanes to the outer and inner walls. The houſes are at preſent very mean and ruinous, and do not nearly occupy the whole ſpace within the walls. They are in number about 600, of which 80 are occupied by Bráhmans. It contains a garden which belongs to the government; is in great diſorder, and is rendered diſguſting by two banyan-trees *(Ficus Bengalenſis)* loaded with large bats, whom the people will not diſturb. To the ſouth of the town there was formerly a large ſuburb; but about forty years ago it was deſtroyed in an invaſion of the Marattahs. It was plundered by Purſeram Bhow, when he was going to join Lord Cornwallis at Seringapatam; but at that time he obtained very little, the inhabitants having hidden their moſt valuable effects, and withdrawn into the hilly country. When the Marattah army retired to Sira, they ſent to the inhabitants aſſurances of protection, and began by making ſmall daily diſtributions of charity to the Bráhmans. By this means they inveigled back a conſiderable number of the inhabitants; and no ſooner had they got the leading men into their power, than they put them to the torture, until the wretched men diſcovered where their effects were hid, and thus they procured 500,000 rupees. During the remainder of Tippoo's reign the place continued languiſhing, the inhabitants of 300 houſes only having ventured back. It poſſeſſes a ſmall manufacture of coarſe cotton cloth, both white and coloured, and made by Dévángas and Togotaru. It has alſo a weekly fair, at which theſe goods, and the produce of the numerous palm-gardens in the neighbourhood, are ſold. Many of its inhabitants act as carriers, tranſporting goods to different places for the merchants of Naggara and Bangaluru. Its name ſignifies the town of the little chief; which was the title aſſumed by the Polygars of Hagalawadi, its former maſters, and who, about 300 years ago, firſt fortified it. About a century afterwards they were overcome by the Polygars of Myſore; and, in order to retain Hagalawadi free from tribute, gave up entirely this part of their dominions. Hyder made them tributaries even for Hagalawadi, and his ſon ſtripped them of every thing.

21ſt Auguſt. — I remained at Chica Nayakana Hully, inveſtigating the management of the palm gardens in its vicinity. Theſe occupy by far the greater part of the watered land in the diſtricts called Honawully, Budihalu, Hagalawadi, and Chika Nayakana Hully, with a conſiderable portion in Sira and Gubi. In the dry ſeaſon they require the aſſiſtance of the capily, the water in the reſervoirs ſeldom laſting throughout the year.

22d Auguſt. — I went three coſſes to Arulu Gupay. Except the ridge of hornſtone hills on my left, and a ſhort detached ridge on my right, the country was free from hills. The ſoil was, however, by no means ſo good as that in the level country which lies between the Durgas and the ridge of hornſtone; for in many places the rock appeared above ground, and lumps of white quartz almoſt intirely covered many fields. The rock here was grey granite. I believe the hornſtone is confined to the ridge in which Doray Betta is ſituated. In the ſmall ridge to my right, the rocks were grey granite; the black-ſtone already deſcribed as accompanying this in the eaſtern Ghats; and the ſame containing white ſpots, which probably were quartz.

At a ſmall village by the way, I was ſhewn a well, from whence what the natives call ſhidy munnu had been taken. It was in the back yard of a Bráhman's houſe. About two months ago he had dug 20 feet through the common ſoil of the country, which in many places is very deep. He then came to a ſtratum of this ſubſtance, which he continued to procure until prevented by water. It is a looſe ſcaly earth, of a ſilvery white colour, and is mixed with ſmall fragments of quartz. It is ſo friable, that it cannot be handled without falling to pieces, and is no doubt ſchiſtoſe mica in a ſtate of decay. The micaceous matter is waſhed off by water, and in the houſes of inferior perſons, ſerves the

ſame

ſame purpoſes that the powdered mica, or abracum, does in the palaces of the great. They are in fact the ſame, only the abracum is purer. Shidy munnu is ſaid to be found in great quantity near Colar.

Arulu Gupay is a large village in the Hagalawadi diſtrict. It is fortified with a mud-wall and ditch; but its market, which is a ſtreet running the whole length of the one ſide of the town, is quite defenceleſs. It contains about a hundred houſes, and a temple of curious workmanſhip dedicated to Naraſingha. It is not of great ſize, but the whole is built of what the natives call ſila cullu, or image-ſtone, which is indurated pot-ſtone. This has been cut and carved with great pains and induſtry, but is totally devoid of elegance or grandeur. The general deſign is clumſy, and the execution of the figures miſerable. It wants even ſtrength, the uſual concomitant of clumſineſs among the buildings of rude nations; and the walls, although not above fourteen feet high, and built of large ſtones which have ſuffered no injury, are yielding to the preſſure of the roof, and probably will ſoon fall. It is ſaid to have been built by one of the Sholun Ráyas.

23d Auguſt. — In the morning I was detained by a very heavy rain, which has given the people high ſpirits. In the afternoon I went two coſſes to Turiva-Caray, the reſidence of an amildar. The country afforded a melancholy proſpect. Like that near Bangalore, and the other places toward the eaſtern Ghats, it riſes into gentle ſwells, and occaſionally projects a maſs of naked granite, or of quartz blackened by iron; but it has once been completely cultivated; and every ſpot except thoſe covered by rock, bears marks of the plough. Scattered clumps of trees denote the former ſituations of numerous villages: all now, however, are nearly deſerted. I ſaw only two houſes; and a few fields ploughing for horſe-gram ſeemed to be the commencement of cultivation, from the time the country had been laid deſolate by the mercileſs army of Purſeram Bhow.

Turiva-Caray conſiſts of an outer and an inner fort, ſtrongly defended by a ditch and mud-wall. It has beſides, at a little diſtance, an open ſuburb, and contains 700 houſes; but is by no means completely rebuilt. It has no merchants of any note; but contains 20 houſes of Dévánga weavers and 150 of farmers. It poſſeſſes two ſmall temples, ſimilar to that at Arulu Gupay; and which, like it, are ſaid to have been built by a Sholun Raya, who was contemporary with Sankara Achárya, the reſtorer of the doctrine of the Vedas.

This Prince is very celebrated, by having built temples throughout the country ſouth from the Kriſhna river. All of them that I have ſeen are ſmall, and entirely built of ſtone. Their architecture is very different from the great temples, ſuch as that at Kunji; the upper parts of which are always formed of bricks, and whoſe moſt conſpicuous part is the gateway. This laſt mentioned ſyſtem of architecture ſeems to have been introduced by Kriſhna raya, of Vijaya-nagara; at leaſt, the 18 moſt celebrated temples in the Lower Carnatic are commonly ſaid, by the Bráhmans, to have been rebuilt by that Prince: for it muſt be obſerved, that ſcarcely any temple of celebrity is admitted to have been founded in this Yugam, or age of the world; and many of them are ſuppoſed to be coeval with the univerſe. The ſmall rude temples ſo common in the country, and which from the ſimplicity of their form are probably of great antiquity, are all dedicated to Saktis, or to ſpirits worſhipped by the low caſts, and never to any of the great gods. Many of them, no doubt, are of very late erection; but they ſeem to me to preſerve the ſimple form of temples erected by rude tribes; and the worſhip performed in them appears to be that which prevailed throughout India before the introduction of the 21 ſects which the Bráhmans reckon heretical; although

although ſome of them were probably antecedent, at leaſt in Southern India, to the three ſects of Bráhmans who follow the doctrine of the Vedas.

This place formerly belonged to the Hagalawadi Polygars, who, although called Chica Náyakas, or little chiefs, ſeem to have been a powerful family. One of them, who lived about 250 years ago, conſtructed in this neighbourhood four temples, and four great reſervoirs. According to the legend, Ganéſa ſupplied him with money for carrying on theſe. This god appeared to the chief in a dream, informed him that a treaſure was hidden under an image which ſtood in the ſuburbs, and directed him to take the money and conſtruct theſe works. The treaſure was accordingly found, and applied as directed. The image from under which the treaſure had been taken was ſhown to me; and I was ſurpriſed at finding it lying at one of the gates quite neglected. On aſking the reaſon, why the people allowed their benefactor to remain in ſuch a plight, they informed me, that the finger of the image having been broken, the divinity had deſerted it; for no mutilated image is conſidered as habitable by a god. At one of the temples built with this money I ſaw a very fine black ſtone, well poliſhed, and cut into a rude imitation of a bull. It was about eight feet long, ſix high, and four broad, and ſeemed to be of the ſame kind with the pillars in Hyder's monument at Seringapatam. The quarry is ſix miles diſtant. The reſervoir here is in very fine condition, and was conſtructed with Ganeſa's treaſure. It formerly watered ſome excellent areca gardens; but, in conſequence of Purſeram Bhow's invaſion, moſt of the trees periſhed. For ſome days his head-quarters were at this place. The cocoa-nut palms, that formerly ſurrounded the betel-nut gardens, ſtill remain, and mark their extent. The amildar ſays, that he has only one-half of the people that would be neceſſary to cultivate his diſtrict, and that moſt of them are deſtitute of the neceſſary ſtock.

24th Auguſt. — I was detained all day at Turiva-Caray by the violence of the rain. The ſtrata here conſiſt chiefly of grey granite, or gneiſs; for the matters compoſing it are ſometimes nearly ſtratified, the dark green mica, or talc, being in ſome ſtrata much more predominant than in others. This gives it a veined appearance; but it is perfectly ſolid, and, except this appearance, has nothing of a flaty texture. Here may be obſerved beds parallel to the ſtrata of granite, and conſiſting entirely of this green matter in a ſtate of decay. Its very greaſy feel makes me ſuſpect that it is rather talc than mica. Here alſo, as well as in many parts of the country, the grey granite is interſected in all directions by veins of reddiſh felſpar, intermixed with fragments of white quartz. Theſe veins are frequently a foot wide; and ſometimes, in place of being diſpoſed in veins, the felſpar runs in beds, or ſtrata, which are parallel to thoſe of the granite, and are ſeveral feet in width.

25th Auguſt. — In the morning I went two coſſes to Cada-hully, a ſmall village fortified with a mud-wall. The country nearly reſembles that between Arulu Gupay and Turiva-Caray; but the ſoil is more inclined to be ſtony. It is, however, in a rather better ſtate of cultivation, and perhaps a fourth part of the arable fields is now occupied. At this village there was a ſheep-fold, ſtrongly fortified by a hedge of dry thorns, and containing four huts, which the ſhepherds uſually occupied. Theſe people, alarmed at my appearance, and ſuſpecting that I came to take away their flocks for the uſe of the army, did not approach the village all night; but preferred expoſing their cattle to the danger of tigers. Theſe beaſts of prey are ſaid to be numerous here, and at night frequently prowl under the walls; we therefore burned fires round the tents, as was our uſual practice in ſuſpicious places. My motive for ſtopping at this poor place was, to examine the quarry from whence the fine black ſtone uſed in Hyder's monument

ment was taken. When I aſſigned this reaſon to the people, it appeared ſo abſurd to them, that their fears were greatly increaſed.

This quarry is ſituated about half a mile eaſt from the village, and riſes in a ſmall ridge about half a mile long, a hundred yards wide, and from twenty to fifty feet in perpendicular height. This ridge runs nearly north and ſouth, in the common direction of the ſtrata of the country, and is ſurrounded on all ſides by the common grey granite, which, as uſual, is penetrated in all directions by veins of quartz and felſpar; but neither of theſe enter the quarry.

This ſtone is called caricullu, or black-ſtone, by the natives, who give the ſame appellation to the quartz impregnated with iron, and to the brown hæmatites; and in fact they all run very much into one another, and differ chiefly in the various proportions of the ſame component parts; but have a certain general ſimilitude eaſily defined, and are found in ſimilar maſſes and ſtrata. The black-ſtone of this place is an amorphous hornblend, containing minute but diſtinct rhomboidal lamellar concretions of baſaltine. I imagine that it is the ſame ſtone with that which by the antients was called baſaltes, and which was by them ſometimes formed into images, as it is now by the idolaters of India.

The ſurface of the ridge is covered with large irregular maſſes, which, where they have been long expoſed to the air in the natural proceſs of decay, loſe their angles firſt. When theſe maſſes have thus become rounded, they decay in concentric lamellæ; but where the rock itſelf is expoſed to the air, it ſeparates into plates of various thickneſſes, nearly vertical, and running north and ſouth. In the ſound ſtone, there is not the ſmalleſt appearance of a flaty texture, and it ſplits with wedges in all directions. The north end of the ridge is the loweſt, and has on its ſurface the largeſt maſſes. It is there only that the natives have wrought it; they have always contented themſelves with ſplitting detached blocks, and have never ventured on the ſolid rock, where much finer pieces might be procured than has ever yet been obtained. The baſwa, or bull, at Turiva Caray, is the fineſt piece that I have ſeen.

Immediately north from the village is a quarry of ballapum, or pot-ſtone, which is uſed by the natives for making ſmall veſſels; and is ſo ſoft, that pencils are formed of it to write upon books, which are made of cloth blackened and ſtiffened with gum. Both the books, and the neatneſs of the writing, are very inferior to the ſimilar ones of the people of Ava, who, in fact, are much farther advanced in the arts than the Hindus of this country. This pot-ſtone ſeparates into large amorphous maſſes, each covered with a cruſt in a decaying ſtate; and ſome of them are entirely penetrated with long ſlender needles of ſchorlaceous actynolite.

In the ſame place I found the calcareous tufa in a ſolid maſs, and procured a ſpecimen diſtinctly marked with the impreſſion of a leaf.

Immediately parallel, and contiguous to the pot-ſtone, is a ſtratum of quartz in a ſtate of decay; which ſeparates into ſchiſtoſe plates, diſpoſed vertically, and running north and ſouth.

At Haduna Betta, or Kite-hill, a coſs eaſt from Belluru, maſſes of a harder pot-ſtone, called ſila cullu, may be procured; and from thence probably Sholun Raya conveyed it to build his temples at Arulu Gupay, and Turiva-Caray.

26th Auguſt — In the morning I went three coſſes to Belluru.

In this part of the country a good many ſheep are bred: in the morning I met with three large folds of them.

To the eaſtward of Belluru is a range of barren rocky hills. One of them riſes to a conſiderable height, and is called Haduna Culla Betta, or Kite-rock Hill, from its abound-

abounding with that kind of bird. So far as is known to the natives, theſe hills produce neither wood nor ore of any uſe.

Belluru is a large town, and both ſuburbs and citadel are ſtrongly fortified with a mud-wall and ditch. The walls of the citadel have been lately repaired; but thoſe of the ſuburb are in the ſame ruinous ſtate in which, on the approach of Purſeram Bhow, they were left by Tippoo's troops.

In all this part of the country it has been cuſtomary, when a new village was founded, for the perſon appointed to be hereditary Gauda, or chief, to place a large ſtone in or near the village. This ſtone is called the curuvu cullu, or calf-ſtone, and is conſidered as repreſenting the Gráma Dévaru, or god of the village. The hereditary Gauda always officiates as púјari, or prieſt; and at the annual village feaſt, after having rubbed it with oil, offers a ſacrifice, with which he feaſts his relations and the chief men of the place.

27th Auguſt.—I went three coſſes to Nágamangala. The country through which I came reſembles what I ſaw yeſterday; but the greater part of the heights, although barren, appear as if they had been formerly cultivated. At preſent very little of the country is under cultivation, and it looks very bare. Within ſight were many ruinous villages.

Nágamangala is a large ſquare mud fort, and contains in its center a ſquare citadel, which, like that of Chica Nayakana Hully, leaves room in the outer town for one ſtreet, with ſhort lanes on each ſide. In the inner fort are two large temples, and ſome other religious buildings, in good repair; and a mahal, or palace, a cutchery, or public office, and ſeveral large granaries in ruins. The town and all theſe public buildings were erected by a Prince named Jagadéva Ráya, who ſeems to have been of the ſame family with the Rájas of Myſore; for the two houſes had frequent intermarriages. According to tradition, Jagadéva Ráya, who founded this city, lived about 600 years ago. His dominions extended from Jagadéva-Pattana on the eaſt, to the frontiers of the Manzur-ábád Polygar and of the Ikeri Rája on the weſt. They were bounded by Hagalawadi on the north, and included the Belluru diſtrict. On the ſouth they were bounded by the territories of the Rája of Myſore, and of the Vir'-Ráya, who poſſeſſes the country that we call Coorg, and who was then proprietor of Mahá-Ráyana-Durga. About three centuries ago, the ſucceſſor of Jagadéva Ráya, dying without children, was ſucceeded by his kinſman, the curtur of Myſore. This town was originally called P'hani-pura, or the city of ſnakes; but its name has been changed into Nágamangala, which ſignifies the bleſſed with ſerpents. Before the invaſion of Purſeram Bhow it contained 1500 houſes, which are now reduced to 200, that are ſcattered amid the ruins. At the ſame time the Marattahs deſtroyed 150,000 palm trees. In the whole diſtrict there are only about one half of the neceſſary cultivators, and they come in ſlowly, the Nizam's country being at too great a diſtance. Forty houſes only have been built ſince the place received cowl, or protection, from the Engliſh. It poſſeſſes three fine reſervoirs; but for the laſt four years ſo little rain has fallen, that very little of the rice-ground has been cultivated, and the proprietors have not been able to replant their palm-gardens.

I obſerved the people fiſhing in the ſmall quantity of water that is in the reſervoirs; and was told, that ſmall fiſhes are to be found in all the tanks of the country, although they frequently dry up, and have no communication with ſtreams from whence they might get a ſupply. The eggs, no doubt, remain dry in the mud, and are not hatched until they have been moiſtened by the return of the water.

The greater part of the inhabitants of Nágamangala are what are here called Tigularu, or Taycularu; that is to ſay, are deſcended from perſons who came from coun-

tries where the Tamul language is ſpoken. According to tradition, they left Kunji about 700 years ago; but they can give no account as to the occaſion of their anceſtors deſerting their native country. Moſt of them have loſt their original language: but they never intermarry with the native Karnátas. Some of them can read the books in the Tamul language that belong to their caſt.

Immediately weſt from Nágamangala is a hill, which conſiſts chiefly of a talcoſe argillite, approaching very near to a ſlaty pot-ſtone; the natives indeed call it by the ſame name; and they uſe it for pencils as they do the other. Its ſtructure is ſlaty, and it is diſpoſed in ſtrata much inclined to the horizon, and running north and ſouth. Some of it is reddiſh, and ſome has a greeniſh hue. Intermixed with it are ſeveral large maſſes of white quartz. The rock at the town is granite.

28th Auguſt.—In the morning I went three coſſes to Chinna. The country is more barren than any that I have ſeen for ſome time, and the heights riſe into low rocky hills. Some parts of it are covered with low trees, eſpecially with the elate ſylveſtris, or wild-date. Chinna is a poor ruinous place. It was formerly of ſome note; but about thirty years ago it was deſtroyed by the Marattah army, then attacking Hyder, and it has never ſince recovered.

29th Auguſt.—I went one coſs to Mail-cotay, or the lofty fortreſs. The country is ſteep, and nearly uninhabited. There are, however, many places on the aſcent that have a good ſoil, and that have formerly been cultivated. The other lands are covered with copſe-wood.

Mail-cotay, in the Sanſkrit language, is called by the uncouth name of Dakſhina Bhadarikáſramam. It is ſituated on a high rocky hill, and commands a noble view of the valley watered by the Cávéri, and of the hills of Myſore to the ſouth; of thoſe of the Ghats to the weſt; and toward the eaſt, Savana-Durga and Siva-Gangá cloſe the proſpect. It is one of the moſt celebrated places of Hindu worſhip, both as having been honoured with the actual preſence of an Avatára, or incarnation of Viſhnu, who founded one of the temples; and alſo as being one of the principal ſeats of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans, and having poſſeſſed very large revenues. About forty years ago it contained almoſt a thouſand houſes, inhabited by Bráhmans, who did not allow many of the Súdras to remain in the place. A few ſhop-keepers and Satánanas compoſed the remainder of the inhabitants. Soon after this period the Marattahs gained a victory over Hyder, and encamped for ſome time on the ſouth ſide of the hill. The Bráhmans here were too cunning to be caught, and the place was entirely deſerted; but even the temples of their gods did not eſcape Marattah rapacity. For the ſake of the iron-work, and to get at it eaſily, they burned the immenſe wooden raths, or chariots, on which the idols are carried in proceſſion; and the fire ſpread to the religious buildings, ſome of which were entirely conſumed. A ſufficient number, however, ſtill remain. The three principal are, a temple placed on the very ſummit of the rock, and dedicated to Naraſingha, one of the Avatáras of Viſhnu; the great temple of Chillapulla Ráya; and a noble tank.

The large temple is a ſquare building of great dimenſions, and entirely ſurrounded by a colonnade; but it is a mean piece of architecture, at leaſt outwardly. The columns are very rude, and only about ſix feet high. Above the entablature, in place of a baluſtrade, is a clumſy maſs of brick and plaſter, much higher than the columns, and excavated with numerous niches; in which are huddled together many thouſand images compoſed of the ſame materials, and moſt rudely formed. Unwilling to give offence, I did not ſee any of the interior parts of it, although no remonſtrance would have been made againſt my entering the inner courts; but I wiſhed to get ſome information

mation from the Bráhmans; and my not presuming to approach so holy a place evidently gave satisfaction. The present structure was built, or at least put into its present form, by Ráma Anuja Achárya; but, as I have before mentioned, the temple itself is alleged to be of wonderful antiquity, and to have been not only built by a god, but to be dedicated to Krishna on the very spot where that Avatára performed some of his great works. Although the image represents Krishna, it is commonly called Chillapulla Ráya, or the darling prince; for chillapulla is a term of endearment, which mothers give to their infants, somewhat like our word darling. The reason of such an uncommon appellation being given to a mighty warrior is said to be as follows: on Ráma Anuja's going to Mail-cotay, to perform his devotions at that celebrated shrine, he was informed that the place had been attacked by the Turc king of Dehli, who had carried away the idol. The Bráhman immediately set out for that capital; and on his arrival he found that the king had made a present of the image to his daughter; for it is said to be very handsome, and she asked for it as a plaything. All day the Princess played with the image; at night the god assumed his own beautiful form, and enjoyed her bed; for Krishna is addicted to such kinds of adventures. This had continued for some time when Ráma Anuja arrived, and called on the image, repeating at the same time some powerful mantrams; on which the idol immediately placed itself on the Bráhman's knee. Having clasped it in his arms, he called it his chillapulla, and they were both instantaneously conveyed to Mail-cotay. The princess, quite disconsolate for the loss of her image, mounted a horse, and followed as fast as she was able. She no sooner came near the idol than she disappeared, and is supposed to have been taken into its immediate substance; which, in this country, is a common way of the gods disposing of their favourites. A monument was built for the princess; but as she was a Turc, it would have been improper to place this building within the walls of the holy place; it has therefore been erected at the foot of the hill, under the most abrupt part of the rock.

The tank is a very fine one, and is surrounded by many buildings for the accommodation of religious persons, and for the intended recreation of the idols when they are carried in procession. Were these kept in good order, they would have a grand appearance; but the buildings are filthy and ruinous. The natives believe, that every year, at the time of the grand festival, the water of the Ganges is conveyed by subterraneous passages, and fills this tank; yet they candidly acknowledge, that not the smallest external mark of any change takes place. On this occasion it is customary to throw in bits of money. My attendant messenger, who is a Bráhman, says, that he was present when all the water was taken out by orders from the Sultan, who expected by this means to find a great treasure. All that was found, however, was a pot full of copper money.

The jewels belonging to the great temple are very valuable; and even the Sultan was afraid to seize them. They are never exposed to the risk of being carried away by any desperate ruffian, but are always kept in the treasury at Seringapatam; and during the time of the festival are sent to Mail-cotay, under a strong military guard. This property was respected by the British captors, and the jewels are sent to the place as formerly.

I expected here to be able to get some account of the Mysore family, who long had been generous benefactors to the Bráhmans of Mail-cotay; but in this I was entirely disappointed. I was told that they gave themselves no concern about worldly affairs; and that to them the history of the low casts was of no consequence. They seem not at all interested about their young Rája; and the family has been so long in obscurity, that it is no longer looked up to with awe; which among the natives in general is the

only thing that ſupplies the place of loyalty. Their military men are the only claſs that ſeem to have a ſtrong attachment to their princes; and they ſerve faithfully, ſo long as they are regularly paid, or gratified by a permiſſion to plunder; but provided theſe pay them better, they are equally willing to ſerve a Muſſulman or Chriſtian leader, as a Hindu Prince. Terror is therefore the leading principle of every Indian government; and among the people, in place of loyalty and patriotiſm, the chief principles are, an abject devotion to their ſpiritual maſters, and an obſtinate adherence to cuſtom, chiefly in matters of ceremony and caſt.

The hill on which Mail-cotay ſtands conſiſts of many different kinds of rock; but to moſt of them, the French term *Roche feuilletée* ſeems applicable. They are all aggregates, with their component parts diſpoſed in a ſtriated or foliated manner. They are of very great tenacity, being extremely difficult to break, eſpecially acroſs the fibre; they ſplit ſomewhat more eaſily in its direction, but even in that ſtrongly reſiſt all external violence. Theſe rocks are diſpoſed in vertical ſtrata, running north and ſouth, and the fibres or laminæ are placed in the ſame direction. In ſmall pieces this ſtructure is often not eaſily diſcernible; but it is always very conſpicuous in large maſſes, or when the rock begins to decay. The ſtrata are intercepted by fiſſures croſſing them at right angles; but never, ſo far as I obſerved, containing any extraneous foſſil, ſuch as quartz or felſpar. In decay, this rock has a tendency to form long cylindrical maſſes, which, from their fibrous nature, have ſomewhat the appearance of petrified logs of timber The moſt common of theſe ſtrata are various kinds of gneiſs, which may be cut here into pillars of any ſize, and afford admirable materials for fine buildings. Some of it is very ſmall grained, and aſſumes the form which by ſome mineralogiſts is called regenerated granite. In ſome of the buildings here are columns of this kind, which are of an excellent quality, and cut remarkably well. The people could not tell from whence they had been brought. Many other ſtrata conſiſt of a granitel, compoſed of hornblend ſlate, quite black, and mixed with white quartz. When broken longitudinally, the quartz forms veins; when tranſverſely, it forms ſpots. It might perhaps be called a hornblend porphyry. Here are alſo ſtrata of ſchiſtoſe mica; one of which is decayed into a kind of earth called nama, and is a ſource of ſome profit to the place. It is ſuppoſed to have been created by Garuda, or the mythological eagle on which Kriſhna rides; and near this is uſed by all the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans, and their followers, to mark their foreheads. Some of it is, for this purpoſe, ſent even to Káſi, or Benares. Some Vaiſhnavams work it by digging the whole ſubſtance out of the beds in which it lies, and throwing it into large veſſels of water. It is well ſtirred about; and, while the mica ſwims, the fragments of quartz remain at the bottom, and are taken out by the hand. The mica is then allowed to ſubſide, and forms into a maſs, which is divided into ſmall pieces, and afterwards made into balls by being moiſtened in water. Theſe are ſold for uſe, and are perfectly white.

31ſt Auguſt. — In the morning my interpreter informed me, that laſt night, until a late hour, he had attended the council of Bráhmans at the temple. After a long deliberation, it was determined that they would give him a verſe, or ſlókam, containing the era that I wanted to know, enigmatically expreſſed, as is uſual in theſe verſes. They alſo explained the enigma to him in the vulgar language, and gave him a copy of this, which he might ſhow; but they enjoined him by no means to expoſe to profane eyes the ſlókam, a requeſt that he treated with great contempt. It was alſo determined, that they would neither copy any part of the book, nor permit it to be ſeen, under pretence of its having been carried away by the Marattahs. What could induce them to adopt ſuch an excuſe, I cannot tell. Before a hundred people at my tent, and theſe the chief inhabitants of the place, a man venerated for his

his years, his learning, and his piety, declared himself possessed of the book, and received money to defray the expence of copying a part of it; and now he was not ashamed to declare, that thirty years ago he had been robbed of it. To do him justice, he offered to refund the money; but my interpreter refused it, having no orders to rescind the bargain. It had, indeed, been by his advice that I had made the advance. He alleged, that in his cast no promises of reward are looked upon as good for any thing; but that the immediate view of the money produces strong effects; and, after receiving the money, the faithful performance of what a Brahman undertakes may very generally be expected.

I then went to Tonuru-Caray, by the Mussulmans called Muti Talau, or the pearl-tank, a name given to it by one of the Mogul officers who visited the place. From Mail-cotay it is distant three cosses.

The strata here are similar to those at Mail-cotay; but are so intersected by fissures as to be of no use for building.

On the rising ground, north from the reservoir, a severe battle was fought between the Marattahs and Hyder. The latter was completely defeated, and all his army destroyed, except one corps, with which he fled into Seringapatam, passing by the western end of the hills.

1st September. — I went three cosses to the northern bank of the Cavery, at Seringapatam. By the way, I examined the quarry of grey granite at Chica Mally Betta, which is the best in the neighbourhood. It is about six miles north from Seringapatam. The workmen have never cut upon the solid rock, but have contented themselves with splitting the lower blocks that cover the surface of the hill, and a stone 12 cubits long is reckoned a very large one. Longer ones, if wanted, might no doubt be obtained by cutting into the solid rock. This granite, in its appearance, has nothing either of a fibrous or foliated texture; but in fact its parts are so disposed, that the stone splits much easier in one direction than in any other. The workmen cannot judge of this by external appearance; but they try the block by chipping it in various parts, until they find out the direction in which the wedge will have its most powerful effects. In decay, the plates of which the rock consists are abundantly conspicuous. This stone is easier wrought than that of Mail-cotay; but, owing to the coarseness of its grain, cannot be cut into such fine figures.

Chica Mally Betta and the French rocks, as we call them, are two small rocky hills, which rise up in the middle of the country between Tonuru and the Cavery. In no other place, except the Kari-ghat hill, is the surface too steep for the plough. All the low ground has formerly been cultivated, though in many places the declivity of the fields is great. North from the canals a very small portion of the arable land is at present in cultivation; and even under the canals there is waste land, although these noble works are now full of water, and send forth copious streams to all the fields between them and the river. Owing to the steepness of the ground, many of the rice plots are not above six feet square; and the ingenuity and labour with which they have been formed almost equal those of the Chinese terraces.

1st — 4th September 1800. — I remained at Seringapatam repairing my equipage and making ready for the journey. The Cavery is now full, and contains a large rapid stream; but its water is by no means clear, and is reckoned unwholesome. The town is so low, that at this season many of the houses are damp and unhealthy; and the air of the eastern end of the island is still more prejudicial to the human constitution.

CHAP. VIII. — *Journey through the part of Karnata ſouth from the Cavery.*

ON the 5th of September, I went one coſs to Pal-hully. Owing to ſome miſtake, my baggage miſſed the way; and, after having wandered the whole day, arrived in the evening with the cattle ſo fatigued, that on the day following it was impoſſible to move.

6th September. — Pal-hully formerly contained a thouſand houſes; but during the ſiege of Seringapatam, as it was in the immediate rear of the camp of General Harris, it was entirely deſtroyed. A hundred houſes have been rebuilt, and the inhabitants are daily returning.

7th September. — I went three coſſes to Gunjural-Chatur, which is ſituated in the Maháſura Nagara Taluc, or diſtrict of the city of Myſore, and diſtant three coſſes from that place. The country is uneven, but contains no hills. Its ſtrata conſiſt of gneiſs, ſchiſtoſe hornblende, and ſchiſtoſe mica, and run nearly north and ſouth.

8th September. — I went three Sultany coſſes to Muluro. At the diſtance of one coſs from Gunjural-Chatur I came to Sicary pura, which by the Muſſulmans was called Huſſeinpoor. It had been given in jaghir to Meer Saduc, the favourite miniſter of Tippoo Sultan; and, although an open town, it has been a neat place with wide ſtreets, which croſſed each other at right angles. More than half of the houſes are now in ruins. On the approach of one of our foraging parties, it was entirely deſtroyed by Purnea and Cummer ud' Deen Khan, and a few only of the houſes have been rebuilt.

At a ſhort diſtance weſt from Sicany-pura is a fine little river called the Lakſhamana tirta, which comes from the ſouth-weſt, and riſes among the hills of the country which we call Coorg. At all times it contains a ſtream of water, and in the rainy ſeaſon is not fordable. It ſupplies ſix canals to water the country. The anas, or dams, that force the water into theſe canals, are fine works, and produce beautiful caſcades.

Water for drinking is here very ſcarce and very bad, yet the people have never attempted to dig wells.

9th September. — I went to Emmaguma Cotagala.

10th September. — I went three coſſes to Priya-pattana, which in our maps is called Periapatam.

The following is the account of the climate which was given me by the moſt intelligent natives of the place. The year is, as uſual, divided into ſix ſeaſons: I. Vaſanta Ritu comprehends the two months following the vernal equinox. During this the air is in general very hot, with clear ſun-ſhine, and ſtrong winds from the eaſtward. No dew. Once in ten or twelve days ſqualls come from the eaſt, accompanied by thunder, and heavy ſhowers of rain or hail, and laſt three or four hours. II. Griſhma Ritu contains the two months including the ſummer ſolſtice. The air is very hot, and there is no dew. The winds are weſterly; during the firſt month weak, but after the ſolſtice ſtrong. It is ſaid, that formerly, during this period, the weather uſed to be conſtantly clouded, with a regular, unintermitting, drizzling rain; but for the laſt half century ſuch ſeaſons have occurred only once in four or five years; and in the intervening ones, although the cloudy weather continues, the conſtant rain has ceaſed, and in its place heavy ſhowers have come at intervals of three or four days, and theſe are preceded by ſome thunder. III. Varſha Ritu includes the two months preceding the autumnal equinox. The air is cool. The winds are light and come from the weſt-

ward. Formerly the rains uſed to be inceſſant and heavy; but of late they have not been ſo copious oftener than about once in four or five years: ſtill, however, they are almoſt always ſufficient to produce a good crop of graſs and dry grains, and one crop of rice. Priya-pattana has therefore been juſtly named the choſen city by the natives of Karnáta, who frequently ſuffer from a ſcarcity of rain. At this ſeaſon there is very little thunder. IV. Sarat Ritu contains the two months following the autumnal equinox. In this the air is colder, and in general clear; but once in three or four days there are heavy ſhowers from the north-eaſt, accompanied by thunder, but not with much wind. In the intervals the winds are gentle, and come from the weſtward. Moderate dews now begin. V. Hémanta Ritu includes the two months immediately before and after the winter ſolſtice. The air is then very cold to the feelings of the natives. They have never ſeen ſnow nor ice, even on the ſummits of the hills; but to theſe they very ſeldom aſcend. Bettada-pura I conjecture to be about 1800 or 2000 feet perpendicular above the level of the country, which is probably 4000 feet above the ſea. It is a detached peak, and is reckoned higher than either Siddhéſwara, or Saihia Paravata, from whence the Cavery ſprings. Theſe two are the moſt conſpicuous mountains of the Coorg country, and are ſurrounded by lower hills. At this ſeaſon there are heavy dews and fogs; ſo that until ten o'clock the ſun is ſeldom viſible. There is very little wind; but the little that there is comes from the weſt. This is reckoned the moſt unhealthy ſeaſon; and during its continuance intermittent fevers are very frequent. VI. Sayſhu Ritu includes the two months immediately preceding the vernal equinox. The dews decreaſe gradually in the firſt, and diſappear in the ſecond month. There is no rain, and the atmoſphere is clear, with remarkably fine moonſhine nights. The air is cool and pleaſant. The winds are from the eaſtward, and moderate. Except in Hémanta Ritu, fevers are very rare. In the Coorg country the air is hot and moiſt, and by the natives of this place is reckoned very unhealthy.

Sandal wood grows in the ſkirts of the foreſt. The people of Coorg were in the habit of ſtealing a great part of it; but ſince the country received the Company's protection they have deſiſted from this inſolence. It is often planted in gardens and hedges; and, from the richneſs of the ſoil, grows there to a large ſize; but in ſuch places the timber has little ſmell, and is of no value. It is a daray, or ſtony ſoil only, that produces fine ſandal. It may be felled at any ſeaſon; and once in twelve years, whatever has grown to a proper ſize is generally cut. On theſe occaſions, this diſtrict produces about 10,000 maunds, or above 2000 hundred-weight. The whole was lately ſold to the agents of the Bombay government, and a relation of Purnea's was employed to deliver it. Much to the credit of the Dewan, this perſon was put in confinement, having been detected in ſelling to private traders ſome of what he cut, and alſo in having ſold great quantities that were found buried. During the Sultan's government a great deal of it arrived at maturity, which he would not fell. In general, this was privately cut, and concealed under ground, till an opportunity offered of ſmuggling it into the Vir' Ráya's dominions. The amildars have now received orders to cut all the ſandal-wood in their reſpective diſtricts, and to deliver it to the Bombay agents. They know nothing of the conditions of ſale. At preſent, no ſandal-oil is made at Priya-pattana.

The woods are infeſted by wild elephants, which do much injury to the crops. They are particularly deſtructive to the ſugar-cane and palm-gardens; for theſe monſtrous creatures break down the betel-nut tree to get at its cabbage. The natives have not the art of catching the elephant in kyddas, or folds, as is done in Bengal; but

the outer parts of the foreſt. The herds that at night deſtroy the crops, retire with the dawn of day into the receſſes of the foreſt; and thither the natives do not venture, as they could not hide themſelves from a number. It is ſaid, that at the above-mentioned tank there was formerly a village; but that both it and ſeveral others on the ſkirt of the foreſt have been lately withdrawn, owing to an increaſed number of elephants, and to the ſmaller means of reſiſtance which the decreaſe of population allows.

The Cad' Curubaru are a rude tribe of Karnáta, who are exceedingly poor and wretched. In the fields near villages they build miſerable low huts, have a few rags only for covering, and the hair of both ſexes ſtands out matted like a mop, and ſwarms with vermin. Their perſons and features are weak and unſeemly, and their complexion is very dark. Some of them hire themſelves as labouring ſervants to the farmers, and, like thoſe of other caſts, receive monthly wages. Others, in crop ſeaſon, watch the fields at night, to keep off the elephants and wild hogs. Theſe receive, monthly, one fanam and ten ſeers, or $1\frac{3}{100}$ peck of ragy. In the intervals between crops, they work as day-labourers, or go into the woods, and collect the roots of wild yáms (dioſcoreas); part of which they eat, and part exchange with the farmers for grain. Their manner of driving away the elephant is by running againſt him with a burning torch made of bamboos. The animal ſometimes turns, and waits till the Curubaru comes cloſe up; but theſe poor people, taught by experience, puſh boldly on, and daſh their torches againſt the elephant's head, who never fails to take immediate flight. Should their courage fail, and ſhould they attempt to run away, the elephant would immediately purſue, and put them to death. The Curubaru have no means of killing ſo large an animal, and, on meeting with one in the day-time, are as much alarmed as any other of the inhabitants. During the Sultan's reign they caught a few in pit-falls. The wild hogs are driven out of the fields by ſlings; but they are too fierce and ſtrong for the Curubaru to kill. Theſe poor people frequently ſuffer from tigers, againſt which their wretched huts are a poor defence; and, when this wild beaſt is urged by hunger, he is regardleſs of their burning torches. Theſe Curubaru have dogs, with which they catch deer, antelopes, and hares; and they have the art of taking in ſnares peacocks, and other eſculent birds. They have no hereditary chiefs, but aſſemble occaſionally to ſettle the buſineſs of their caſt. They confine their marriages to their own tribe. The Gauda, or chief man of the village, preſides at this ceremony, which conſiſts of a feaſt. During this the bridegroom eſpouſes his miſtreſs, by tying a ſtring of beads round her neck. The men are allowed to take ſeveral wives; and both girls after the age of puberty, and widows, are permitted to marry. In caſe of adultery, the huſband flogs his wife ſeverely, and, if he be able, beats her paramour. If he be not able, he applies to the Gauda, who does it for him. The adultereſs has then her choice of following either of the men as her huſband. They can eat every thing, except beef; and have no objection to the animal having died a natural death. They will eat victuals dreſſed by any of the farmers, but would not touch any of my proviſions. They do not drink ſpirituous liquors. None of them take the vow of Dáſéri, nor attempt to read. Some of them burn, and others bury the dead. They believe that good men, after death, will become benevolent Dévas, and bad men deſtructive Dévas. A good man, according to them, is he who labours properly at his buſineſs, and who is kind to his family. The whole are of ſuch known honeſty, that on all occaſions they are entruſted with proviſions by the farmers; who are perſuaded, that the Curubaru would rather ſtarve than take one grain of what was given to them in charge. They have no Guru, nor does the panchánga, or any

other kind of prieſt, attend any of their ceremonies. The ſpirits of the dead are believed to appear in dreams to their old people, and to direct them to make offerings of fruits to a female deity, named Bettada Chicama, that is, the little mother of the hill. Unleſs theſe offerings are made, this goddeſs occaſions ſickneſs; but ſhe is never ſuppoſed to do her votaries any good. She is not, however, appeaſed by bloody ſacrifices. There is a temple dedicated to her near Nunjinagodu; but there is no occaſion for the offering being made at that place.

There is alſo in this neighbourhood another rude tribe of Curubaru, called Betta, or Malaya, both words ſignifying mountain; the one in the Karnáta, and the other in the Tamul language. Their dialect is a mixture of theſe two languages, with a few words that are conſidered as peculiar, probably from their having become obſolete among their more refined neighbours. They are not ſo wretched nor ill-looking as the Cad' Curubaru, but are of diminutive ſtature. They live in poor huts near the villages, and the chief employment of the men is the cutting of timber, and making of baſkets. With a ſharp ſtick they alſo dig up ſpots of ground in the ſkirts of the foreſt, and ſow them with ragy. A family in this manner will ſow nine ſeers of that grain. The men watch at night the fields of the farmers; but are not ſo dexterous at this as the Cad' Curubaru are. They neither take game, nor collect wild yams. The women hire themſelves to labour for the farmers. The Betta Curubaru have an hereditary chief called Ijyamána, who lives at Priya-pattana. With the aſſiſtance of a council of three or four perſons, he ſettles diſputes, and puniſhes all tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt. He can levy ſmall fines, and can expel from the caſt any woman that cohabits with a ſtrange man. In this tribe, the concubines, or Cutigas, are women that prefer another man to their huſband, or widows who do not wiſh to relinquiſh carnal enjoyment. Their children are not conſidered as illegitimate. If a man takes away another perſon's wife, to keep her as a Cutiga, he muſt pay one or two fanams as a fine to the Ijyamána. Girls are not conſidered as marriageable until after the age of puberty; a cuſtom that by the higher orders is conſidered as a beaſtly depravity. The men may take ſeveral wives, but never marry a woman of the ſame family with themſelves in the male line. The Betta Curubaru never intoxicate themſelves; but are permitted to eat every kind of animal food, except beef, and they have no objection to carrion. They never take the vow of Dáſéri, and none of them can read. Some of them burn and others bury the dead. They underſtand nothing of a future ſtate. The god of the caſt is Ejuruppa, who ſeems to be the ſame with Hanumanta, the ſervant of Ráma; but they never pray to this laſt-mentioned deity, although they ſometimes addreſs Siva. To the god of their caſt they offer fruit, and a little money: they never ſacrifice to the Saktis. Their Guru, they ſay, is of the caſt Wotimeru, and from their deſcription would appear to be of thoſe people called Satánanas. He gives them holy water, and conſecrated victuals, and receives their charity. At their marriages, he reads ſomewhat in a language which they do not underſtand.

19th September. — I went four coſſes to Hegodu Dévana Cotay; that is, the fortreſs of the mighty Déva.

20th September. — I went three coſſes to Humpa-pura. The country has formerly been almoſt entirely cultivated; but at preſent about three-fourths of it are waſte.

Humpa-pura is a miſerable open village. A little eaſt from it is erected a ſtone, containing ſome ſmall figures in bas-relief, which are much defaced. Concerning this the tradition is as follows: Canterua, Ráya of Myſore, having invaded Coorg with a

large army, was entirely defeated, and purſued this length by the Vir' Ráya. In the flight there periſhed three hundred and ſixty of the Myſore nobles, each of whom had the privilege of uſing a palanquin. The conqueror having beſtowed great dharma, that is to ſay, having thrown away much money on religious mendicants, erected this ſtone as a monument of his victory, and to mark the new boundary of his dominions. It was but for a ſhort time, however, that he retained theſe acquiſitions.

Yeſterday afternoon I was very unwell; and another day's ſtay in the woods would probably have given me a ſerious indiſpoſition.

21ſt September.—I remained at Humpa-pura, to obtain an account of the iron mines in that neighbourhood.

The ſtrata at Humpa-pura are vertical, and run nearly north and ſouth. Many of them conſiſt of pot-ſtone of a bad quality. Theſe are of various breadths.

South from Humpa-pura is a cluſter of high hills, named Chica Deva Betta, or, the hill of the little ſpirit. It is ſacred to Chicama, the deity of the Cad' Curubaru, lately mentioned. Over the elephant ſhe has peculiar authority; before a hunt of that animal is undertaken, ſhe is propitiated by a ſacrifice.

On the north ſide of Chica Deva Betta are three low hills, which produce iron ore. Mota Betta is ſituated about three miles E. S. E. from Humpa-pura, immediately below the junction of the river Nuga with the Kapini, and to the right of both. Culia Betta is the moſt conſiderable mine, and is ſituated between the two rivers, being diſtant from Mota Betta one coſs and a half. Weſt from thence about half a coſs, is Hitena Betta, which is on the left of the Kapini. I could only examine Mota Betta, without occaſioning a delay of ſeveral days in my journey; which I did not think adviſeable, as I was told that the ore in all the three places is nearly the ſame; and this is confirmed by the hills lying nearly in the direction of the ſtrata at Mota Betta.

Mota Betta is a hill of no conſiderable height, about a mile in length, and extending from north to ſouth. It is wrought at the ſouth end only; but no trial has been made to aſcertain how far the mine extends. The ſtrata that are in view run from about north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, or rather more toward the eaſt and weſt; but I judge merely from the ſun. They point directly toward the high peak called Bettada-pura; while thoſe on the oppoſite ſide of the Kapini run nearly north and ſouth. The ſtrata dip toward the north at an angle of about 30 degrees. They conſiſt of ſchiſtoſe plates; and, owing to their being penetrated by fiſſures at right angles to the ſtrata, they break with a ſmooth ſurface into angular fragments. The internal ſtructure of the plates is foliated, and theſe leaves, being of different appearances, and ſometimes ſtraight, ſometimes undulated, would ſeem to ſhow that they have been depoſited from water at different times. The ſtrata are from one to three feet in thickneſs, and conſiſt of granular quartz, more or leſs impregnated with iron ore, which is of the ſame nature with the common iron-ſand of the country. In moſt of the ſtrata the quartz predominates; and by the natives theſe are conſidered as uſeleſs. In others, although having nearly the ſame external appearance, the iron is more abundant, and theſe are the ore. From theſe laſt, ochres of various colours exude, by which they are readily diſtinguiſhed from the barren ſtrata. In the rainy ſeaſon, the workmen content themſelves with collecting the fragments of ore which the water brings down from the hill. Theſe are like the black ſand, but larger and more angular. From the earth, with which they are mixed, they are ſeparated by being waſhed in long wooden troughs, made of hollow trees. In the dry ſeaſon the workmen are forced to have recourſe to the ſtrata; but never penetrate deeper than the ſurface. Before they begin to work upon any ſpot, they

cover it with a coat of earth for a year; which ſeems to accelerate the decay, and to render the ore brittle. After it has been dug up with pick-axes, the ore is broken into ſmall pieces, and the iron is ſeparated from the ſtony matter by waſhing.

In the fork, between the Nuga and Kapini rivers, is a ſtratum of a ſimilar diſpoſition to thoſe of the mine. It conſiſts of very ſhining black foliated hornblende, or perhaps baſaltine, dotted with white felſpar.

The pillars of a temple of Bhairawa Dévaru, at the ſame place, are of very fine gneiſs, like ſome of the beſt at Mail-cotay. The prieſt could not inform me from whence they had been brought.

Bhairawa Dévaru is the god of the Curubas, and is a malevolent male ſpirit. His temple is built exactly like the ſmaller temples of the gods of the Bráhmans, and with out ſpires or high ornaments. Its roof, like thoſe of the temples of Iſwara (alſo a deſtructive ſpirit) is ornamented with images of the bull. The pujári, or prieſt, is a Hal Curubaru, who can neither read nor write.

The Kapini river, at Humpa-pura, is about ſixty yards wide, and at all ſeaſons contains running water. Its channel is ſandy, and conſiderably below the level of the country; which circumſtances have prevented the natives from making dams. It takes its riſe from a hill named Banaſura, in the Bynadu. At this ſeaſon the river is no where fordable. I croſſed it on bamboo floats, which with eaſe tranſport horſes and palanquins, and which are a much better conveyance than the baſkets, covered with leather, that are the uſual ferry-boats in all parts of the peninſula.

The Nuga river is ſmaller and more rapid and rocky than the Kapini. It alſo riſes in the Bynadu. Formerly there were two dams on it; but the fields which they watered have for twenty years been deſerted. By the diſturbances in the country the number of the people had then been ſo much diminiſhed, that they were no longer able to reſiſt the encroachments of the elephants. This year the amildar of Hegodu Dévana Cotay has ſent a party of armed men to protect the place, and ſome farmers have returned to their former abodes. The country watered by theſe rivers coming from the weſtern Ghats, is naturally by far the fineſt in Myſore, and would equal in beauty any in the world, were it decently cultivated; but ruin and miſery every where ſtare the traveller in the face.

I have no where met with the people ſo ignorant, and ſuch groſs liars as in this vicinity. Except the accomptant, a Bráhman, I did not converſe with one man who did not prevaricate; and very few of them would give an anſwer to the moſt ſimple queſtion; while moſt of them pretended ignorance on all occaſions and ſubjects. The accomptant's anſwers were rational, and never contradictory; and it was owing to him that I was able to procure any account of the iron manufacture. During my ſtay at Humpa-pura I could procure none that was in the leaſt ſatisfactory; but, aſhamed of his countrymen, he perſuaded two of the workmen to follow me to the next ſtage, and to give me the account that I have inſerted.

22d September. — In the morning I went three coſſes to Maru-Hully.

By the way I turned out of the road; and in order to examine a quarry of the ſtone called ſila, or pratimá cullu, I went in among the hills on my left to a ſmall village, named Arſina Caray. The firſt name in the Sanſkrit language means ſtone; the latter appellation means image-ſtone, as it is uſed for making idols. The quarry is in a hollow, which is ſurrounded by low hills that are ſacred to Chicama. Many ſtones have formerly been dug, and have left a conſiderable cavity; but as the quarry has not lately been wrought, much rubbiſh has fallen in, and entirely hides the diſpoſition of the ſtrata. The whole of the ſtrata that I obſerved between Maru-Hully and Humpa-pura on both ſides

ſides of the quarry, run nearly north and ſouth, and are much inclined to the plane of the horizon. Theſe ſtrata conſiſt of a bad kind of the pratimá cullu, which crumbles into irregular maſſes, and is diſpoſed alternately with thoſe of ſchiſtoſe mica, intermixed with parallel layers of pot-ſtone. All theſe ſtrata are in a ſtate of decay. I have little doubt, but that the quarry itſelf is diſpoſed in a ſtratum parallel to the others; but thicker, more compact, and leſs decayed. Lying round the quarry were many half-formed images. The largeſt that I ſaw was about eight feet long, three broad, and one and a half thick; but by digging deeper, larger maſſes might probably be procured. It is an indurated pot-ſtone, or rather a pot-ſtone intimately united with hornblende, and is capable of a fine poliſh. It approaches very near to the hornblende of Hyder's monument, but is ſofter.

Near Maru-Hully alſo, there is a quarry of ſila, or image-ſtone. The maſs of rock is larger than that of Arſina-Caray, and has lately been wrought for the buildings that are now erecting at Myſore. Although it has been laid bare to a conſiderable extent, nothing ſtratified can be obſerved. The ſtone ſeems to be of a middle nature, between that of Hyder's monument and the ſila of Arſina-Caray, and to contain leſs hornblende than the former, but more than the latter. Large blocks may be procured, and perhaps of the whole it is the fineſt ſtone.

23d September. — In the morning I ſet out for Nunjinagodu, diſtant three coſſes; and I intended, by the way, to viſit a place from whence pot-ſtone is dug. After having gone half way, I diſcovered that the guide had deſerted me; and, in order to procure another, I was forced to go back again to Maru-Hully. I found the quarry not a mile from that place; and was informed, that the ſtone-cutter who works it lives there, although I had in vain ſolicited the officer of government to procure me a workman of that kind to break ſome ſpecimens of the image-ſtone. It muſt be obſerved, that I find more difficulty in acquiring a knowledge of the quarries and foreſts, than of any other ſubject of my inquiries. On the revenue of the country the natives are more communicative than I deſire; and even in their accounts of the produce of the fields, the cultivators of the land adhere more to the truth than all ranks do, in anſwering queries relative to quarries and foreſts. It is evidently ſuſpected, that my object in aſking ſuch queſtions is to find out materials for public works; and the natives are terrified at the thought of being again haraſſed with the Corvées, to which in the reign of the Sultan they were cruelly ſubjected.

The pot-ſtone of Maru-Hully is uſed for making pots, diſhes, and pencils. It differs from the image-ſtone only in containing more earth of magneſia; for it has hornblende as one of its component parts. It is readily ſcratched by the nail; but retains an exceſſive toughneſs, ſo that before it will break into fragments under the hammer, it is reduced to powder. Like thoſe of the kindred ſtones that have been already deſcribed, its maſſes are irregularly angular. The ſurrounding ſtrata are vertical, and run north and ſouth.

At ſome diſtance from this I croſſed the Kapini by a bridge, which is here looked upon as a prodigy of grandeur; in Europe it would be conſidered as a diſgrace to the architect of the meaneſt town. The arches are about five feet ſpan; the piers are of nearly an equal thickneſs, and do not preſent an angle to the ſtream. The ſides of the arches have ſcarcely any curvature, but are compoſed of two planes, meeting at an acute angle. The parapet is rude, and the whole is compoſed of an irregular mixture of brick and ſtone. The pavement conſiſts of rough and irregular flags, which form a very bad road. The bridge is, however, both long and wide, and is a great convenience for foot paſſengers, or merchants conveying their goods on oxen.

26th Sep-

26th September. — Having yeſterday had a ſevere paroxyſm, and being deſirous of getting near aſſiſtance ſhould my diſorder have increaſed, I altered my intention of proceeding to Satteagala by Coulanda, Arcotar, Hardena-hully, Homa, and Ellanduru, and returned to Myſore, which is four coſſes diſtant from Nunjinagodu. At Myſore I met with ſome friends, who informed me that Seringapatam was then dreadfully unhealthy; and Myſore being in a fine dry ſituation, I determined to remain there till my fever could be ſtopped.

The country through which I paſſed has formerly been moſtly cultivated; but at preſent a very large proportion of the fields is waſte. Were it in a good condition, it would be very beautiful. Several of the tanks are out of repair: near Myſore are two remarkably fine.

Except at Myſore and Seringapatam, I have in every part of the country experienced a difficulty in procuring forage. I have reaſon to think that this proceeds from the univerſal and long continued uſage, of every perſon who belongs to the government taking without payment whatever forage he wants. At Seringapatam, and even here, the women of our Madras ſervants have been of great uſe. The officers of government are afraid to meddle with them, and they are very diligent, and bring in large ſupplies of graſs.

27th, 28th, and 29th September. — While confined here, I ſent for the ſtone cutters, who with the utmoſt obſtinacy, would give me no information whatever on the ſubject of the quarries. In the buildings here, the three moſt common ſtones are, a gray granite with large ſpots of black mica; a reddiſh granite; and a fine grained yellowiſh gneiſs, like that of Mail-cotay. They are all probably from the hill that overlooks the town, and many of the blocks are of large dimenſions. While I was at Seringapatam I had ſeen ſpecimens of them all.

30th September. — Having eſcaped two periods without any return of the fever, I went two Sultany coſſes to Waracadu. The country has formerly been nearly all cultivated, and more than a half is now occupied.

1ſt October. — I went two coſſes to Taiuru. Part of the road paſſes among low hills covered with buſhes, and abounding with antelopes. The ſoil of theſe hills is in general poor, and full of ſmall ſtones; but they are not occupied by naked rocks, like thoſe on the north ſide of the Cavery.

2d October. — I went five Sultany coſſes to Malingy. From Taiuru to Naraſingha-pura is three coſſes. Near both places the country is very beautiful, and well cultivated.

The mountainous tract which forms the weſtern Ghats is viſible from Malingy, and riſes very high above the country to the weſtward.

There are two Malingys: this, called Tady; and another, which is called Hoſſa, and is ſituated in the Company's territory. Tady Malingy is a ſmall open village; but before the Marattah invaſion it had a fort, and was a conſiderable place. The laſt war has occaſioned ſeveral ruins. Concerning its governors before it became ſubject to the Rájas of Myſore, no tradition is current. It forms a part of the Talacadu diſtrict, the chief town of which is ſituated on the north bank of the river, and contains about two hundred houſes, and a celebrated temple dedicated to Iſwara. Between it and the preſent channel of the river were formerly ſituated a large fort, and a great number of temples, which for many years have been overwhelmed by ſand-hills. The bank at Malingy is ſteep, and the principal ſtream of the river comes near it; yet theſe ſand-hills appear to be higher; and, to the traveller, coming all the way from Naraſingha-pura, they make a very conſpicuous

cuous figure. They are ſaid to be yearly increaſing in height; and no part of the former city is now to be ſeen, except the tops of ſome of the temples, and cavaliers. This is a curious phenomenon: but circumſtances would not permit me to inveſtigate the particulars on the ſpot. The natives attribute it to the prayers of a woman, who was drowned while ſhe was croſſing the river to viſit the place, and who, while dying, wiſhed that it might be overwhelmed by ſand. One temple only has eſcaped; the legend concerning which is extremely abſurd. A mendicant came one day to Talacadu, intent on making an offering toMahádéva, or Iſwara. The temples dedicated to that idol were, however, ſo numerous, that he was much at a loſs how to procure an offering for each, ſo as to avoid giving offence to any idol that might be omitted. With his whole means, which were very ſlender, the holy man purchaſed a bag of peaſe, and offered one at each temple; but all his peaſe were expended, and one idol ſtill remained, to which no offering had been made. Of courſe it was highly offended at the preference given to the others by a perſon of his holineſs; and, to avoid their inſolent boaſting, it tranſported itſelf acroſs the river, where it now ſtands at Malingy, while its former companions are buried in ſand. Near it is a ſila ſáſana, or inſcription engraved on ſtone; but unfortunately it is not legible, as it might probably have thrown ſome light on the hiſtory of Talacadu.

The Cavery here is at preſent a fine large and deep river, flowing with a gentle ſtream about a quarter of a mile in width. In the hot ſeaſon it is fordable; but after heavy rains it riſes above its preſent level ten or twelve feet perpendicular, and then its channel is completely filled. Once in nine or ten years it riſes higher, and occaſionally ſweeps away a hut; but its floods are never very deſtructive,

The only ferry-boats on this large river are what are called donies, or baſkets of a circular form, eight or ten feet in diameter, and covered with leather. They tranſport with tolerable ſafety men and goods; but cattle muſt ſwim, which is both a fatiguing and a dangerous enterprize. Bamboo floats. provided with a hawſer, ſo as to form flying bridges, would make an excellent and cheap conveyance. From the north ſide of the Cavery a fine canal is taken by means of a dam, and waters much land near Talacadu.

3d October. — I went to Satteagala, diſtant from Malingy four Sultany coſſes; but, owing to the deepneſs of the roads, I was obliged to take a circuitous route, a circumſtance that never happened to me in any other place above the Ghats. A ſmall village named Caleuru, is the laſt in the preſent dominions of Myſore. Mulur, the firſt place in the Company's territory, is one coſs and a half from Malingy, and is a prettly large open village.

From Mulur I went one coſs to Coleagala, an open town which contains above 600 houſes. It is the reſidence of a tahſildar, or chief of a taluc, or diſtrict; for the officers in the Company's territory differ from thoſe in Myſore. It has two large temples, and is a conſiderable mart for the traders between Seringapatam and the country below the Ghats, and near the Cavery. Coleagala ſignifies the plundered town; which appellation was beſtowed on it after it had been pillaged while under the dominion of Ganga Rája, to whom it formerly belonged.

From Coleagala to Satteagala the diſtance is two coſſes and a half. The country through which I paſſed to-day is in general very fine, and much better cultivated than that between Naraſingha-pura and Malingy.

4th October. — I went to viſit the iſland of Sivana Samudra, or the ſea of Siva, and its noble cataracts. From Satteagala, the upper end of the iſland is one Sultany coſs; and

and its whole length is ſaid to be three coſſes, or probably nine miles; but in width it is no where above a mile. The iſland at its upper end is not much raiſed above the level of the river; but, as its lower end does not ſink, while the river falls very rapidly, toward its eaſtern end it appears to be very high. Owing to the rapidity of the river, and to deep cavities between the rocks and ſtones of its channels, even in the hot ſeaſon, there is only one ford that leads to the iſland, and that is a very bad one in the ſouthern branch. The iſland is therefore by nature very ſtrong.

The northern branch of the river is the moſt conſiderable, and ſoon divides into two channels, which form a ſmaller iſland, named Nellaganatitu. The channel of this branch next the northern continent is the ſmalleſt, and is nearly level until it comes oppoſite to Gangana Chuki, a place on the large iſland about three miles from its upper end. There it precipitates its water over a perpendicular rock, I ſuppoſe nearly two hundred feet high. The ſtream is very conſiderable; but is divided by a ſmall iſland into two great branches, and by large rocks into four or five portions, which before they reach the bottom are quite broken into foam. The water which runs between the two iſlands is the moſt conſiderable portion of the northern branch of the river. It runs with vaſt rapidity over and among immenſe rocks, until it comes to Gangana Chuki, where it ruſhes down into the abyſs, which a little way below receives alſo the other portion. There it is hidden from human view in a cloud of vapour, which is formed by its violence, and which is at times viſible even from Satteagala. From this circumſtance I could not aſcertain how far this fall is entirely perpendicular. If it be quite ſo, the whole height will be about a hundred feet; but at times I thought I could ſee obſcurely through the cloud a projection of the rock, which divided the fall into two ſtages. I have never ſeen any cataract that for grandeur could be compared with this; but I ſhall not attempt to deſcribe its broken woody banks, its cloud of vapour, its rainbow, its thundering noiſe, nor the immenſe ſlippery rocks from whence the dizzy traveller views the awful whirlings of its tumultuous abyſs. All theſe, except in magnitude and ſublimity, exactly reſemble thoſe of the other water-falls that I have ſeen. The pencil of an artiſt might be well employed in imitating its magnificent ſcenery, and would convey a better idea of its grandeur than my power of deſcription can venture to attempt.

The iſland of Sivana Samudra is in general rocky, with vertical ſtrata running north and ſouth. The principal ſtone is a gneiſs, of which the great buildings of Ganga Rája are conſtructed, and which may be cut into blocks of large dimenſions. Near the upper end of the iſland, bridges have been conſtructed acroſs both branches of the river. They were formed, like that at Seringapatam, of long ſtones placed upright as pillars to ſupport others laid horizontally, ſo as to form the road. Both bridges have long ago been broken, but many of the pillars ſtill remain erect. Two dams and canals from the ſouthern branch of the river ſupply the iſland with water, and, if in good repair, ought to ſupply with water as much ground as would ſow 3510 ſeers of rice. In order to magnify the wonders of the iſland, this quantity of ſeed in the accompts is called 90 candacas, a nominal candaca of 39 ſeers having been purpoſely introduced. Owing to the diſrepair of the dams, two-thirds of this land is at preſent waſte. On the iſland there is a good deal of land fit for the cultivation of dry grains; and it would be a fine ſituation for a village, were it not poſſeſſed by a Muni; on which account, and owing to the terrible diſaſters attributed to this demon's wrath, no Hindu will ſettle in the place. The people of Satteagala, at the time of cultivation, carry over their cattle, and ſleep with them in one of the old temples, which is a defence againſt the tigers, that are ſaid to be very numerous.

When they have committed the ſeed to the ground, they return home, and wait there until the time of harveſt; when they again go to the iſland, and bring away their crops.

The Munis of Karnáta, who are demons of the firſt magnitude, muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from a kind of Bráhmans of the ſame name, who have been ſaints of the greateſt holineſs, and whoſe memories perſons of all ranks venerate. The Bráhmans never openly worſhip the Munis; although it is alleged, that in private many of them make offerings, in the ſame manner as they do to the Saktis, or deſtroying female ſpirits. Among the followers of the Bráhmans below the Ghats, the worſhip of the Munis, who are male deſtructive ſpirits, is very prevalent.

The only perſons who defy this devil, and the tigers, are two Muſſulman hermits, that dwell at Gangana Chuki. The hermitage is a hut open all round, placed oppoſite to the tomb of Pirca Wullay, an antient ſaint, and ſurrounded by ſome neat ſmooth areas, and a number of flowering and aromatic trees, introduced from the neighbouring foreſts. One of theſe hermits was abſent on buſineſs; the other had no defence from the tigers but his confidence in the holineſs of the place, and in his own ſanctity, of which he ſeemed to have a very favourable opinion. He told me with great complacency, that he had offended Major Macleod by not anſwering that gentleman's queſtions; having been at the time more inclined to read the Khorán than to converſe with an infidel. He appears to be an ignorant bigot; but the man who is abſent is ſaid to poſſeſs more conciliating manners. In the reign of the Sultan, theſe hermits received very frequent viſits and many preſents from the Muſſulman officers, and their families. They are now almoſt deſerted, and ſubſiſt on a candaca ſowing of free-gift-land that they poſſeſſed on the iſland, and of which they have not been deprived.

5th October.—Having remained all night near the abode of the hermit, in the morning I croſſed over to view the cataract of the ſouthern branch of the Cavery, which is alſo about three miles from the upper end of the iſland. The river there is very wide, and in its channel contains a number of rocks and ſmall iſlands, the largeſt of which is called Birra Chuki. The precipice at the ſouthern cataract may be about a hundred feet high, and forms part of the arch of a large circle, down which the river is thrown in ten or twelve ſtreams. In the center is a deep receſs, in form of a horſe-ſhoe, down which the principal ſtream falls; and, having been collected into a narrow channel, ruſhes forward with prodigious violence, and again falls down about thirty feet into a capacious baſin at the foot of the precipice. In the dry ſeaſon two channels only contain water. The month immediately following the ſummer ſolſtice is the moſt favourable for viewing theſe water-falls, as the river is then at its greateſt height. The one on the ſouthern branch contains many beauties; and as a ſtair has been made, ſo as to give eaſy acceſs to the ſide of the baſin, and to afford a fine view of the whole, I think it is by far the moſt agreeable object of contemplation. The acceſs to Gangana Chuki is very bad; and a deſcent to the river there is both fatiguing and dangerous. Its cataract is, no doubt, more ſublime than the other; but in viewing it the mind is impreſſed more with awe at its tremendous force, than with pleaſure at its magnificence.

From the falls of Birra Chuki I went about a mile to the eaſtern gate of the old city of Ganga Rája. On the walls here ſome red ſtains are ſhown with great gravity, as the blood of the inhabitants who were killed when the place was taken. From this gate a ſtraight wide ſtreet may be traced, for about a mile and a half, to another gate that leads to the ruinous bridge over the ſouthern branch of the river. On one

ſide of this bridge is a large temple, and on the other the ruins of the palace, where I was ſhown the baths in which the Rája ſported with his women.

On my return to Satteagala, an old Bráhman, the hiſtorian of the place, was brought to me. He had no written documents; but related the following account, on the authority of tradition. About 600 years ago Ganga Rája, of the Anagundi family, was ſent hither by his kinſman, the King of Vijaya-nagara, to govern the neighbouring country. On examining all the places in the vicinity, he found none ſo fit for erecting a city in which he might reſide, as the iſland of Sivana Samudra, where there then were two or three ſmall villages. The inhabitants of theſe informed the Prince, that they lived there by the permiſſion of the Muni; and unleſs that could be obtained, certain deſtruction would await the new built city. In order to obtain the favour of the Muni, the Rája made daily large offerings of fruit and rice, and prayed inceſſantly; till at length the demon appeared to him in a dream, and informed him, that he might lay the foundation of the new city whenever a ſignal was made by the blowing of a conch. The Rája, having prepared every thing, was waiting for the ſignal, when an unlucky Dáſéri paſſed by, blowing on his conch, as is uſual with that kind of mendicants. This having been miſtaken for the ſignal, the foundation of the city was immediately laid. Half an hour afterwards the Muni gave the true ſignal; at which the Rája, being alarmed, had again recourſe to offerings and prayers. Moved by theſe, the Muni appeared to the Rája, and informed him, that, as he had begun to build the city at an improper time, it could not be permitted to ſtand long. Out of his perſonal regard for the Prince, however, the Muni would cauſe the city to flouriſh for three generations. Ganga Rája accordingly reigned there in great magnificence, and died in peace.

Nandi Rája, the ſon of Ganga, met with many miraculous adventures, and at length was defiled by eating, unknowingly, with a certain ſervant of the Whallia caſt, who had the power of rendering himſelf inviſible, and who, while in this ſtate, partook of his maſter's food. On this occaſion, the Prince conſulted the Bráhmans, who adviſed him to put himſelf to death. He accordingly delivered the kingdom to his ſon, and, having perſuaded his wife to accompany him, they blindfolded a horſe, and, having mounted him, precipitated themſelves into the cataract at Gangana Chuki.

Ganga Rája the ſecond enlarged the city greatly, and lived with much ſplendour. He had two daughters, whom he gave in marriage to the two chief Polygars in the neighbourhood. The one was married to the Rája of Kilimaly, a place now in ruins, and about four coſſes from Satteagala. The other daughter was married to Buc' Ráia, Rája of Nagara-Caray, one coſs eaſt from Madura. Theſe marriages were very unhappy; for the pride of the ladies gave their huſbands continual diſguſt. They were continually upbraided for not living in equal ſplendour with their father-in-law; and at length, having conſulted together, they determined to humble their wives, by ſhowing that their power was ſuperior to that of Ganga Rája. Having aſſembled all their forces, they beſieged Sivana Samudra; but for a time had very little ſucceſs. The ſiege had continued twelve years, without their having been able to penetrate into the iſland, when the two Rájas found means to corrupt the dalawai or miniſter of Ganga Rája. This traitor removed the guards from the only ford, and thus permitted the enemy to ſurpriſe the place, while he endeavoured to engage his maſter's attention at the game of cheſs. The ſhouts of the ſoldiery at length reaching their ears, the Prince ſtarted up from the game. The Dalawai who wiſhed him to fall alive into the hands of his ſons-in-law, endeavoured to perſuade him that the noiſe aroſe merely from

children at play; but the Rája, having drawn his ſword, firſt killed all his women and children, and then, ruſhing into the midſt of his enemies, fought, until he procured an honourable death. The ſons-in-law, on ſeeing this, were ſtruck with horror, and immediately threw themſelves into the cataract at Gangana Chuki; and their example was followed by their wives, whoſe arrogance had been the cauſe of ſuch diſaſters. Jagadeva Ráya of Chenapattana, and Sri Ranga Rája of Talacadu, the two moſt powerful of the neighbouring Polygars, then came, and removed all the people and wealth of the place; and ever ſince the Muni has remained in quiet poſſeſſion of his iſland.

There can be no doubt, that the time of the foundation of the city in Sivana Samudra is later than its hiſtorian ſtated. Six hundred years from the preſent time would make Ganga Rája the firſt anterior to his anceſtor Harihara, the firſt King of Vijaya-nagara. I afterwards learned, that Jagadéva's grandſon was alive, and governed a large territory, in the year of Saliváhánam 1546. We may allow a hundred years for the reigns of the three Princes of Sivana Samudra and of the three Polygars of Chenapattana, which will make the foundation of the city to have happened in the year of Saliváhánam 1446, or 188 years after the foundation of Vijaya-nagara, and 277 years before the preſent time.

At the time of the fall of Ganja Rája the ſecond, it is ſaid that the Myſore Rájas were very petty Polygars, and poſſeſſed in all thirty-two villages. Other Polygars governed Taiuru, Womaluru, Moguru, Mangala, Ellanduru, Hardena-hully, &c. &c. all places in what our maps call Myſore Proper. The firſt riſe of the family is ſaid to have been their deſtroying the Rája of Sri-Ranga-Pattana, called by us Seringapatam. This Prince poſſeſſed the two diſtricts called Aſhta-gráms, and was of the blood of the Ráyalus, the ſovereigns of the country; for after the death of Ráma Rája, who was killed on the banks of the Kriſhna before the middle of the fifteenth century, ſeveral Princes of the royal family retired to different ſtrong holds, and for ſome time retained a certain power, until it was gradually overwhelmed by their rebellious ſubjects the Polygars, or by Muſſulman and Marattah invaders.

It is ſaid, that during the hot ſeaſon ſome diaphanous ſhining ſtones are found in the channel of the Cavery above Gangana Chuki. I could procure no ſpecimen; but from the deſcription of the natives I ſuppoſe that they are rock cryſtal.

6th October. — I went three computed coſſes, called Sultany, to Singanaluru. The diſtance could not be above nine or ten miles; ſo that the coſſes called here Sultany are not longer than the uſual computed coſſes or Hardaries of the country above the Ghats.

The people in this part of the country conſider the ox as a living god, who gives them their bread; and in every village there are one or two bulls, to whom weekly or monthly worſhip is performed; and when one of theſe bulls dies, he is buried with great ceremony. Theſe objects of worſhip are by no means Sannyáſis, but ſerve to propagate the ſpecies. When a woman of a ſacred caſt has not a child ſo ſoon as ſhe could wiſh, ſhe purchaſes a young bull, carries him to the temple, where ſome ceremonies are performed; and ever afterwards he is allowed to range about at pleaſure, and becomes one of theſe village gods. The Bráhmans, however, abſtain from the abſurd worſhip of theſe animals, although they are poſſeſſed of a Bráhman's ſoul. On the north ſide of the Cavery this ſuperſtition is not prevalent. The bull is there conſidered as merely reſpectable, on account of Iſwara's having choſen one of them for his ſteed, and as the animal is occupied by the ſoul of a Bráhman in a ſtate of purgation.

Major Macleod, the collector, has juſt now ſent up people with the ſeed of the Palmira tree, or Boraſſus flabelliformis, in order to inſtruct thoſe here in the manner of cultivating that palm. They are forming a plantation on good land, a quarter of a coſs in length and 200 yards wide. The people here were formerly ſupplied with palm-wine from the wild date; but by the order of the Sultan theſe were all cut; for the rigidity of this Prince's morals would not allow him to permit, in his territory, the growth of an intoxicating ſubſtance.

7th October. — Following the ſame valley in which Singanaluru is ſituated, I went two coſſes to Hanuru. The ſoil is rather poor, and in ſome places ſtony; but, owing to a want of cultivators, a great deal of good land is waſte. Hanuru is an open ſtraggling village, which contains between ſeventy and eighty houſes. For the accommodation of travellers, a choultry, or inn, has lately been erected.

Hanuru is eſtimated to be five coſſes from Bud-hully, the neareſt place on the Cavery. Below Sivana Samudra the immediate banks of the river are ſo ſteep and high, that there is no road near it, and very little cultivation: but villages are every where ſcattered in the vallies that lie among the hills, which are included in its great bend, as it deſcends the Ghats. A road paſſes from Hanuru to Canya-karna-hully, vulgo Cancan-hully, and croſſes the Cavery at a ford called Baſwana Kydda, which is about half a coſs below the place where the Ráma-giri river enters. In other places the Cavery tumbles over rocks and precipices, which, although not of great height, render the channel ſo uneven, that it is impaſſable.

The principal hill between the Cavery and the ſouthern extremity of the eaſtern Ghats is called Hedina Betta; and on this chiefly grow the timber trees that are to be procured. It produces chiefly Tayka, Biriday, Whonay, and Jala, which have all been before mentioned. The ſandal wood grows on a hill called Mahadevéſwara.

On the eaſt ſide of Hanuru is a ſmall river of clear water, which ſome years, even in the hot weather, does not become dry. It is called Tati-holay, and falls into the Cavery two coſſes below Baſwana Kydda. On the banks of this, two coſſes below Hanuru, is Rudra-pura, formerly a large place. It had rice and ſugar grounds, watered by a dam and canal, from the Tati-holay; but now the whole is in ruins. On this rivulet there are ſtill four dams in repair; but the grounds which they ſupplied with water are entirely unoccupied. The rivulet is too inconſiderable to be depended on for a regular ſupply of water from its dams; ſo that the crops were uncertain: but this might be remedied by forming reſervoirs to collect the water of its canals, and by ſowing no more ſeed than the quantity collected would be able to mature.

In this mountainous diſtrict there are two rainy ſeaſons. The firſt is in the month following the vernal equinox, and is called Mungaru. During this the wull' ellu, or ſeſamum, is ſown. The ſecond laſts the two months before, and the two immediately following, the autumnal equinox. Theſe rains bring to maturity the crops of ragy, ſhamay, jola, cambu, udu, heſſaru, huruli, and carlay. Since the country has been under the management of Major Macleod, the ſolar year of the Tamuls has been introduced.

8th October. — I went four computed coſſes to Caud-hully. The road is hilly, and on the whole deſcends conſiderably.

9th October. — I went three computed Sultany coſſes to Mat'-hully, or Marat-hully.

10th October. — I went three computed coſſes to Nidy Cavil, which in the Tamul language ſignifies the guard of the middle; this place being in the middle of the Ghats,

Ghats, and ſituated at the boundary of Karnáta from the Chéra Déſam, which includes what we call the province of Coimbetore, and the diſtrict of Saliem.

Soon after leaving Mat'-hully, I reached the Palar, which comes from the ſouth-weſt, and paſſes through a valley that is cultivated from its ſource downwards to Nelluru, which is four coſſes from where we joined the river. From Nelluru to the bottom of the Ghats this valley is very narrow, and could ſcarcely admit of any cultivation. There are, however, ſome level ſpots that might be cultivated, and this would add greatly to the comfort of paſſengers. I am perſuaded, that Palmira trees would thrive near the banks of the Palar the whole way; and their produce would find a ready ſale. The channel of the Palar, ſo far as I have ſeen it to-day, has a very moderate declivity, and at preſent contains a good deal of water; but in many places it is fordable. For ſeveral days together, after heavy rains, it is frequently impaſſable, to the great diſtreſs of travellers. In the dry ſeaſon there is no ſtream in its channel; but, by digging in the ſand, good water may always be procured. The dry weather, however, is here of uncommon ſhort duration; for the rains from the eaſtward commence as ſoon as thoſe from the weſt have abated. I have now been out the whole of the rainy ſeaſon above the Ghats, and to-day I met the violence of the monſoon coming from the eaſtern ſide of the peninſula.

The road paſſes by the ſide of the Palar, and frequently croſſes its channel. In the dry ſeaſon, indeed, this is generally uſed by travellers. A good road, and one of eaſy declivity, might without much trouble be conſtructed. At preſent, nothing can be worſe. The hills on both ſides are ſteep, and covered with trees; but few of them are of a ſize fit for timber.

The ſtrata of the Ghats run north and ſouth, and are vertical. They are ſo much interſected by fiſſures, as to be of little uſe for building. In one place I found large concretions of lime-ſtone, reſembling thoſe found at Maléſwara Betta, which have the appearance of the petrified neſts of white ants: but here the maſſes were infinitely too large to have derived their origin from ſuch a ſource. The ore of iron, in form of black ſand, is very plentiful; but in this neighbourhood none is ſmelted.

CHAP. IX. — *From the Kaveri-pura Ghat to Coimbetore.*

OCTOBER 11th, 1800. — Nidy Cavil, at which I have now arrived, is ſituated on the frontier between Karnáta and Chéra Déſams, two of the ancient diviſions in Hindu geography. It was formerly a ſmall fort, and was occupied by a few ſepoys; but the fort is now in ruins, and the guard has been withdrawn.

To-day I went three computed coſſes to Chica Cavil, at the bottom of the Ghats. The road is by no means ſteep; but the day's journey was laborious, as we were obliged to croſs the Palar four times, and it was exceedingly ſwollen by the heavy rains. The road, I believe, might readily be conducted, the whole way, on one ſide of the river; but, as the ſtream for a great part of the year is inconſiderable, travellers have been in the habit of croſſing it on the ſlighteſt difficulty; and thus the path has been formed in a manner very inconvenient for thoſe who are compelled to paſs it after heavy rain.

The hills on both ſides of the river are ſteep, but afford abundance of paſture for cattle, and in a few places leave level ſpots, that might be made comfortable abodes for the managers of flocks, or for the cultivators of Palmira trees. From the hills on either ſide, ſeveral ſmall clear ſtreams run into the Palar. Chica Cavil, or the ſmall guard,

guard, is a houſe built for the accommodation of paſſengers, on a riſing ground above the Palar, where it enters the valley watered by the Cavery, as that river comes ſouth from Alumbady. From the riſing ground, thoſe who delight in rude ſcenes of nature may enjoy a moſt beautiful proſpect. The valley watered by the Cavery is here very rough, and contains few people and little cultivation.

In the Ghats above this place the moſt common ſtrata are gneiſs, and a quartz ſtrongly impregnated with iron. Both are vertical, and run north and ſouth. They are much interſected by veins and fiſſures; ſo that no large blocks could be procured. The moſt remarkable mineral phenomenon here is the lime-ſtone, or tufa-calcaria. In its nature it entirely reſembles the congear of Hinduſtan Proper. Some of it is whitiſh, and ſome of an earthy brown. It is found in very large maſſes, many feet in length, and often ſix or eight in thickneſs. It appears to me to have been once in a ſtate of fluidity, reſembling thin mortar, and to have flowed irregularly over many large ſpaces of theſe Ghats; after which it has hardened into its preſent form. Where it flowed through earthy or vegetable matters, it filled up the interſtices between their parts; and afterwards having been freed from them by their gradual decay, and the action of the rains, maſſes of it are now expoſed to the air perforated in all directions, like that which I found at Malaiſwara Betta. In other places, this liquid has flowed among the decaying maſſes of rock and gravel. It has filled up all the veins and rents of the former, and united them again into a ſolid maſs. With the gravel, it has formed a ſubſtance entirely reſembling the mortar made of quick lime and that matter, but of a very great hardneſs. This rock is therefore evidently of a much later formation than the ſtrata of the mountains; having been formed after they began to decay, and even after the formation of mould and vegetables.

12th October. — I went five computed Malabar hours' journey, which, I ſuppoſe Major Rennell would call five coſſes of the Carnatic, and came to Káverí-pura.

The mountains, viewed from the banks of the Cavery here, do not appear to be higher above the level of the country than they did from Satteagala above the Ghats. This is probably owing to their eaſtern ridges being lower than thoſe to the weſtward, but yet ſufficiently high to conceal the others from the view. The Cavery here is at preſent a wide and ſtrong, but ſmooth ſtream, which is no where fordable; but in the dry ſeaſon it has fords every where.

13th October. — I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Navaputty; that is, the nine villages, having formerly been the principal of nine adjacent hamlets. It is a ſorry place, containing about twenty houſes. The huts of the country, called Chéra, are like bee-hives; and conſiſt of a circular mud-wall, about three feet high, which is covered with a long conical roof of thatch. Contrary to what might have been expected in a hot climate, but agreeable to the cuſtom of almoſt all Hindus, one ſmall door is the only out-let for ſmoke, and the only inlet for air and light. Each family has a hut for ſleeping, another for cooking, and a third for a ſtorehouſe. Wealthy men add more huts to their premiſes, but ſeldom attempt at any innovation in the architecture of the country.

14th October. — Having been deceived about the diſtance, concerning which it is very difficult to get accurate information, I went a very ſhort way to Nerinja-petta, which was ſaid to be five Malabar hours' journey. I paſſed through a narrow plain, bounded on my left by the Cavery, and on my right by high hills. The ſoil of this plain, in ſome places, is covered with rock, and ſand, intermixed with calcarious tufa; but much of it is good, although, from a want of inhabitants, very little is cultivated. There is no rice land.

Nerinja-

Nerinja-petta is a poor open town, ſaid to contain about two hundred families. The inhabitants of three hundred houſes are ſaid to have retired from it to the country, under Colonel Read's management, in conſequence of the contributions levied by Jemál Khán, to enable the Sultan to pay the ſum which was exacted from him by Lord Cornwallis. Previous to that emigration, the place contained many traders and cotton weavers. Theſe were of three kinds; Muca Chambadavar, Shaliar, and Coicular. The firſt have entirely deſerted the place; and of the two laſt only eight houſes remain. The Shaliar are a tribe of Telinga origin, and are the ſame with thoſe who above the Ghats are called Padma Shalay.

The Cavery here begins to riſe about the 26th of May. It is at the higheſt from the 13th of July until the 13th of Auguſt, before the rainy ſeaſon commences. As this advances, it decreaſes in ſize, but does not become fordable until after the 11th of January. At Nerinja-petta a dam was built acroſs the Cavery by Cada Ráya, one of the family of Chica Déva Rája of Myſore. It formerly ſent a canal to each ſide of the river; that on the left ran five Malabar hours' journey; that on the right ran three hours' journey, watering the fields all the way between it and the river; both have been entirely ruinous from the breaking down of the dam, which happened at a period beyond the memory of the oldeſt inhabitant.

On Palla hill, which extends from Shamli to Nerinja-petta, are ſixteen villages of Malayála, or hill people, who on the ſummit of their mountain cultivate all the dry grains of Myſore, and have the only mango (mangifera) and jack (artocarpus integrifolia) trees that are to be found in this neighbourhood. Theſe villages are ſaid each to contain from five to ſixteen houſes; but are ſo difficult of acceſs, that I could not viſit them without a day's halt. Several ſimilar hills are ſcattered through Major Macleod's diſtrict on both ſides of the Cavery. The inhabitants of the plains cannot live on theſe mountains; nor can the highlanders live on the plains, without the greateſt danger to their health. They are a diſtinct caſt from the people of the plains; but quite different from the people of Malayálam, or what we call the province of Malabar, although both people are known by the ſame name, from their both inhabiting hilly countries.

In the hills here are many black bears. Theſe are harmleſs animals, living chiefly on white ants, wild fruit, and that of the Palmira tree. The only injury that they do is to the crops of ſholum (holcus ſorghum). If a man diſturb or ſurpriſe a bear, he is liable to be killed by the animal, but not to be eaten. It is unſafe, therefore, to approach theſe animals, eſpecially advancing ſtraight before them; for, the bear's eyes being turned backwards, he does not ſee the perſon advancing towards him until he is alarmed by the man's near approach, and then attacks the ſudden intruder. The bear is very ſtrong, and is not afraid of the tiger. It lives in caves, and holes under large ſtones. Such is the account of the natives; for in the ſouth of India I have not ſeen the animal, although there can be no doubt that it is the Bradypus urſinus of naturaliſts, which is a real bear.

15th October. — I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Bhwánikudal, called in our maps, Boviny Coral.

The ſtrata run north and ſouth, and are much intermixed with calcarious matter, that has diffuſed itſelf among them while it was in a fluid ſtate. It is chiefly found near rivulets and torrents. On the banks of the Sitaru I obſerved it under an extenſive ſtratum of white quartz; but I do not think it can be from thence inferred, that the quartz is of ſo recent a formation as the calcarious tufa. It may have been undermined by the rivulet, and the calcarious matter afterwards depoſited under it, ſo as to fill up the empty ſpace.

The

The following is the account given by the moſt intelligent perſons of the weather in the different ſeaſons, or Ritus.

I. Chitri and Vyaſhi form Vaſanta Ritu. The winds are moderate, and from the ſouthward, except about twice in the ſeaſon; when, for from ten to fifteen days, violent ſqualls come from the weſtward, accompanied with thunder and lightning, with pretty heavy ſhowers, and ſometimes with hail. Before the ſqualls the ſky is red; at other times it is clear, with warm ſunſhine, and neither fogs nor dews. At this ſeaſon the trees flower.

II. Gríſhma Ritu contains Ani and Adi. Once in eight or ten days heavy ſhowers come from the weſtward, accompanied by much wind and thunder, but no hail. There are fogs on the hills, but not in the open country. In the intervals between the rains the heat is moderate, with cloudy weather, and ſtrong weſterly winds.

III. Varſhá Ritu contains Avony and Perataſhi. At this ſeaſon heavy and inceſſant rains, for five or ſix days, come from the weſtward, with ſimilar intervals of fair weather, and are attended with lightning, but no thunder, and very moderate winds.

IV. Sarat Ritu contains Alpiſhi and Carticay. In the former, heavy rains come, once in ſix or eight days, from the north eaſt. Each fall in general continues a whole day. There is very little wind, and the heats are by the natives reckoned moderate; that is, to an European they are not abſolutely frying. In Carticay, there are uſually only two or three days rain, which alſo comes from the eaſtward. The winds are moderate, and eaſterly. The air is cool. Toward the end of the month there are heavy dews.

V. Hémanta Ritu contains Margully and Tey. About the middle of Margully there are ſhowers for three or four hours in the day, with moderate winds from the ſouth, and ſome thunder. At other times there are heavy dews, with a very cold air, and ſouth-eaſterly winds of very moderate ſtrength. The ſky is ſometimes clear, and at others cloudy.

VI. Sayſhu Ritu contains Maſhi and Panguny. Towards the end of Panguny there are ſometimes ſqualls from the weſtward, with thunder and rain; but the greater part of the ſeaſon is clear and hot, with light breezes from the ſouth, and moderate dews.

In the ſouthern parts of the Coimbetore province, oppoſite to the breach in the mountains at Ani-malaya, the winds in the beginning of the ſouth-weſt monſoon are exceſſively violent.

All the people here allege, that the rains are more regular and in greater quantity above the Ghats, than they are here. This however appears to me doubtful: although here, as well as above the Ghats, the weſterly winds bring the ſtrongeſt rains; yet here they enjoy a conſiderable portion of the rain from the other monſoon, which muſt prevent the country from ever being burnt up by a long drought.

Fevers and fluxes are epidemic from about the middle of October until the tenth of January; and generally at the ſame time the epidemic diſtemper prevails among the cattle.

18th October.—I went ſeven Indian hours' journey along the northern bank of the Bhawání, to Apogodal. The country through which I paſſed is level, and well peopled; and the quantity of waſte land is not conſiderable: it indeed ſeems too ſmall to be able to afford paſture for the cattle. I ſaw eight or ten acres only of rice-ground, and one half of that was waſte. The only fences were a few hedges made of dry buſhes. The cultivation is extremely ſlovenly, more ſo even than in any place

above the Ghats. It is ſaid, that at any diſtance from the river one half of the fields is waſte. Near the hills is Andeuru, the chief place of a large diſtrict comprehending Káveri-pura and Bhawáni-kudal. In its vicinity are ſaid to be ſeven reſervoirs in repair, which ſupply with water a conſiderable quantity of rice-ground.

Apogodal contains a temple of Iſwara, and about one hundred houſes, but has not a ſingle ſhop.

19th October.—I went a very long ſtage, called nine hours' journey, to Nalaráyana-pallyam, a ſmall village on the bank of the river, which at all ſeaſons contains running water, and has here many pools, which are always deep, and harbour crocodiles.

20th October.—I went ſix Malabar hours' journey to Anacodavery, the place where the canals are taken from the river Bhawáni to water the rice-grounds which I deſcribed yeſterday.

21ſt October.—I went three Malabar hours' journey to Sati-mangalam, which in the Sanſkrit language ſignifies truly good. The fort is large, and conſtructed of uncut ſtone, and has a garriſon, but contains very few houſes. It is ſaid to have been built about two hundred years ago, by Trimula Náyaka, a relation of the Rája of Madura, who governed this part of the country for his kinſman. The merchants, who in general are the beſt-informed Hindus on hiſtorical ſubjects, ſay, that fifty years afterwards it became ſubject to Cantirava Nurſa, Rája of Myſore. From this long dependence on Princes of Karnáta, the language of that country is now the moſt prevalent, although that of the Tamuls is the original dialect of the place, which is a part of Chéra Déſam. It is ſaid to have formerly depended on Pandia, which formed the continental poſſeſſions of Rávana, King of Lanca, or Ceylon.

The petta, or town of Sati-mangalam, is ſcattered about the plain at ſome diſtance from the fort, and in Hyder's reign contained ſeven hundred and eighty-four houſes. Theſe are now reduced to five hundred and thirty-ſix. Here is a conſiderable temple dedicated to Viſhnu. The rath or chariot belonging to it is very large, and richly carved. The figures on it, repreſenting the amours of that god in the form of Kriſhna, are the moſt indecent that I have ever ſeen.

The country is at preſent very unhealthy; and ever ſince we came through the Káveri-pura paſs, ſome of my people have been daily ſeized with fevers. The days are intenſely hot, with occaſionally very heavy rains. The nights are tolerably cool; to the natives they appear cold.

23d October.—I went ſeven Malabar hours' journey to Moducun-Dery, or the ferry of Moducun.

I went from Dodara-pallyam, and about a mile from the river ſaw a quarry of pot-ſtone. It is found in very large beds or maſſes among the uſual vertical ſtrata of the country, all of which near the Bhawáni run eaſt and weſt. The Balapum, or pot-ſtone, is of a better quality than that above the Ghats; and the veſſels made of it are much uſed by the natives for cooking, as it reſiſts the fire, and, although very ſoft, is by no means eaſily broken. Four men find a conſtant employment in making theſe veſſels, which are ſent as far as Seringapatam. They are very clumſy, and not poliſhed.

The country through which I paſſed to-day is more rocky than that eaſt from Sati-mangalam, but is better peopled. About one half only is waſte. The only cultivation is that of dry grains. The country would look pretty if it were better wooded; but all the banks of the Bhawáni are rather bare. The land here lets from five to forty fanams the eſtimated bulla. That which gives a higher rent is in very ſmall quantity,

quantity, and the common rent is from ten to fifteen fanams. By far the greater number of the people here are of Karnáta extraction. The ſickneſs among my people continues to increaſe.

24th October. — I went five Malabar hours' journey to Dan' Nayakana Cotay, a fort ſituated on the north ſide of the Bhawáni, a little above the junction of the Máyár. It is ſaid to contain only about fifty houſes, but it is large. In the ſuburb there are ſaid to be 107 houſes. Both ſtatements ſeem to me to under-rate the population.

25th October. — I remained at Dan' Nayakana Cotay, and took a very long and fatiguing walk to the top of the weſtern hills, in order to ſee a cambay, or village, inhabited by Eriligaru. The love of the marvellous, ſo prevalent in India, has made it commonly reported, than theſe poor people go abſolutely naked, ſleep under trees without any covering, and poſſeſs the power of charming tigers, ſo as to prevent thoſe ferocious animals from doing them any injury. My interpreter, a very ſhrewd man, gravely related that the Eriligaru women, when they go into the woods to collect roots, entruſt their children to the care of a tiger.

On the hills the Eriligaru have ſmall villages. That which I viſited contained ſeven or eight huts, with ſome pens for their goats; the whole built round a ſquare, in which they burn a fire all night to keep away the tigers. The huts were very ſmall, but tolerably neat, and conſtructed of bamboos interwoven like baſket-work, and plaſtered on the inſide with clay. Theſe people have abundance of poultry, a few goats, and in ſome villages a few cows, which are only uſed for giving milk, as the Eriligaru never uſe the plough. They poſſeſs the art of taking wild-fowl in nets, which adds to their ſtock of animal food; and ſometimes they kill the tigers in ſpring traps, loaded with ſtones, and baited with a kid. Near their villages they have large gardens of plantain and lime trees, and they cultivate the neighbouring ground after the Cotucadu faſhion, changing the fields every year. One of the articles raiſed by this means is a new ſpecies of amaranthus, the ſeed of which they grind to flour, and uſe as a farinaceous ſubſtance. I have ſent it to Dr. Roxburgh, under the name of amaranthus fariniferus. Beſides cultivating their gardens and fields, the Eriligaru gather wild yams (dioſcoræ), and cut timber and bamboos for the people of the low country. Both men and women take an equal ſhare of the labour in cultivating their fields. They have the advantage of a tolerably good ſoil, and a part of two rainy monſoons; yet, although they have fixed abodes, and of courſe gardens, they are greatly inferior to the ſubjects of the Pomang-gri, and other rude tribes, who inhabit the hilly parts of Chittagong. Their huts are much poorer, and their perſons are miſerable. Both men and women are clothed with dirty cotton ſtuffs, but in much ſmaller pieces than thoſe uſed by the other inhabitants. They ſpeak a bad or old dialect of the Karnáta language, and muſt be therefore of a different race from the Eriligaru that I ſaw at Rámi-giri, who ſpoke a dialect of the Tamul.

Although the atmoſphere was rather hazy, I had from the hills a noble view of the whole courſe of the Bhawáni, and of the country called Chéra as far as Sancli-durga, and other remote hills. Near the village I was refreſhed by the cool water of a fine perennial ſpring, which in India is a great rarity.

26th October. — I went ſeven and a half Malabar hours' journey to Sirumugá, on the eaſt ſide of the Bhawáni, which is here a fine clear ſtream coming from the ſouth. Cultivation occupies a very ſmall proportion of what has formerly been ploughed, and is confined chiefly to the banks of the river, where the ſoil is beſt. The higher grounds conſiſt of a poor ſoil full of ſtones; and many of the fields, to judge from

the size of the trees that have sprung up in them, seem to have been long deserted. Sirumugá is a poor village, with about twenty houses; but has some shops, which are not very common in this province. In the Sultan's reign it was the residence of an amildar dependent on the asoph of Coimbetore, and contains the ruins of many huts. The people complain much of the scarcity of rain; and the dryness of the fields, and want of pasture, show their complaints to be well founded. Fifteen of my people are now ill with fevers.

27th October. — I went a long stage called seven and a half Malabar hours' journey, and halted at Gulur, a village without a shop. By the way I passed Bellady, a mud fort, which has a suburb at some distance. Two small streams cross the road towards the east; but it is said, that having united they turn round, and at Sirumugá join the Bhawání by a channel, which I did not observe. A small tank has been formed near these streams, and receives a supply of water from them, so as to enable the people to cultivate a little rice. The soil of the country through which I passed to-day is very poor, and there is scarcely any of it cultivated.

There has been rain twice only this season, and none for the last fifteen days, so that the country is quite parched; and it is said, that had there been more rain, the cultivation would have been more extensive. The rains seem here to be very partial. They have been plentiful all the way up the Bhawání, except at Sirumugá; and at Nellaturu, near its source, they are said to have been abundant. Most of the people here speak the Tamul language, a few use the Telinga, but that of Karnáta does not extend so far from the Ghats.

28th October. — I went eight Malabar hours' journey to Coimbetore. The country is much freer of rocks and stones than that through which I have passed for some days, and the soil is in general good. The waste fields do not appear to amount to more than a half of all that is arable. There are few hedges, and the country is remarkably bare of trees. An avenue of a species of Ficus has been planted all the way from Dan' Náyakana to Coimbetore, but it is not thriving; and, except these trees, the country is as bare as that in the vicinity of Seringapatam.

The hereditary chief of Coimbetore, as we call it, is of the Vaylalar tribe. Formerly his ancestors dwelt in a village at the foot of the hills, the site of the town being then a forest, in which there were four or five huts of a rude tribe, called Malashir, and a temple of their goddess Conima, which still remains. The head man of these people was called Coia, and the name of the village Coiampuddi. The ancestor of the present chief, having obtained the consent of the Malashir, came to their village, and built a fort. Soon after all these people died, and the goddess appeared in a dream to the Vaylalar chief, and commanded him to enlarge her temple, and appoint a priest (pujári), promising him a great increase of power, and desiring him to assume the name of Cotegara Calippa, and to change that of the place to Coiamaturu. The present chief, who gives me this information, says, that he is the twentieth in descent from the first founder of the town. The family originally paid tribute to the Rájás of Madura. The country was conquered by the Mysore family about one hundred and fifty years ago, and the fort was then enlarged. For some time before and after the accession of Hyder, it was governed by a person named Madana, who enjoyed his office forty years, and was a Lingabunt (one who wears the linga). He built a house here, which by the natives is called a palace, and is considered as an immense work. It certainly is abundantly large; but it is a clumsy inconvenient pile of mud; and at present serves as a barrack for the officer commanding a regiment of cavalry, who is very indifferently lodged. In the government of Madana the place was very flourishing. It suf-

fered much by the ſubſequent wars; and about eight years ago the fort was deſtroyed by the late Sultan. Since it fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and eſpecially ſince it became the quarters of a regiment of cavalry, the town has recovered conſiderably; and it now contains two thouſand houſes, which is about five-eighths of what it contained under Hyder's government. It has a tolerable moſque, built by Tippoo, who ſometimes reſided in the palace; but it has no large temple. Here I was moſt kindly received by the officers of the regiment, as indeed I was almoſt every where during my journey; for Engliſh hoſpitality is in no part of the world more eminently diſtinguiſhed, than among the officers ſerving under the government of Madras.

29th and 30th October.—I remained at Coimbetore, taking an account of the vicinity; and on the morning of the 30th I viſited a celebrated temple at Peruru, which is two miles from Coimbetore. It is dedicated to Iſwara, and called Mail (high) Chitumbra, in order to diſtinguiſh it from another Chitumbra, that is near Pondicherry. The idol is ſaid to have placed itſelf here many ages ago; but it is only three thouſand years ſince the temple was erected over it by a Rája of Madura. It has four raths, or chariots, and a very fine tank entirely lined with cut ſtone. The building is highly ornamented after the Hindu faſhion; but the whole, as uſual, is utterly deſtitute of elegance, and the figures are not only extremely rude, but ſome of them are indecent. The ſtone of which it is built is very fine. Some of the pillars intended for it are lying near, and are ſaid never to have been erected; the work having been left incomplete, owing to the death of the Rája by whom it was undertaken. The freſhneſs of the ſtones by no means correſponds with the era given by the Bráhmans for the work. The Bráhmans in the time of Hyder had very large endowments in lands; but theſe were entirely reaſſumed by Tippoo, who alſo plundered the temple of its gold and jewels. He was obliged, however, to reſpect it more than many others in his dominions; as, when he iſſued a general order for the deſtruction of all idolatrous buildings, he excepted only this, and the temples of Seringapatam and Mailcotay. This order was never enforced, and few of the temples were injured, except thoſe which were demoliſhed by the Sultan in perſon, who delighted in this work of zeal. This temple is in the diſtrict of Mr. Hurdis, who gives for its ſupport an allowance ſufficient for keeping up a decent worſhip, but very inadequate to quiet the clamours of the Bráhmans. Even in the reign of the Sultan an allowance was clandeſtinely given; ſo that the púja, or worſhip, never was entirely ſtopped, as happened in many leſs celebrated places.

The dancing women, and their muſicians, thus now form a ſeparate kind of caſt; and a certain number of them are attached to every temple of any conſequence. The allowances which the muſicians receive for their public duty is very ſmall; yet morning and evening they are bound to attend at the temple to perform before the image. They muſt alſo receive every perſon travelling on account of the government, meet him at ſome diſtance from the town, and conduct him to his quarters with muſic and dancing. All the handſome girls are inſtructed to dance and ſing, and are all proſtitutes, at leaſt to the Bráhmans. In ordinary ſets they are quite common; but, under the Company's government, thoſe attached to temples of extraordinary ſanctity are reſerved entirely for the uſe of the native officers, who are all Bráhmans, and who would turn out from the ſet any girl that profaned herſelf by communication with perſons of low caſt, or of no caſt at all, ſuch as Chriſtians or Muſſulmans. Indeed, almoſt every one of theſe girls that is tolerably ſightly is taken by ſome officer of revenue for his own ſpecial uſe, and is ſeldom permitted to go to the temple, except in his preſence. Moſt of theſe officers have more than one wife, and the women of the Bráhmans are very beautiful; but

but the inſipidity of their conduct, from a total want of education or accompliſhment, makes the dancing women be ſought after by all natives with great avidity. The Muſſulman officers in particular were exceedingly attached to this kind of company, and laviſhed away on theſe women a great part of their incomes. The women very much regret their loſs, as the Muſſulmans paid liberally, and the Bráhmans durſt not preſume to hinder any girl, who choſe, from amuſing an aſoph, or any of his friends. The Bráhmans are not near ſo laviſh of their money, eſpecially where it is ſecured by the Company's government, but truſt to their authority for obtaining the favours of the dancers. When a Muſſulman called for a ſet, it procured from twenty to two hundred fanams (from 12s. 6d. to 6l. 4s. 9d.), according to the number and liberality of his friends who were preſent; for in this country it is cuſtomary for every ſpectator to give ſomething. They are now ſeldom called upon to perform in private, except at marriages, where a ſet does not get more than ten fanams, or about 6s. 3d. The girls belonging to this caſt, who are ugly, or who cannot learn to ſing, are married by the muſicians. The Nutua, or perſon who performs on two ſmall cymbals, is the chief of the ſet, and not only brings up the boys to be muſicians, and inſtructs all the good-looking girls, born in the ſet, to ſing and dance, but will purchaſe handſome girls of any caſt whatever that he can procure. When a dancing girl becomes old ſhe is turned out from the temple without any proviſion, and is very deſtitute, unleſs ſhe has a handſome daughter to ſucceed her; but if ſhe has, the daughters are in general extremely attentive and kind to their aged parents. To my taſte, nothing can be more ſilly and unanimated than the dancing of the women, nor more harſh and barbarous than their muſic. Some Europeans however, from long habit, I ſuppoſe, have taken a liking to it, and have even been captivated by the women. Moſt of them that I have had an opportunity of ſeeing have been very ordinary in their looks, very inelegant in their dreſs, and very dirty in their perſons: a large proportion of them have the itch, and a ſtill larger proportion are more ſeverely diſeaſed.

CHAP. X. — *From Coimbetore to the Frontier of Malabar.*

ON the 1ſt of November I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Kanya-uru, which is a ſmall village without any ſhops, and is ſituated at ſome diſtance north from the Noyel river. The country near Coimbetore is fully cultivated, but very bare of trees. A few very fine hedges ſhow how well they would thrive, if all the fields were incloſed. Towards Kanya-uru large proportions of the fields are unoccupied, but the country is better wooded. Much of the ſoil is poor, and all at any diſtance from the Noyel is dry-field.

2d November. — I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Avanaſi, the reſidence of a Tahſildar.

3d November. — I went five Malabar hours' journey to Tripura, fording the Noyel at that town.

4th November. — I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Tallawai Pallyam, as being the moſt likely place to find the iron forges; but in this I was diſappointed, no iron having been ever made there. Some parts of the country through which I paſſed were well cultivated, while others were quite waſte.

At almoſt every village in the Perinduru diſtrict, iron is alſo ſmelted from black ſand.

Throughout the country watered by the Noyelar, the ſtrata are vertical, and compoſed in general of aggregate ſtones in a ſlaty form. The ſtrata run nearly eaſt and

weſt; and in many places, eſpecially near rivers or torrents, have been over-flowed by the tufa calcaria, already frequently mentioned. The ſporadic concretions uſually found above the Ghats, and the great diffuſed maſſes found in Coimbetore, ſeem to conſiſt exactly of the ſame materials. The whole calcarious matter, however, in Coimbetore is by no means in large beds; many ſporadic concretions are every where to be found.

6th November. — I went five Malabar hours' journey to Perinduru. The ſoil of the country through which I paſſed is in general poor, and not much of it cultivated.

7th November. — I went eight Malabar hours' journey to Erodu, or, as it is called in our maps, Eroad. The country through which I paſſed is in a ſtate ſimilar to that between China Mali and Perinduru, and contains no rice lands.

9th November. — I went a very long ſtage, called ten Malabar hours' journey, to Paſhar. The canal from the Bhawáni continued near my route on the left, and goes on three Malabar hours' journey farther, to a place called Colanelly. The high ground on my right was in general very poor. Of what is tolerably good a large proportion is cultivated. Paſhar is an open village, containing 130 houſes, of which 40 are inhabited by Bráhmans. There is, however, only one ſmall temple that has a Bráhman púját, or prieſt. The others have betaken themſelves to honeſt induſtry, and rent the lands which they formerly held in Enam; that is to ſay, almoſt the whole rice-ground belonging to the place. They are ſaid actually to have put their hands to the plough. Great complaints are made here of a want of rain.

I obſerved near Paſhar very large rocks of white quartz, in which it is evidently diſpoſed in plates, like ſchiſtus, from one quarter of an inch to one inch in thickneſs, ſtanding vertically, and running eaſt and weſt in the direction of the common ſtrata of the country.

10th November. — I went eight Malabar hours' journey to Codomudi, a town on the bank of the Cavery.

11th November. — I went ſeven and a half Malabar hours' journey to Pogolur, in the diſtrict under the management of Mr. Hurdis.

13th November. — I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Caruru, or Caroor. A conſiderable proportion of the country is not cultivated, and there are very few fences. The ſoil is in general poor, with many projecting rocks, eſpecially of pure white quartz, among which are found irregular maſſes perfectly pellucid. There is a quarry near Caroor, of a ſtone called carum-gull, or the black ſtone. It differs from the horn-blende of Myſore, being mixed with felſpar; but is uſed for the ſame purpoſes, and is called by the ſame name.

Caruru is a conſiderable town, ſituated on the northern bank of the Amara-wati river, and having at a little diſtance from it a neat fort, containing a large temple, and a garriſon of ſepoys. The town contains 1000 houſes. Its merchants ſeem, however, to be chiefly petty dealers, nor are the weavers in the place numerous.

14th November. — I went ſeven and a half Malabar hours' journey to Cutamboor, a ſmall village without a ſhop. The river Amara-wati is at leaſt 400 yards wide; but its ſtream is very gentle, and almoſt always fordable. To-day it was about two feet deep. The channel is entirely of ſand, and the banks are very low; ſo that, for watering the rice-grounds, canals (corums) are eaſily taken from it.

Near the river the rice-grounds are extenſive, and fully cultivated. Farther on, the ſoil becomes poor, and has many large projecting rocks; but they do not riſe high above the ſurface. There are few incloſures, and much of the dry-field is waſte. The country ſouth from the river Noyelar is remarkably bare of trees.

15th Novem-

15th November.—I went ſeven and a half Malabar hours' journey to Aravacourchy.

16th November.—I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Mulinuru. The country is better encloſed, and leſs rocky, than that through which I came yeſterday; but it is equally uncultivated.

17th November.—I went a long ſtage to Daraporam. Near this are two fine canals, that water much rice-land in a good ſtate of cultivation. The ſoil of the dry-field is poor, and but little of it is cultivated.

21ſt November.—I went about eleven miles to Puna-puram. By the way I ſaw very little cultivation, but the whole country has formerly been ploughed. From a want of trees and hedges it is very bare, and the ſoil is rather poor. Immenſe fields of limeſtone are every where to be ſeen; and the ſtrata of it at Puna-puram are much thicker than I have obſerved any where elſe. Many wells having been dug through theſe ſtrata, to the depth of twelve and fifteen feet, give the traveller a good view of them. The calcarious matter ſeems to have been gradually depoſited in horizontal ſtrata, or layers. It involves ſmall angular maſſes of quartz, and other ſtones, which, I ſuppoſe, muſt have ariſen from its having flowed over the ſurface of the original ſtrata while it was in a ſoft ſtate, and collected fragments of theſe as it rolled along. On the ſurface of the layers, or in cavities, ſome of it aſſumes a botryoidal form, while other parts of theſe cavities have a ſmooth undulating or conchoidal ſurface. The orignal ſtrata are all aggregate rocks. Puna-puram is a ſmall fort, of which the hereditary chief is a young boy. He was brought to me by his grandmother, and male relations, who are the chief farmers in the place. This ſeaſon they have had ſcarcely any rain, to which ſome of the waſte appearance of the country muſt be attributed; but they ſay, that they have ſuffered much from the neighbouring Polygars, eſpecially during a commotion that took place about three years ago.

22d November.—I went ſeven and a half Malabar hours' journey to Mangalam, an open village belonging to a Polygar. The country is not ſo ſtony as that through which I paſſed yeſterday; but it is equally uncultivated. Mangalam is now reduced to forty houſes. It formerly contained one hundred. This diminution is attributed to the oppreſſion of Tippoo, and to want of rain; for many of the cultivators have removed to places bleſſed with a more favourable climate. The Polygar is one of the moſt ſtupid looking men that I have ever ſeen, and goes about with very little attendance, or ſtate.

Wherever wells have been dug into the lime-ſtone, water has been found at no great diſtance from the ſurface; yet here there is little or no garden cultivation. Much of the well water has a ſaline taſte; and in almoſt every part of the neighbourhood culinary ſalt may be procured in the dry ſeaſon by ſcraping the ſurface of the earth, and by lixiviation.

23d November.—I went ſeven Malabar hours' journey to Pujar-petta, an open village with a few ſhops. Like almoſt all thoſe in this neighbourhood, it is ſurrounded and interſected by many hedges, which ſerve as a defence againſt the thieves and robbers who come to drive away the cattle; and theſe miſcreants, owing to the vicinity of the Polygars, have always been numerous. The village belongs immediately to the government, but is ſurrounded by the lands of Polygars.

This day's road led through a country which is in nearly a ſimilar ſtate with all that I have ever ſeen weſt from Darapuram; but the ſoil in ſome places is much better, and really very good. The hills of Coimbetore, and thoſe that bound the Ani-malaya paſs on the ſouth, are both viſible from Pujar-petta.

24th Novem-

24th November. — I went six Malabar hours' journey to Palachy. As I approached it, the country became gradually more cultivated, and better inclosed; and its environs look well, being adorned with groves of cocoa-nut palms; but there are no other trees near it: the town contains 300 poor houses and a small temple, and derives its name from the second wife of a Vaylalar, who came to the place when the country was entirely covered with woods, and began to clear it by the Cotu-Cadu cultivation. The town is rising fast into importance, having been made the residence of a Tahsildar, and being placed in the line of the new road that has been opened to Pali-ghat. Near it is a small fort.

In this vicinity was lately dug up a pot, containing a great many Roman silver coins, of which Mr. Hurdis was so kind as to give me six. They were of two kinds, but all of the same value, each weighing 56 grains. One of the kinds is of Augustus. The legend round the head is CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE; that is, *Cæsar Augustus Divi Filius Pater Patriæ*. Above the reverse, representing two persons standing with two bucklers and spears placed between them, the legend is AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT; that is, *Augusti Filio Consule designato, principe juventutis*. Under the figures is written CAESARIA, or *Cæsaria*, at some city of which name it has been struck. The other coin is of the same weight, and belongs to Tiberius. The legend round the head is TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS; *Tiberius Cæsar Divi Augusti Filius Augustus*. On the reverse, representing a person seated and holding a spear in one hand and a branch in the other, is the following legend: PONTIF MAXIM, or *Pontifex Maximus*.

27th November. — I went seven Malabar hours' journey to Animalaya. Until I came to the river Alima, the road passed through a country well cultivated and inclosed. I forded the Alima at a town called Umbrayen-pallyam, which has formerly been a large place, but is now mostly in ruins, having been destroyed by the Nairs in their wars with Tippoo. I then proceeded up the side of the Alima, having a fine canal with rice-fields to my left, and woods on my right. These occupy the grounds of a village, in which there was formerly much cultivation of dry grains. This also was destroyed by the Nairs, who are considered by the people here as fierce and cruel barbarians.

Ani-malaya, or Elephant-hill, is so called from the great number of elephants and hills in its neighbourhood. It is a town which contains about 400 houses, and is situated on the west side of the Alima. It is the common thoroughfare between Malabar and the southern part of the Arcot dominions, being placed opposite to the wide passage that is between the southern end of the Ghats of Karnáta, and the hills that run north from Cape Comorin. The Madura Rájás, the former lords of the country, built a fort close to the river; which having fallen to ruins, the materials were removed by the Mysore Rájás, and a new fort was built at some distance to the westward. Twelve years ago Tippoo gave it some repairs, and, to procure materials for the purpose, pulled down five large temples. It is still a very poor work, and is in the district of Palachy.

The greater part of the dry-field in the neighbourhood is now overgrown with woods; for eight entire villages to the westward have been completely destroyed by the Nairs, and have never been repeopled.

The elephants are increasing here in number, owing to no hunt having been made for some years past. They are very destructive and formidable, and kill many poor people who are travelling in a solitary manner.

The Cadâr are a rude tribe inhabiting the hills in this neighbourhood, and ſpeaking a dialect that differs in accent only from the Tamul. The men live by collecting drugs for the renter, as I have already mentioned. The women collect wild roots that are edible. They have no means of killing game, but eat any that they find dead. They rear no domeſtic animals, nor cultivate any thing whatever; but their clothing is as good as that of the neighbouring peaſantry. They pay no taxes, and the renter ſettles all diſputes among them. They live in villages called Malaya-pudy. They always marry in their own tribe, but cannot take a girl who is of the ſame family with themſelves in the male line. They are allowed a plurality of wives. The lover preſents the mother of his miſtreſs with ſome cloth, and iron tools, and the ceremony conſiſts in a feaſt given to the relations. The girls continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and a widow can without diſgrace marry again. If a woman commit adultery, the tribe aſſembled deliver her over to her paramour, who pays a fine to the huſband, and takes the woman to be his wife. They do not drink ſpirituous liquors; and they bury the dead. After death, the ſpirits of good men reſide with a god named Mudivirum, while thoſe of wicked men go to a bad place. Their temples are ſmall huts, in which rude ſtones repreſent Mudivirum, and two female deities called Paycotu-Ummum, and Kali Ummum. Theſe deities protect their votaries from tigers, elephants, and diſeaſe, but have no prieſts. Once a year the whole people aſſemble at the temple, and offer rice and flowers to the images, and ſometimes ſacrifice a goat. When in the low country, they ſay that they are of Viſhnu's ſide; but they pray to every image that they ſee. They ſay, that the men of another tribe living in the hills, and called Viſabun, or Corabun, are their Gurus, and are able to read and write. They make preſents to their Guru, and he gives them conſecrated aſhes. They have nothing to do with the Bráhmans.

28th November.—I went ſeven Malabar hours' journey to Mingara, a place in the middle of the Ani-malaya foreſt, and on the frontier of the country which formerly belonged to the Tamuri Rája, where a guard of 15 armed men is placed by the Tahſildar of Palachy. The men are hutted on the banks of a mountain torrent; and, although relieved once a fortnight, ſuffer exceedingly from this unhealthful climate. They are ſtationed here to prevent the paſſage of thieves and armed vagabonds, to prevent ſmuggling, and to intercept unlawful correſpondence. The three ſmall huts which they occupy are the only habitations near the place.

On ſtrong high trees the guard has conſtructed two ſtages, to which the men fly when they are attacked by ſolitary diſcontented male elephants, who are not to be driven away by firing at them, unleſs the ball takes place in ſome ſenſible part. Herds of elephants come very frequently to drink at the torrent; but are eaſily alarmed, and run away at the firſt ſhot. The guard meets with no annoyance from tigers. For the ſake of water, merchants ſtop to breakfaſt at this place, and very often paſs the night under protection of the guard. The road is a great thoroughfare, and between this and Ani-malaya is very good for loaded cattle. Carts might paſs all the way, but in ſome places with difficulty. A very little expenſe would make the whole good.

CHAP. XI.—*Journey through the South of Malabar.*

BEFORE entering Malabar, it may be neceſſary to premiſe, that this province is ſubject to the authority of three commiſſioners; under whom are employed a number of gentlemen, that act in their reſpective circles as magiſtrates and collectors. Theſe officers,

officers, formerly appointed by the government of Bombay, have been lately placed under the presidency of Fort St. George. With an establishment, the expense of which has far exceeded the revenue, a complete protection from invaders, and a most tender regard to avoid the punishment of the innocent, it might have been expected that this province would have been found in a situation very different from what I am compelled to represent it. No doubt, this has arisen from a lenity in punishing crimes, an aversion to employ harsh measures to repress the turbulent, originating in a gentleness of disposition, which, however amiable in private life, in a government often produces the utmost distress to the peaceable and industrious subject.

November 29th, 1800. — Having crossed the rivulet immediately after leaving Mingara, I entered the province of Malabar, in that part of it which formerly belonged to the Tamura Rája, as the Zamorin is called by the natives. I found that they considered it unlawful to mention the real name of this personage, and always spoke of him by his titles.

The stage that I went to Colangodu is of moderate length, and the road crosses the rivulet five times, which from that circumstance is called Wunan-Ar. The woods through which we passed to-day are very fine; but the declivities are rather steeper, the roads worse, and the country is more rocky, than between Animalaya and Mingara. About half way to Colangodu are the ruins of a small mud fort, which was built by the Tamuri Rájá, and destroyed by Tippoo. The circumjacent country has once been cultivated, as is evident from the remains of corn-fields. Teak and other forest trees are now fast springing up among the Banyan *(Ficus Bengalensis)* and Palmira trees *(Borassus flabelliformis)*, by which the houses of the natives have formerly been shaded; and this part of the country will soon be no longer distinguishable from the furrounding forests.

The environs of Colangodu are very beautiful. The high mountains on the south pour down cascades of a prodigious height; and the corn fields are intermixed with lofty forests, and plantations of fruit trees. The cultivation, however, is very poor. Most of the dry-field is neglected, and the quantity of rice-land is not great. Here the rain, without any assistance from art, is able to bring one crop of rice to maturity; and in a few places the natives have constructed small reservoirs, which enable them to have a second crop.

Colangodu has a resemblance to many of the villages in Bengal, although the structure of the houses is quite different; but each is surrounded by a small garden, and at a little distance nothing is to be seen, except a large grove of trees, mostly Mangoes *(Mangifera)* or Jacks *(Artocarpus)*. The houses in Colangodu are about 1000 in number, and many of them are inhabited by Tamul weavers of the Coicular cast, who import all their cotton from Coimbetore. The Malayala language is, however, the prevalent one, and differs considerably from that of the Tamuls, or what among the Europeans at Madras is called the Malabar language. They are, nevertheless, both branches of the same dialect; and my Madras servants and the natives are, to a certain degree, able to understand each other. The accents are very different, and the Malayala language, containing a larger share of Sanskrit, and of the Paat, or poetical dialect, than the language prevailing to the eastward, is generally allowed to be the more perfect. The character used in Malayala is nearly the same with that used among the Tamuls for writing poetry; and the poetical language of both people is very nearly the same.

30th November. — I went a long stage to Pali-ghat. The country through which I passed is the most beautiful that I have ever seen. It resembles the finest parts of

Bengal; but its trees are loftier, and its palms more numerous. In many places the rice grounds are interſperſed with high ſwells, that are crowded with houſes, while the view to the north is bounded by naked rocky mountains, and that to the ſouth by the lofty foreſts of the Travancore hills. The cultivation of the high grounds is much neglected.

1ſt—4th December.—I remained with Mr. Warden, the collector of the diſtrict, taking an account of the neighbourhood; and from him I not only received every aſſiſtance during my ſtay, but have alſo been favoured with very ſatisfactory anſwers to queries which I propoſed to him in writing. Of theſe I ſhall avail myſelf in the following account. Owing to Mr Warden's kind and hoſpitable attentions, I found myſelf perfectly at home while under his roof; which was indeed the caſe every where in Malabar, when I had the good fortune to meet with an Engliſh gentleman.

Pali-ghat is a beautiful fort, built by Hyder on his conqueſt of Malabar, and ſituated in the country called Pali-ghat-ſhery, which belonged to the Shekhury Rája, one of the petty chiefs of Malaya; a word from which, by ſundry corruptions, Malabar is derived.

An immenſe rock near the temple of Bhagawat conſiſts of a good grey granite, very fit for building; and indeed the temple is conſtructed of this ſtone; the ſtructure of this granite is evidently lamellar, the plates being vertical, and running eaſt and weſt, as they do in Coimbetore: in ſome places the plates have a ſort of circular diſpoſition round a centre, ſomewhat like the layers round a knot in wood; in others they are undulating, and have a reſemblance to the waving figures on marbled paper. Each of the plates containing different proportions of the felſpar, quartz, and mica, they are more diſtinguiſhable by their colour, than by its being practicable to ſeparate them. The rock here contains fewer veins of quartz than any granite that I have hitherto ſeen in the peninſula. Although the plates are vertical, the rock is divided by parallel horizontal fiſſures that have a ſmooth ſurface, and which is frequently the caſe with aggregate rocks in all the ſouth of India. This greatly facilitates the cutting of ſtones for building; as wedges readily cut off large maſſes, by being driven in at right angles to the fiſſures.

7th December.—We went a ſhort ſtage to Shelacary. The road leads through a moſt beautiful country. The rice grounds are narrow valleys, but are extremely well watered by ſmall perennial ſtreams, that enable them annually to produce two crops. Very little of the high ground is cultivated. I obſerved, however, ſome fields, that contained the Cytiſus Cajan, more luxuriant than I ever before ſaw. The houſes of the natives are buried in the groves of palms, mangoes, jacks, and plantains, that ſkirt the bottoms of the little hills. Above theſe are woods of foreſt trees, which, though not quite ſo ſtately as thoſe of Chittagong, are ſtill very fine, and are pleaſant to walk in, being free from rattans and other climbers. The teak, and viti, or black-wood, abound in theſe woods; but all the large trees have been cut; and no care is uſed to encourage their growth, or to check that of uſeleſs timber.

We were eſcorted by many of the Rájá's Nairs, and were met by one of his officers of cavalry, well dreſſed in a blue uniform with white facings, and attended by two orderlies in a ſimilar dreſs. They wore boots and helmets, and the officer had a gorget; the whole exactly after the European faſhion. He informed us that the Rájá had been very deſirous of meeting us; but that at preſent he was ſo unwell, that he could not ſtand without ſupport. This information, I believe, was merely complimentary. The Rájá has made tolerable roads through the hilly parts of the country all the way we have come, and for our accommodation they had been

repaired; but we were always much obſtructed when we came to a valley, as the roads have not been continued through the rice fields. In fact, the road has been made from oſtentation alone, and not from any rational view of facilitating commerce or ſocial intercourſe. There are no ſhops at Shelacary, but people were ſent by the Rájá to ſupply our wants. Indeed, nothing can be more polite or attentive than the whole of his conduct.

Near our tents was a Colgum, or houſe belonging to the Rájá. It is a large ſquare building, compoſed partly of ſtone, and partly of mud. The greater part of it is only one ſtory in height; but in ſome places there is an upper floor. It is roofed with tiles, and totally deſtitute of elegance or neatneſs, but is looked upon by the natives as a prodigy. Like the other houſes of the country, it is ſurrounded by a grove of fruit trees. Some ſepoys were here on duty, the mud-walls ſurrounding the houſe being conſidered as a fort.

8th December. — We went a long ſtage to Nellaway, through a country ſimilar to that which we paſſed yeſterday; but the hills are higher, and much of the road is very bad. From the people of the Rájá we continue to receive every poſſible attention. Nellaway has a ſmall temple, but no ſhops.

9th December. — In the morning we went a ſhort ſtage to Cacadu, through a country differing from that ſeen on the two preceding days, by its hills being much lower, and covered with graſs in place of foreſt trees. Although the ſoil of theſe hills appears to be good, yet ſcarcely any part of them is cultivated; but the paſture ſeems to be tolerable, the cattle, though remarkably ſmall, being in good condition. The country is very beautiful: its round hills covered with graſs are ſeparated by fine verdant fields of corn, ſkirted by the houſes of the inhabitants, which are ſhaded by groves of fruit-trees.

Oppoſite to our encampment was a Nazaren, or Chriſtian village, named Cunnung colung curry Angady, which looks very well, being ſeated on a riſing ground amid fine groves of the betel-nut palm. The papa or prieſt waited on us. He was attended by a pupil, who behaved to his ſuperior with the utmoſt deference. The papa was very well dreſſed in a blue robe; and, though his anceſtors have been ſettled in the country for many generations, he was very fair, with high Jewiſh features. The greater part of the ſect, however, entirely reſemble the aborigines of the country, from whom indeed they are deſcended.

The papa informed me, that his ſect are dependent on the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch; but that they have a metropolitan, who reſides in the dominions of Travancore, and who is ſent by the patriarch on the death of his predeceſſor. None of the papas, or inferior clergy, go to Antioch for their education, and all of them have been born in the country. My viſitor underſtood no languages but the Syriac, and that of Malayala. He preaches in the latter; but all the ceremonies of the church are performed in the Syriac. In their churches they have neither images nor pictures, but the Nazarens worſhip the croſs. Their clergy are allowed to marry; my viſitor, however, ſeemed to be not a little proud of his obſerving celibacy, and a total abſtinence from animal food. He ſaid, that, ſo far as he remembers, the number of the ſect ſeems neither to be increaſing nor diminiſhing. Converts, however, are occaſionally made of both Nairs and Shanars; but no inſtance occurs of a Moplay having been converted, nor of a Namburi, unleſs he had previouſly loſt caſt.

The papa ſays, that the Nazarens were introduced, 1740 years ago, by a certain ſaint named Thomas, who, landing at Melia-pura, took up his reſidence on a hill near Madras, and which is now called after his name. He afterwards made a voyage

to

to Cochin, and in that neighbourhood ſettled a church, which is now the metropolitan, as the Portugueſe drove all the Nazarens from the eaſtern coaſt. St. Thomas afterwards returned to Meila-pura, where he died. At that time Malayala belonged to the Bráhmans, who were governed by a Rájá ſent by Sholun Permal, the ſovereign King of the ſouth. The papa then related the hiſtory of Cheruman Permal, nearly as I have given it on the authority of the Namburis; only he ſays, that this traitor, after having divided his uſurped dominions, died before he reached Mecca. It was in his reign that the Muſſulmans firſt arrived in India. They landed at Challiem, a place near Vaypura. The papa ſays, that the metropolitan has an account of all his predeceſſors, from the time of Saint Thomas, with a hiſtory of the various perſecutions that they have been ſubjected to by the governing powers, the worſt of which would appear to have been that inflicted by the Portugueſe. He promiſed to ſend me a copy of this kind of chronicle, but has not been ſo good as his word.

A Bráhman of the place ſays, that when any ſlaves are converted by the Nazarens, theſe people beſtow on them their liberty, and give them daily or monthly wages. He ſaid alſo, that the Nazarens are a very orderly, induſtrious people, who live chiefly by trade and agriculture.

In the afternoon we went to the Nazareny village, which contains many houſes regularly diſpoſed, and full of people. For an Indian town it is well built, and comparatively clean. It has a new church of conſiderable ſize. An old church is ſituated at ſome diſtance on a beautiful riſing ground. It is now unroofed; but the walls, although built of indurated clay only, continue very freſh and ſtrong. The altar is arched over with the ſame materials, and poſſeſſes ſome degree of elegance. The burying ground is at the weſt end of the church, where the principal door is placed. From its being very ſmall, the graves muſt be opened long before the bones are conſumed. As the graves are opened for new bodies, the old bones are collected, and thrown into an open pit near the corner of the church, where they are expoſed to the view of all paſſengers.

From thence we went to Chowgaut, where we embarked in a canoe, and went to the houſe of Mr. Drummond, the collector, who reſided then at the place called by us Chitwa, but by the natives Shetuwai.

10th and 11th December. — I remained with Mr. Drummond at Chitwa. This place is ſituated in an iſland, which is twenty-ſeven miles long, and in ſome places five miles wide, and which by Europeans is commonly called the iſland of Chitwa; but its proper name is Mana-puram.

I here had a converſation with one of the carigars, or miniſters of the Tamuri Rájá, the perſon who manages the affairs of that chief. He ſays, that all the males of the family of the Tamuri are called Tamburans, and all the ladies are called Tamburettis; all the children of every Tamburetti are entitled to theſe appellations; and, according to ſeniority, riſe to the higheſt dignities which belong to the family. Theſe ladies are generally impregnated by Namburis; although, if they chooſe, they may employ the higher ranks of Nairs; but the ſacred character of the Namburis almoſt always procures them a preference. The ladies live in the houſes of their brothers; for any amorous intercourſe between them and their huſbands would be reckoned ſcandalous. The eldeſt man of the family is the Tamuri Rájá, called by Europeans the Zamorin. He is alſo called Mana Vicrama Samudri Rájá, and is crowned. The ſecond male of the family is called Eralpata, the third Munalpata, the fourth Edatara Patana Rájá, the fifth Nirirupa Muta Eraleradi Tirumulpata Rájá, and the ſixth Ellearadi Tirumulpata Rájá. The younger Tamburans are not diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed by any particular title. If the eldeſt Tamburetti happen to be older than the Tamuri, ſhe is conſidered as of higher rank. The Tamuri pretends to be of a higher rank than the Bráhmans, and to be inferior only to the inviſible gods; a pretenſion that was acknowledged by his ſubjects, but which is held as abſurd and abominable by the Bráhmans, by whom he is only treated as a Súdra.

During the government of the Tamuris, the buſineſs of the ſtate was conducted, under his authority, by four Savadi Carigars, whoſe offices were hereditary, and by certain inferior Carigars, appointed and removed at the pleaſure of the ſovereign. The Savadi Carigars are, 1ſt. Mangutachan, a Nair of the tribe called Súdra; 2d. Tenancheri Elliadi, a Bráhman; 3d. Bermamuta Panycary, alſo a Súdra Nair; and 4th. Paranambi, a Nair of the kind called Nambichan. The inferior Carigars managed the private eſtates, or chericul lands, of the Tamuri, and collected the revenues. Theſe conſiſted of the cuſtoms, of a fifth part of all the moveable eſtates of every perſon that died, and of fines; of courſe, the Carigars were the adminiſtrators of juſtice, or rather of what was called law. They were always aſſiſted by four aſſeſſors; but, the ſelection of theſe being left to themſelves, this proviſion gave little ſecurity to the ſubject. Eight tenths of all fines went to the Tamuri, and two tenths to the judge. For capital puniſhments, the mandate of the Tamuri was required. The defence of the country reſted entirely on ſuch of the Nairs as received arms from the Tamuri. Theſe were under the orders of Nadawais, who commanded from 200 to 3000 men, and who held their authority by hereditary deſcent. The Carigar ſays, that theſe Nadawais had lands given them, in proportion to the number of men that each commanded; but how that could be, when the whole lands belonged to Namburi landlords, I do not underſtand. The ſoldiers, when on actual ſervice, received a certain ſmall ſubſiſtence.

In caſes of emergency, certain tributary or dependent chiefs were alſo ſummoned to bring their men into the field. Theſe chiefs, ſuch as Punetur, Talapuli, Manacollatil, Ayenecutil, Tirumanachery, and many others, acknowledged the Tamuri as their ſuperior; but they aſſumed the title of Rájá, and in their reſpective territories poſſeſſed full juriſdiction. They were merely bound to aſſiſt the Tamuri with military ſervice. He never beſtowed on any of them the title of Rájá, either in writing or converſation, and treated with contempt their pretenſion to ſuch a dignity. The principal Colgum of the Tamuri is near the fort at Chowgaut; but at preſent he is abſent on buſineſs at Calicut.

The Nazareny prieſt (papa) of Chowgaut waited on us, to inform me, that my wiſhes for procuring the hiſtory of the ſect in India had been communicated to the metropolitan, who deſired him to ſay, that a copy of the chronicle would be ſent to me through Mr. Drummond. Unfortunately, I have not received any account from that quarter. The papa denied that the Nazarens give liberty to ſuch of their ſlaves as are converted; probably thinking that the converſion might be attributed to this circumſtance, more than to the apoſtolical virtues of his brethren. He alſo maintained, that the ſect was rapidly increaſing in numbers, and daily gaining proſelytes. In theſe points he differed in his account from the papa whom I had before ſeen.

Having aſſembled the moſt reſpectable of the Nairs in this neighbourhood, they gave me the following account of their cuſtoms.

The Nair, or in the plural the Naimar, are the pure Súdras of Malayala, and all pretend to be born ſoldiers; but they are of various ranks and profeſſions. The higheſt in rank are the Kirüm, or Kirit Nairs. On all public occaſions theſe act as cooks, which among Hindus is a ſure mark of tranſcendent rank; for every perſon

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can eat the food prepared by a perſon of higher birth than himſelf. In all diſputes among the inferior orders, an aſſembly of four Kirüms, with ſome of the lower orders, endeavour to adjuſt the buſineſs. If they cannot accompliſh this good end, the matter ought to be referred to the Namburis. The Kirit Naimar ſupport themſelves by agriculture, or by acting as officers of government, or accomptants. They never marry a woman of any of the lower Nairs, except thoſe of the Súdras or Charnadu, and theſe very rarely. The ſecond rank of the Nairs are called Súdra, although the whole are allowed, and acknowledge themſelves to be of a pure Súdra origin. Theſe Súdra Nairs are farmers, officers of government, and accomptants. They never marry any girls but thoſe of their own rank; but their women may cohabit with any of the low people, without loſing caſt, or their children being diſgraced. The third rank of Nairs are the Charnadu, who follow the ſame profeſſions with their ſuperiors. The fourth are the Villium, or Villiit Naimar, who carry the palanquins of the Namburis, of the Rájás, and of the perſons on whom theſe chiefs have beſtowed the privilege of uſing this kind of conveyance: they are alſo farmers. The fifth rank of Nairs are the Wattacata or oil-makers, who are likewiſe farmers. The ſixth rank, called Atticourchis, are rather a low claſs of people. When a Nair dies, his relations, as uſual among the Hindus, are for fifteen days conſidered unclean, and no one approaches them but the Attacourchis, who come on the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth days, and purify them by pouring over their heads a mixture of water, milk, and cow's urine: the Attacourchis are alſo cultivators. The ſeventh in rank are the Wullacutra, who are properly barbers; but ſome of theſe alſo cultivate the ground. The eighth rank are the Wallaterata, or waſhermen, of whom a few are farmers. The ninth rank is formed of Tunar Naimar, or tailors. The tenth are the Andora, or pot-makers. The eleventh and loweſt rank are the Taragon, or weavers; and their title to be conſidered as Naimar is doubtful; even a pot-maker is obliged to waſh his head, and purify himſelf by prayer, if he be touched by a weaver.

The men of the three higher claſſes are allowed to eat in company; but their women, and both ſexes of all the lower ranks, muſt eat only with thoſe of their own rank.

Among the two higheſt claſſes are certain perſons of a ſuperior dignity, called Nambirs. Theſe were originally the head men of Déſams, or villages, who received this title from an aſſembly of Namburis and Tamburans, or of prieſts and princes; but all the children of Nambirs ſiſters are called by that title, and are conſidered as of a rank higher than common.

The whole of theſe Nairs formed the militia of Malayala, directed by the Namburis, and governed by the Rájás. Their chief delight is in arms; but they are more inclined to uſe them for aſſaſſination, or ſurpriſe, than in the open field. Their ſubmiſſion to their ſuperiors was great; but they exacted deference from thoſe under them with a cruelty, and arrogance, rarely practiſed, but among Hindus in their ſtate of independence. A Nair was expected inſtantly to cut down a tiar, or mucua, who preſumed to defile him by touching his perſon; and a ſimilar fate awaited a ſlave, who did not turn out of the road as a Nair paſſed.

The Nairs have no puróhitas; but at all their ceremonies the Elleadu, or loweſt of the Namburis, attend for charity (dharma), although on ſuch occaſions they do not read prayers (mantrams) nor portions of ſcripture (ſáſtrams). The Namburi Bráhmans are the Putteris or Gurus of the Naimar, and beſtow on them holy water, and aſhes, and receive their dána, and other kinds of charity.

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The proper deity of the Naimar caſt is Viſhnu; but they wear on their foreheads the mark of Siva. They offer frequent bloody ſacrifices to Marima, and the other Saktis, in whoſe temples the Namburis diſdain not to act as prieſts (púja'ris); but they perform no part of the ſacrifices, and decline being preſent at the ſhedding of blood. The Nairs can very generally read and write. They never preſume to read portions of the writings held ſacred (ſáſtrams); but have ſeveral legends in the vulgar language. They burn the dead, and ſuppoſe that good men after death go to heaven, while bad men will ſuffer tranſmigration. Thoſe, who have been charitable, that is to ſay, have given money to religious mendicants, will be born men; while thoſe, who have neglected this greateſt of Hindu virtues, will be born as lower animals. The proper road to heaven they deſcribe as follows:—The votary muſt go to Káſi, and then perform the ceremony in commemoration of his anceſtors at Gya. He is then to take up ſome water from the Bhágírathi, or Ganges, and pour it on the image of Siva at Raméſwara. After this he muſt viſit the principal Kſhétras and Tirthas, or places of pilgrimage, ſuch as Jagarnat, and Tripathy, and there he muſt waſh in the Puſcarunny, or pool of water that ſprung forth at the actual preſence of the god. He muſt always ſpeak truth, and give much charity to learned and poor Bráhmans. He muſt have no carnal knowledge of any woman but his wife, which with a Nair confines him to a total abſtinence from the ſex. And laſtly, in order to obtain a place in heaven, the votary muſt very frequently faſt and pray.

The Nairs marry before they are ten years of age, in order that the girl may not be deflowered by the regular operations of nature; but the huſband never afterwards cohabits with his wife. Such a circumſtance, indeed, would be conſidered as very indecent. He allows her oil, clothing, ornaments, and food; but ſhe lives in her mother's houſe, or, after her parents' death, with her brothers, and cohabits with any perſon that ſhe chooſes of an equal or higher rank than her own. If detected in beſtowing her favours on any low man, ſhe becomes an outcaſt. It is no kind of reflection on a woman's character to ſay, that ſhe has formed the cloſeſt intimacy with many perſons; on the contrary, the Nair women are proud of reckoning among their favoured lovers many Bráhmans, Rájás, or other perſons of high birth: it would not appear, however, that this want of reſtraint has been injurious to population. When a lover receives admiſſion into a houſe, he commonly gives his miſtreſs ſome ornaments, and her mother a piece of cloth; but theſe preſents are never of ſuch value as to give room for ſuppoſing that the women beſtow their favours from mercenary motives. To this extraordinary manner of conducting the intercourſe between the ſexes in Malayala, may perhaps be attributed the total want among its inhabitants of that penurious diſpoſition ſo common among other Hindus. All the young people vie with each other, who ſhall look beſt, and who ſhall ſecure the greateſt ſhare of favour from the other ſex; and an extraordinary thoughtleſſneſs concerning the future means of ſubſiſtence is very prevalent. A Nair man, who is detected in fornication with a Shanar woman, is put to death, and the woman is ſold to the Moplays. If he have connection with a ſlave girl, both are put to death; a moſt ſhocking injuſtice to the female, who, in caſe of refuſal to her Lord, would be ſubject to all the violence of an enraged and deſpiſed maſter.

In conſequence of this ſtrange manner of propagating the ſpecies, no Nair knows his father; and every man looks upon his ſiſters' children as his heirs. He, indeed, looks upon them with the ſame fondneſs that fathers in other parts of the world have for their own children; and he would be conſidered as an unnatural monſter were he to ſhow ſuch ſigns of grief at the death of a child, which, from long cohabitation and love with its mother, he might ſuppoſe to be his own, as he did at the death of

a child of his ſiſter. A man's mother manages his family; and after her death his eldeſt ſiſter aſſumes the direction. Brothers almoſt always live under the ſame roof; but, if one of the family ſeparates from the reſt, he is always accompanied by his favourite ſiſter. Even couſins, to the moſt remote degree of kindred, in the female line, generally live together in great harmony; for in this part of the country, love, jealouſy, or diſguſt, never can diſturb the peace of a Nair family. A man's moveable property, after his death, is divided equally among the ſons and daughters of all his ſiſters. His landed eſtate is managed by the eldeſt male of the family; but each individual has a right to a ſhare of the income. In caſe of the eldeſt male being unable, from infirmity or incapacity, to manage the affairs of the family, the next in rank does it in the name of his ſenior.

The Naimar are exceſſively addicted to intoxicating liquors, and are permitted to eat veniſon, goats, fowls, and fiſh.

13th December.—Having taken leave of my kind friends, Meſſrs. Waddel and Drummond, I went about twelve miles to Valiencodu, which in our maps is called Billiancotta. The road paſſes over ſandy downs near the ſea, and on each ſide has a row of banyan trees *(Ficus Bengalenſis)*; but in ſuch ſituations they do not thrive. To the right were large plantations of cocoa-nut trees and rice fields. Towards the ſea were ſcattered a few groves of palms. The appearance of the country is very inferior to that of the inland parts of the province.

Valiencodu is a ſmall open village, containing about 45 houſes, and a few ſhops. Near it is a ruinous fort. It is ſituated in a diſtrict called Vaneri Nadu, which belonged to the Peneturu Rájá, one of thoſe who were dependent on the Tamurri, and who now receives from the Company a fifth part of the revenue. Being a man of ſome abilities, he is entruſted, under the authority of the collector, with the management of the revenue. I was viſited by a relation of his, called the Manacalatu Rájá, who came with a Namburi, and eight or ten Nairs, following his palanquin. He was a poor looking old man, ſtupified with drink. He ſaid, that one-half of his own country, and that of his kinſman, had been ſituated in the Cochi Rájá's dominions, and that they had been entirely ſtripped of this ſhare ever ſince they fled to Travancore, to avoid Tippoo's bigoted perſecution. He afterwards began to talk as if the Company had taken from him the remainder; but he became ſenſible of his error, on being aſked what he poſſeſſed when the Company conquered Malabar.

The province of Malabar has no very large temples; and even thoſe which are dedicated to the great gods are of very miſerable ſtructure. Thoſe dedicated to the Saktis are few in number, and are not ornamented with images of potter's work, like thoſe of Coimbetore. There are no buildings for the accommodation of travellers. Near the ſea-coaſt are many meſhids, or moſques, built by the Moplays. Theſe are poor edifices with pent roofs.

The Niadis are an outcaſt tribe common in Malabar, but not numerous. They are reckoned ſo very impure, that even a ſlave will not touch them. They ſpeak a very bad dialect, and have acquired a prodigious ſtrength of voice, by being conſtantly neceſſitated to bawl aloud to thoſe with whom they wiſh to ſpeak. They abſolutely refuſe to perform any kind of labour; and almoſt the only means that they employ to procure a ſubſiſtence is by watching the crops, to drive away wild hogs and birds. Hunters alſo employ them to rouſe game; and the Achumars, who hunt by profeſſion, give the Niadis one-fourth part of what they kill. They gather a few wild roots, but can neither catch fiſh, nor any kind of game. They ſometimes procure a tortoiſe, and are able, by means of hooks, to kill a crocodile. Both of theſe amphibious animals they reckon delicious food. All theſe reſources, however, are very inadequate to

their ſupport, and they ſubſiſt chiefly by begging. They have ſcarcely any clothing, and every thing about them diſcloſes want and miſery. They have ſome wretched huts built under trees in remote places; but they generally wander about in companies of ten or twelve perſons, keeping at a little diſtance from the roads; and when they ſee any paſſenger, they ſet up a howl, like ſo many hungry dogs. Thoſe who are moved by compaſſion lay down what they are inclined to beſtow, and go away. The Niadis then put what has been left for them in the baſkets, which they always carry about. The Niadis worſhip a female deity called Maladeiva, and ſacrifice fowls to her in March. When a perſon dies, all thoſe in the neighbourhood aſſemble and bury the body. They have no marriage ceremony; but one man and one woman always cohabit together; and among them infidelity, they ſay, is utterly unknown.

A wretched tribe of this kind, buffeted and abuſed by every one, and ſubſiſting on the labour of the induſtrious, is a diſgrace to any country; and both compaſſion and juſtice ſeem to require, that they ſhould be compelled to gain a livelihood by honeſt induſtry, and be elevated ſomewhat more nearly to the rank of men. Perhaps Moravian miſſionaries might be employed with great ſucceſs, and at little expence, in civilizing and rendering induſtrious the rude and ignorant tribes that frequent the woods and hills of the peninſula of India? In the execution of ſuch a plan, it would be neceſſary to tranſport the Niadis to ſome country eaſt from Malabar, in order to remove them from the contempt in which they will always be held by the higher ranks of that country.

The Shanar, who in the dialect of Malayala are properly called Tiar, are in Malabar a very numerous tribe, and a ſtout, handſome, induſtrious race. They do not pretend to be of Súdra origin, and acknowledge themſelves to be of the impure race called Panchamas; but ſtill they retain all the pride of caſt; and a Tiati, or female of this caſt, although reduced to proſtitution, has been known to refuſe going into a gentleman's palanquin, becauſe the bearers were Mucuar, or fiſhermen, a ſtill lower claſs of people. All Tiars can eat together, and intermarry. The proper duty of the caſt is to extract the juice from palm trees, to boil it down to jagory, and to diſtil it into ſpirituous liquors; but they are alſo very diligent as cultivators, porters, and cutters of firewood. They have no hereditary chiefs, and all diſputes among them are referred to the Tamburan, or officers of government. In every Déſam certain Tiars were formerly appointed to a low office, called Tondan, which gave them powers ſimilar to thoſe enjoyed by the Totis above the Ghats. At preſent, the duties of theſe officers are confined to an attendance at marriages and funerals, where they receive ſome trifling dues. The Tiars have certain families among them, who are called Panikin. Theſe can read and write, and inſtruct the laity ſo far as to enable ſome of them to keep accompts. They are the only Gurus received by this caſt; and are ſuppoſed to dedicate their time to prayer and religious duties, on which account they receive charity. The Panikin intermarry with the laity. The deities of the caſt are a male named Mundien, and a female named Bagawutty. On holy days theſe are repreſented by two rude ſtones, taken up for the occaſion, and, during the ceremony, placed under a ſhed; but afterwards thrown away, or neglected. At theſe ceremonies a fowl is offered up as a ſacrifice, and a Nair is employed to kill it before the idols. The ſame Nair acts as púját for the god Mundien, adorns the ſtone with flowers, anoints it with oil, and preſents it with fruit. A Namburi is employed to be púját to Bagawutty, and this is the only occaſion on which the Tiars give that claſs of men any employment. The Panikins attend at marriages, but do not

read any thing on theſe occaſions. The Tiars ſeem to be entirely ignorant of a ſtate of exiſtence after death. Some of them burn, and ſome of them bury the dead. They are permitted to eat ſwine, goats, fowls, and fiſh; and have no objection to eat animals that have died a natural death. They may alſo drink diſtilled liquors, but not palm wine. In fact, they are not ſo much addicted to intoxication as the Nairs. In wealthy families, each man takes a wife; but this being conſidered as expenſive, in poor families the brothers marry one wife in common, and ſleep with her by turns. If either of the brothers becomes diſcontented, he may marry another woman. The whole family lives in the ſame houſe, even ſhould it contain two women; and it is reckoned a proof of a very bad temper, where two brothers live in ſeparate houſes. It muſt be obſerved, that in Malabar a family of children are not reckoned burthenſome; ſo that the Tiars are induced to adopt this uncommon kind of wedlock, merely to ſave the trifling expenſe of ſeveral marriages, the whole amount of one of which is as follows: four fanams (2s.) given to the girl's parents, a piece of cloth given to herſelf, and a feaſt given to the relations. Many of the women are thus unprovided with huſbands, a thing very uncommon in India; and, their remarkable beauty expoſing them to much temptation, a great many Tiatis in the ſeaport towns are reduced to proſtitution. Women continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and after the death of a former huſband. Adultereſſes are flogged, but not divorced, unleſs the crime has been committed with a man of another caſt. A Namburi, who condeſcended to commit fornication with a Tiati, would formerly have been deprived of his eyes, and the girl and all her relations would either have been put to death, or ſold as ſlaves to the Moplays, who ſent them beyond the ſea; a baniſhment dreadful to every Hindu, and ſtill more ſo to a native of Malabar, who is more attached to his native ſpot than any other perſon that I know.

CHAP. XII. — *Route from Valiencodu to Coduwully, through Panyani and the central Parts of Malabar.*

DECEMBER 14th. — I went a ſhort ſtage to Panyáni. Soon after leaving Valiencodu, I croſſed the mouth of a ſmall river, which, by the influx of ſalt water as it approaches the ſea, is extended to a great width. I was ferried over it by means of two canoes laſhed together, which forms a very ſafe conveyance for baggage, or foot paſſengers, but is not adapted for cattle, the latter being forced to ſwim. Orders have been iſſued by the commiſſioners to conſtruct proper ſtages on canoes at every ferry; ſo that cattle, and even artillery, may be tranſported with ſafety. The canoes in this part of Malabar are among the beſt and handſomeſt that I have ever ſeen.

15th December. — I went a long ſtage to Adanad. The country between Panyáni and Ternavay, although higher than the ſea-ſhore, is level; and conſiſts entirely of rice-grounds, which annually produce only one crop, and of which a great part ſeems to be waſte. On leaving the ſea-coaſt, the number of trees, eſpecially of cocoa-nut palms, decreaſes faſt. I croſſed the Panyáni river at Ternavay, where there is a ſmall temple, but no town. The channel of the river is very wide; but at this ſeaſon moſt of it is occupied by dry ſands. The water is clear, and the ſtream gentle; the fords are, however, bad, owing to the depth of water, which in moſt parts is four feet, and no where leſs than three. Cattle in croſſing it muſt therefore be unloaded, and the baggage carried to the other ſide by the drivers. This river in the rainy ſeaſon is navigable for canoes almoſt up to Pali-ghat.

16th December. — I went to Tritalay, a ſmall market (bazar) of 40 or 50 houſes, ſituated on the ſouth bank of the river.

18th December. — After croſſing the river about a mile above Tritalay, I went a long ſtage to Cherupalchery, which was the reſidence of the ſuperintendant of the ſouthern diviſion of Malabar, while that office exiſted.

It muſt be obſerved, that in Malabar no river has any peculiar appellation; but each portion is called by the name of the moſt remarkable place near which it flows.

19th December. — I went about nine miles to Angada-puram, having croſſed a fine little river, a branch of that which falls into the ſea at Panyáni. The low rice-fields ſeem to occupy but a ſmall proportion of the country. The roads are very bad; but Mr. Wye, the collector, has lately obtained leave to lay out on their repair a ſmall revenue, the produce of ſome ferries. Although the ſum is ſmall, yet it will have a conſiderable effect in a country, where the ſoil is in general favourable, and where there are no carriages. In Malabar even cattle are little uſed for the tranſportation of goods, which are generally carried by porters. Angada-puram, by Europeans commonly written Angrypar, is at preſent a military ſtation, the troops being in cantonments at ſome diſtance from the old fort. The ſituation is very pleaſant, and many camp followers, and traders from Coimbetore, having ſettled ſhops (bazars), have been the means of introducing many conveniences that are not commonly to be found in the inner parts of Malabar.

What I have called indurated clay is not the mineral ſo called by Mr. Kirwan, who has not deſcribed this of which I am now writing. It ſeems to be the Argilla lapidea of Wallerius, I. 395, and is one of the moſt valuable materials for building. It is diffuſed in immenſe maſſes, without any appearance of ſtratification, and is placed over the granite that forms the baſis of Malayala. It is full of cavities and pores, and contains a very large quantity of iron in the form of red and yellow ochres. In the maſs, while excluded from the air, it is ſo ſoft, that any iron inſtrument readily cuts it, and is dug up in ſquare maſſes with a pick-axe, and immediately cut into the ſhape wanted with a trowel, or large knife. It very ſoon after becomes as hard as brick, and reſiſts the air and water much better than any bricks that I have ſeen in India. I have never obſerved any animal or vegetable exuvia contained in it, but I have heard that ſuch have been found immerſed in its ſubſtance. As it is uſually cut into the form of bricks for building, in ſeveral of the native dialects it is called the brick-ſtone (Itica cullu). Where, however, by the waſhing away of the ſoil, part of it has been expoſed to the air, and has hardened into a rock, its colour becomes black, and its pores and inequalities give it a kind of reſemblance to the ſkin of a perſon affected with cutaneous diſorders; hence in the Tamul language it is called Shuri cull, or itch-ſtone. The moſt proper Engliſh name would be Laterite, from Lateritis, the appellation that may be given to it in ſcience.

In the Irnada diſtrict, gold duſt is collected in the river which paſſes Nelambur in the Mangery Taluc. A Nair has an excluſive privilege of the collection, and on that account pays a ſmall annual tribute. I was very deſirous to have viſited the place; but the diſtrict being in extreme confuſion, I could not with prudence enter it, eſpecially on ſuch an errand. The Nelambur river is a branch of that which falls into the ſea north from Parupa-nada.

22d December. — In the morning I went a long ſtage to Vencatacotay. The road, moſt of the way, paſſes along the ridge of a low hill, whence narrow vallies go off towards both ſides, and are ſeparated from each other by branches of the

the hill. These vallies are very beautiful; but the reſt of the country, at this ſeaſon, looks ill.

23d December. — I went a ſhort journey to Tiruvana-Angady, and paſſed through a country ſimilar to that which I ſaw yeſterday. Tiruvana-Angady is a ſmall Moplay town on the ſouthern bank of a river which comes from Irnada, and in the rainy ſeaſon is navigable with canoes for 32 miles upwards. It has no communication with the Baypour (Vaypura) river, as repreſented in Major Rennell's map. Tiruvana-Angady is the place which in our maps is called Tervanagary, and is remarkable for the deciſive victory which in the year 1790 Colonel Hartley gained in its neighbourhood over the forces of Tippoo. Near the angady, or market, there is a ſmall fort, which was erected by the Sultan round a colgum, or palace, belonging to the Tamuri Rájá. Both have now fallen into ruins; and the Tamuri, ſince his return from exile, has not viſited the place.

24th December. — I ſet out with an intention of ſtopping at Parupa-nada, which in our maps is called Perperengarde; but, owing to the untowardneſs of my guides, I found, on my arrival there, that my tents had been carried on to Vay-pura. I was of courſe obliged to follow; but much of my baggage did not arrive until four in the afternoon, and the cattle were worn out with fatigue.

25th December. — I went a ſhort journey to Calicut, and had a good road. By the way I croſſed a river, much inferior to that at Vay-pura, but provided with excellent ferry-boats, compoſed of two canoes connected by a ſtage.

The proper name of the place is Colicodu. When Cheruman Permal had divided Malabar among his nobles, and had no principality remaining to beſtow on the anceſtor of the Tamuri, he gave that chief his ſword, with all the territory in which a cock crowing at a ſmall temple here could be heard. This formed the original dominions of the Tamuri, and was called Colicodu, or the cock-crowing. This place continued to be the chief reſidence of the Tamuri Rájás until the Muſſulman invaſion, and became a very flouriſhing city, owing to the ſucceſs that its lords had in war, and the encouragement which they gave to commerce. Tippoo deſtroyed the town, and removed its inhabitants to Nelluru, the name of which he changed to Furruck-ábád; for, like all the Muſſulmans of India, he was a mighty changer of old Pagan names. Fifteeen months after this forced emigration, the Engliſh conquered the province, and the inhabitants returned with great joy to their old place of reſidence. The town now contains about five thouſand houſes, and is faſt recovering. Before its deſtruction by Tippoo its houſes amounted to between ſix and ſeven thouſand. Moſt of its inhabitants are Moplays.

The people here ſay, that the whole country between Cape Comorin and Surat is, in their books, divided into Kéralam and Kankánam; both of which were created by Paraſu-ráma, and therefore ought not to be included in the fifty-ſix déſams of Bharata-khanda. Of their country the people here have a hiſtory, which is called Kérala Ulpati, and is written in a pure and old dialect of the Ellacanum, or poetical language. It is underſtood with great difficulty; many paſſages are interpreted in different ways; and ſome of the copies are ſaid to differ eſſentially from others. The author is ſuppoſed to have been Sankara Achárya.

CHAP. XIII. — *Journey through the Northern part of Malabar.*

JANUARY 1ſt, 1801. — In the morning I went nine miles to Tamarachery. The country reſembles that which I came through yeſterday, but much of it is waſte.

I here

I here procured a ring, in which is ſet a gold fanam, ſaid to have been ſtruck by Paraſu Ráma when he created Kérala. Such fanams are procurable with ſome difficulty, for they are conſidered as relics. All other coins fall very ſhort of this in pretenſions to antiquity; as, according to the fables of the Bráhmans, Paraſu-ráma created Kérala above 800,000 years ago.

Having procured ſome of the principal Nairs that attended on the Rájá in a viſit which he made to Captain Oſburne, and a ſenſible Namburi, who ſeemed to be much in favour with that chief, I conſulted them on the differences that obtain in the cuſtoms of the Nairs who live north from the Vay-pura river, from thoſe that are obſerved in the ſouthern parts of Malayala. The female Nairs, while children, go through the ceremony of marriage, both with Namburis and Nairs; but here, as well as in the ſouth, the man and wife never cohabit. When the girl has come to maturity, ſhe is taken to live in the houſe of ſome Namburi or Nair; and after ſhe has given her conſent to do ſo, ſhe cannot leave her keeper; but, in caſe of infidelity to his bed, may be puniſhed with death. If her keeper have in his family no mother nor ſiſter, his miſtreſs manages the houſehold affairs. The keeper, whenever he pleaſes, may ſend his miſtreſs back to her mother's houſe; but then, if ſhe can, ſhe may procure another lover. A man's houſe is managed by his mother ſo long as ſhe lives. When ſhe dies, his ſiſter comes for the fifteen days of mourning. She afterwards returns to her lover, and remains with him until he either dies or turns her away. In either caſe, ſhe returns to her brother's houſe, of which ſhe reſumes the management, and brings with her all her children, who are her brother's heirs. A Nair here is not aſtoniſhed when you aſk him who his father was; and a man has as much certainty that the children born in his houſe are his own, as an European huſband has; while theſe children are rendered dear to him by their own careſſes, and thoſe of their mother, who is always beloved, for otherwiſe ſhe would be immediately diſmiſſed; yet ſuch is the perverſity of cuſtom, that a man would be conſidered as unnatural, were he to have as much affection for his own children, as for thoſe of his ſiſter, which he may perhaps never have ſeen. Of all known manners of conducting the intercourſe between the ſexes, this ſeems to be the moſt abſurd and inconvenient. That prevailing in the ſouthern parts of Malayala avoids all the domeſtic unhappineſs ariſing from jealouſy, or want of continued affection; but that here, while it has none of the benefits of marriage, is attended with all its evils. The diviſion of Nairs here is alſo different from that in the ſouth. There are here ſix tribes, who by birth are all properly ſoldiers. The firſt in rank are the Adiodi; the next are the Nambirs; and then follow four tribes of equal dignity, the Shelatun, the Cureuru, the Nalavan, and the Venapulun. After theſe, as in the ſouth, follow the different tribes of traders or artiſts, who, although allowed to be Nairs, and true Súdras, are not entitled to the dignity of bearing arms.

6th January. — I accompanied Captain Oſburne to his houſe at Vadacurray, which by Europeans is commonly called Barragurry. The road, although not quite ſo bad as that through which I came yeſterday, was very inconvenient for a palanquin, or loaded cattle. The country reſembles the other interior parts of Malabar, and the little hills and narrow vallies extend cloſe to the ſea-ſide.

For ſome days back, when I paſſed through among the gardens near houſes, I have obſerved the women ſquatting down behind the mud walls, in order to ſatisfy their curioſity by viewing a ſtranger. When they thought that I obſerved them, they ran away in a fright. This does not ariſe from the rules of caſt in Malabar requiring the Hindu women to be confined, for that is by no means the caſe; but in the interior parts

parts of North Malabar, the Nairs, being at enmity with Europeans, have perſuaded the women, that we are a kind of hobgoblins who have long tails, in order to conceal which we wear breeches *(et qui inſuper ut canes in coitu cum feminis cohærent)*. The women and children therefore are much afraid whenever a European appears, which indeed ſeldom happens. In the ſouthern diviſion, and on the ſea coaſt, we are too well known to occaſion any alarm.

7th January. — In the morning I went about ſeven miles to Mahé, which formerly belonged to the French. It is finely ſituated on a high ground, on the ſouth ſide of a river where that enters the ſea. The river is navigable with boats for a conſiderable way inland; and, in fair weather, ſmall craft can with great ſafety paſs over the bar. The place has been neat, and many of the houſes are good. Although the ſituation is certainly better than that of Tellichery, yet I think it has not been judicious to remove the commercial reſident from that place, while a poſſibility remains of Mahé being reſtored to the French. In the mean time Tellichery will ſuffer greatly; and I know, from having been there formerly, that during all the fair monſoon, goods may be landed and ſhipped there with great facility.

Having been diſappointed in not finding the commercial reſident at home, in the afternoon I went about four miles to Tellichery, and was moſt hoſpitably received by my friend Mr. Waddel, who had lately come to reſide in the fort, or factory.

After entering the lines, within which the natives have long enjoyed the protection of an Engliſh government, a wonderful change for the better appears in the face of the country; and the thriving ſtate of the plantations, on the ſandy grounds near the ſea, ſhow how capable of improvement all the land of that kind in the province really is. The low hills, however, all the way between Vadacurry and Tellichery, approach very near the ſea, and leave for plantations a much narrower level than is found in the ſouthern parts of the province.

8th — 10th January. — I remained at Tellichery, taking an account of the neighbouring country. This having been long the chief ſettlement of the Engliſh on the coaſt of Malabar, and having been now deſerted by the Company's commerce, has been rather on the decline; but ſtill the richeſt natives on the coaſt reſide here, and the inhabitants are by far more civilized than in any other part of the province. They enjoy ſome particular privileges, eſpecially that of being more moderately taxed than their neighbours.

The Portugueſe inhabitants who found here an aſylum, when by the violence of the Sultan they were driven from the reſt of the province, have for twelve or fourteen days been embodied as a militia. They ſeem to be very fond of military parade, and have already made ſome progreſs in their exerciſes. It appears to me, that they would look very well, and ſoon become good ſoldiers, had they decent clothing and accoutrements; but nothing can be more motley or ridiculous than their preſent undreſs, for clothing it cannot be called.

12th January. — I went about ten miles to Cananore, where I met Mr. Hodgſon, the collector of the northern diſtrict of Malabar. The roads were execrable. The country through which I paſſed conſiſts, as uſual, of low hills and narrow vallies. The hills inland are covered with buſhes, and beautifully ſkirted with plantations. The rice grounds are extenſive, well drained, carefully ſupplied with water, and few of them are waſte. Near the ſea, the hills are bare; and, wherever the rock would admit the uſe of the plough, they have formerly been cultivated. At preſent there is a ſcarcity of inhabitants.

The proper name of Cananore is Canura. It was purchaſed from the Dutch by the

the anceſtors of the Biby, who is a Moplay. Previous to this the family were of very little conſequence, and entirely dependent on the Cherical Rájás; but having got a fortreſs, conſidered by the Nairs as impregnable, they became powerful, and were looked up to as the head of all the Muſſulmans of Malayala. Various contradictory accounts are given, concerning the manner in which a Muſſulman family came to be poſſeſſed of a ſovereignty in Malabar. The moſt probable is, that they were originally petty Nair chiefs, who obtained a grant of this territory from Cheruman Permal; and that they afterwards were converted, owing to a young lady's having fallen in love with a Muſſulman. The children which ſhe had by him were of courſe outcaſts from the Hindus; but being heirs to the family, it was judged prudent for the whole to embrace the faith of Mahomet, in order to prevent the eſtate from reverting to the Cherical Rájá on the failure of heirs. The only male at preſent in the family is a lad, ſon of the Biby or lady of Cananore, who manages the affairs of the family during his minority. The ſucceſſion goes in the female line, as uſual in Malabar: the children of the ſon will have no claim to it; and he will be ſucceeded by the ſon of his niece, who is the daughter of his ſiſter. This young lady has lately been married, and in the evening I was conducted by Mr. Hodgſon to a grand dinner which was given, on the occaſion, to all the European ladies and gentlemen in the place. We were received by the Biby in her bed-room, and the ladies were admitted into the chamber of her grand-daughter. The dining-room was very large, and well lighted; and the dinner was entirely after the Engliſh faſhion. The quantity of meat put on the table, as uſual in India, was enormous, and the wines and liquors were very good. The young chief, with the father and huſband of the young lady, who have no kind of authority, received the company in the dining-room; but did not ſit at table. When dinner was ſerved, they retired to a couch at one end of the hall, and ſmoked hookas, until the company roſe to dance. Appropriate toaſts were given, and theſe were honoured by ſalutes of guns from the Biby's ſhips. Many fireworks were diſplayed, and there was muſic both European and native. The houſe of the Biby is very large, and though not ſo ſhowy as ſome of the Sultan's palaces, is by far more comfortable, and is in fact by much the beſt native houſe that I have ſeen.

Cananore is ſituated at the bottom of a ſmall bay, which is one of the beſt on the coaſt. It contains ſeveral very good houſes that belong to Muſſulman merchants. Although the diſturbances of Cotioté have diminiſhed the exports, the trade of the place is ſtill flouriſhing. The people here have no communication with the Maldives, although the Sultan and inhabitants of theſe iſlands are Moplays.

Cananore is defended by a fortreſs ſituated on the point which forms the bay. Since the province has been ceded to the Company, it has been ſtrengthened with works after the European faſhion, and is the head quarters of the province, for which it ſeems excellently adapted.

13th January. — I went ten miles to Matmul, ſituated at the mouth of a river, which derives its name from a town called Valya-pattanam, or the increaſing city. The river at the mouth is very wide, and immediately within the bar divides into two branches, both navigable in boats to a conſiderable diſtance.

14th January. — I went about ten miles to Aritta Parumba, which by the Engliſh is commonly called Artelle.

15th January. — I went about ten miles to Cavai, on the north ſide of Mount Dilla. The road at firſt conducted me over uncultivated hilly land. About three miles from Cavai I entered a plain extending to the ſea; and, like moſt others on the coaſt of Malabar, much interſected by ſalt water creeks, that are a great interruption to travelling, even where they are fordable. I was under the neceſſity of being ferried over

one ſalt water river. The whole of the plain conſiſts of rice ground called vaylu, and the ſoil is very poor. Near the ſea ſhore the ground is ſomewhat higher, is called Parumba, and is fit for the cultivation of the cocoa-nut. A very ſmall part of this is planted, the remainder is quite waſte.

Malabar province, which I am now about to quit, may be divided into two portions. By far the moſt extenſive part conſiſts of low hills, ſeparated by narrow vallies; and from the Ghats this always extends a conſiderable diſtance to the weſtward, and ſometimes even to the ſea. Theſe hills, when cleared, are called parum, or parumba; and when covered with trees, which are only cut down once in ten or twelve years, they are called ponna or ponnum. They are ſeldom of any conſiderable height, but in general have ſteep ſides and level ſummits. The ſides poſſeſs the beſt ſoil; and in Parum land, in order to prevent the ſoil from being waſhed away by the rain, are formed into terraces. The ſummits in many places are bare; and, eſpecially towards the north, expoſe to the view large ſurfaces of naked rock. The vallies, called candum or paddum land, contain in general rivulets that convey away the ſuperfluous water; but in ſome places, the level is not ſufficient; and in the rainy ſeaſon the grounds are much overflowed. The ſoil in theſe vallies is extremely fertile.

The other portion of Malabar conſiſts of a poor ſandy ſoil, and is confined to the plains on the ſea coaſt, ſeldom above three miles wide, and in general not ſo much. Near the low hills, theſe plains are in general the moſt level, and beſt fitted for the cultivation of rice. Nearer the ſea, they are more unequal in their ſurface, and riſe into low downs, which form a kind of parum land admirably adapted for the cocoa-nut palm. This diviſion of the country is wonderfully interſected by inlets from the ſea, which often run for great lengths parallel to the coaſt, receiving the various mountain ſtreams, and communicating with the ocean by different narrow and ſhallow openings. In other places, where there are none of theſe ſalt inlets, the low land within the downs on the coaſt is in the rainy ſeaſon totally overflowed; for the freſh water has then no vent, and muſt therefore ſtagnate until it is gradually evaporated. As it dries up, it leaves the ground fit for ſome particular kinds of rice; and it is probably owing to this cultivation, that theſe ſtagnant waters do not impair the ſalubrity of the air. All Malabar may indeed be conſidered as a healthy country, and one upon which nature has beſtowed uncommon advantages.

CHAP. XIV. — *Journey through the Southern Parts of Canara.*

JANUARY 16th, 1801. — I went about two miles, ſaid to be two coſſes and a half, to a place called Urigara, or the bank. Immediately beyond Cavai I was ferried over a very wide inlet of the ſea, which ſeparates the province of Malabar from that of Canara; but the country called Malayala by the natives extends a conſiderable way farther north. My road all the way led along a narrow bank of ſand, between the ſea and the inlet. The ſurf, although larger than any that I have ſeen on this coaſt, is by no means ſo violent as at Madras; and ſmall fiſhing canoes go through it with eaſe. At Urigara the ſand-bank increaſes in width, and admits of ſome rice-fields, and plantations of cocoa-nut trees. There is here no village; but there are a few huts inhabited by Moplays, who now poſſeſs the ſea-coaſt of this part of Malayala, as the Nairs do the interior. On the ſide of the inlet, oppoſite from Urigara, is Niléſwara, now a Moplay village, but formerly the reſidence of a Rájá, who derived his title from the place, which is called after one of the names of the god Siva. Although the Nairs are ſtill more numerous than the Moplays, yet during Tippoo's authority, while not protected by government, the Hindus were forced to ſkulk in the woods, and all ſuch as could

could be caught were circumciſed. It muſt be obſerved, that however involuntary this converſion may be, it is perfectly effectual, and the convert immediately becomes a good Muſſulman, as otherwiſe he would have no caſt at all; and, although the doctrine of caſt be no part of the faith of Muhammed, it has in India been fully adopted by the low ranks of Muſſulmans. On entering Canara, an immediate change in the police takes place. No perſon is here permitted to ſwagger about with arms; theſe may be kept in the houſe for protection againſt thieves; but they muſt not be brought into public, for the encouragement of aſſaſſination.

17th January. — I went about ten miles to Hoſſo-durga, or Pungal-cotay; both of which ſignify the new fort, the former in the dialect of Karnáta, and the latter in the Malayala language. The country near the ſea, moſt of the way that I came to-day, is low and ſandy; but much of it is rice-land, intermixed with which is much ſandy land, too poor, the natives ſay, to produce cocoa-nut palms. The whole appears to be much neglected, owing to a want of inhabitants.

Towards Hoſſo-durga, the dry-field riſes into gentle ſwells; yet it is too hard and dry for plantations. It is now waſte; but, when there were plenty of people, it was cultivated for ragy *(Cynoſurus coracanus)*, horſe-gram *(Dolichos biflorus)*, ſeſamum, and different pulſes. The hill-rice is here unknown; the ſoil, however, is exactly the ſame as that which is uſed to the ſouthward for this grain.

The fort is large, and well built of the laterite, common all over Malayala. The baſtions being round, it is more capable of defence than the native forts in general, in which the defences are uſually ſquare. It occupies a fine riſing ground, looks well at a diſtance, and commands a noble proſpect. The only inhabitants are a few Puttar Bráhmans, who ſerve a temple, and whoſe anceſtors were placed there by the Ikeri Rájá, who built the fort.

18th January. — I went an eaſy ſtage to Beäcul.

19th January. — I went to a temple dedicated to Iſwara, at a place called Pulla.

20th January. — I went about ten miles to Kanya-pura, and about half way croſſed a river of conſiderable width; yet at low water it is ſhallow.

21ſt January. — I ferried over the lake to the peninſula on which Cumly ſtands, and which was formerly joined to Kanya-pura by a bridge. The ſituation of the fort is very fine, and the town has formerly been pretty conſiderable. The two rivers leave a narrow iſthmus of rice-fields.

22d January. — I went a ſhort ſtage to Ulala, a large town on the ſouth ſide of the lake of Mangalore, and formerly the reſidence of a petty prince. I firſt paſſed through Harawurry Manjéſwara, which is immediately north from the Manjéſwara that belonged to the Vitly Rájá; but it is ſituated in the diſtrict ſurrounding Mangalore, which was not divided among the petty Rájás, but was immediately under the government of the lieutenant of the Ikeri Rájá who commanded at Mangalore.

I afterwards croſſed over the lake to the town, where I remained until the 29th. The lake is a fine body of ſalt water, ſeparated from the ſea by a beach of ſand. In this, formerly, there was one opening; the depth of water in which was ſuch, that ſhips of a conſiderable burthen, after their cargo had been removed, could enter the lake. Laſt year a new opening formed in the beach, which has proved very injurious to the harbour. The depth of the old opening has diminiſhed, and that of the new one has never become great; ſo that now even at high water, and in eaſy weather, veſſels drawing more than ten feet cannot enter.

For a native place of ſtrength, the fort of Mangalore was well conſtructed; but was deſtroyed by Tippoo, after he had found how little his fortreſſes were calculated to

reſiſt European ſoldiers, and with what difficulty he could retake any of them, that were garriſoned by a few Britiſh troops. The town, called alſo Codeal Bundar, is large, and is built round the ſides of the peninſula, in the elevated center of which the fort was placed. The lake, by which the peninſula is formed, is a moſt beautiful piece of ſalt water. The boats that ply on it are execrable; and the fiſhermen by whom they are managed are a very indolent drunken race.

The Princes of the houſe of Ikeri had given great encouragement to the Chriſtians, and had induced 80,000 of them to ſettle in Tulava. They are all of Kankána deſcent, and retained the language, dreſs, and manners of the people of that country. The clergy, it is true, adopted the dreſs of the order to which they belonged; but they are all natives deſcended from Kankána families, and were purpoſely educated in a ſeminary at Goa, where they were inſtructed in the Portugueſe and Latin languages, and in the doctrines of the church of Rome. In Tulava they had 27 churches, each provided with a vicar, and the whole under the controul of a vicar general, ſubject to the authority of the archbiſhop of Goa. Tippoo threw the prieſts into dungeons, forcibly converted to Iſlámiſm the laity, and deſtroyed all the churches. As the Chriſtian religion does not prevent the re-admiſſion into the church of ſuch delinquents, theſe involuntary Muſſulmans have in general reconciled themſelves with the clergy, who now of courſe are at liberty, and 15,000 have already returned to Mangalore and its vicinty; 10,000 made their eſcape to Malabar, from whence they are returning home as quickly as their poverty will admit. The clergy are now buſy with their flocks, whoſe poverty, however, has hitherto prevented them from rebuilding any of their churches. During the government of Hyder, theſe Chriſtians were poſſeſſed of conſiderable eſtates in land, all of which were confiſcated by Tippoo, and immediately beſtowed on perſons of other caſts, from whom it would be difficult to reſume them. Theſe poor people have none of the vices uſually attributed to the native Portugueſe; and their ſuperior induſtry is more readily acknowledged by the neighbouring Hindus, than avowed by themſelves. The vicar-general was long confined in Jamál-ábád. He ſpeaks Latin neither correctly, nor with fluency, and ſeems very deſirous of obtaining what he calls a domineering power over the ſect, that his authority may be equal to that of the native Gurus; ſo as to keep his flock in good order, not only by the ſpiritual means of excommunication, but alſo by the temporal expedients of fine and corporal puniſhment.

CHAP. XV. — *Journey from Mangalore to Beiduru.*

JANUARY 29th. — I went about ten miles to Arcola, which is alſo called Feringypetta, having formerly been chiefly inhabited by the Chriſtians of Kankána, invited to reſide here by the Princes of the houſe of Ikeri. Its ſituation, on the northern bank of the ſouthern Mangalore river, is very fine, and it was formerly a large town. After Tippoo had taken General Matthews, he deſtroyed the town, and carried away its inhabitants. One end only of the church remains, which however ſhows that it has been a neat building. Its ſituation is remarkably fine.

Even now the river contains a great deal of water, and in the rainy ſeaſon it is very large. Its banks, like thoſe of the Panyani river, are very beautiful and rich. Indeed the whole country entirely reſembles Malabar, only the ſides of the hills have been formed into terraces with leſs induſtry. As no hill-rice is cultivated in this vicinity, the terraces are formed at the roots of the hills only, where the gardens in Malabar are ſituated. According to the report of the natives, not one-fourth part of the ground fit for gardens is now planted. They ſay, that Tippoo, in order to remove

every

every inducement for Europeans to frequent the country, deſtroyed all the pepper vines, and all the trees on which theſe were ſupported. Much of the rice-land is ſo well watered by ſprings and rivulets, that it produces a conſtant ſucceſſion of crops of that grain; one crop being ſown as ſoon as the preceding one has been cut. Although here the ſteep ſides of the hills are not formed into terraces, as in Malabar, yet the gently ſloping lands are formed into rice-fields that are cultivated once a year. In Malabar they would be either planted, or reſerved for the cultivation of hill-rice, ſeſamum, or the like; and would yield a crop once only in three years.

30th January. — Yeſterday a conſiderable part of my baggage loſt its way; and although accompanied by two guides, and travelling on the moſt public road in Canara, I did not diſcover my tents until two o'clock this morning. The guides and attendants in excuſe for their ſtupidity, alledged, that they were miſled by the reports of the natives, who had informed them of my having paſſed places which I never had been near. The cattle were ſo much fatigued that I would not proceed; ſo I employed the day in collecting plants.

31ſt January. — In the morning I went three Sultany coſſes to Nagara Agrarum.

1ſt February. — I went three coſſes to Cavila-cutty. The hills are much higher than thoſe to the weſtward, and ſome of them are covered with tall thick foreſts, in which are found teak *(Theka)* and wild mango *(Mangifera)* trees, and the palm which Linnæus called caryota. Theſe hills abound with tigers, which have of late killed ſeveral paſſengers. The road all the way is tolerably well formed, but the engineer has paid no attention to avoid hills; ſome parts of it are exceſſively ſteep. I paſſed many oxen, loaded with ſalt, going to the Myſore dominions, and met many coming from thence loaded with iron.

In the temples of Tulava there prevails a very ſingular cuſtom, which has given origin to a caſt named Moylar. Any woman of the four pure caſts, Bráhman, Kſhatri, Vaiſya, or Súdra, who is tired of her huſband, or who (being a widow, and conſequently incapable of marriage,) is tired of a life of celibacy, goes to a temple, and eats ſome of the rice that is offered to the idol. She is then taken before the officers of government, who aſſemble ſome people of her caſt to inquire into the cauſe of her reſolution; and, if ſhe be of the Bráhman caſt, to give her an option, of living either in the temple or out of its precincts. If ſhe chooſe the former, ſhe gets a daily allowance of rice, and annually a piece of cloth. She muſt ſweep the temple, fan the idol with a Tibet cow's tail *(Bos gruiens)*, and confine her amours to the Bráhmans. In fact, ſhe generally becomes a concubine to ſome officer of revenue, who gives her a trifle in addition to her public allowance, and who will flog her ſeverely if ſhe grant favours to any other perſon. The male children of theſe women are called Moylar, but are fond of aſſuming the title of Stánika, and wear the Bráhmanical thread. As many of them as can procure employment live about the temples, ſweep the areas, ſprinkle them with an infuſion of cow-dung, carry flambeaus before the gods, and perform other ſimilar low offices. The others are reduced to betake themſelves to agriculture, or ſome honeſt employment. The daughters are partly brought up to live like their mothers, and the remainder are given in marriage to the Stánikas.

The Bráhmany women who do not chooſe to live in the temple, and the women of the three lower caſts, cohabit with any man of pure deſcent that they pleaſe; but they muſt pay annually to the temple from one-ſixteenth to half a pagoda. Their children alſo are called Moylar; thoſe deſcended from Bráhmany women can marry the daughters of the Moylar who live in the temples; but neither of them ever intermarry with perſons deſcended from a woman of inferior caſt. It is remarkable in this caſt,

caſt, where, from the corrupt example of their mothers, the chaſtity of the women might be conſidered as doubtful, that a man's children are his heirs; while in moſt other caſts the cuſtom of Tulava requires a man's ſiſter's children, by way of ſecuring the ſucceſſion in the family. The Moylar differ much in their cuſtoms, each endeavouring to follow thoſe of the caſt from which his mother derived her origin. Thus the deſcendants of a Bráhmany proſtitute wear the thread, eat no animal food, drink no ſpirituous liquors, and make marks on their faces and bodies ſimilar to thoſe which are uſed by the ſacred caſt. They are not, however, permitted to read the Védas, nor the eighteen Puránas. Indeed but very few of them learn to keep accompts, or to read ſongs written in the vulgar language. Contrary to the cuſtom of the Bráhmans, a widow is permitted to marry. They burn the dead, and believe in the tranſmigration of ſouls, but ſeem to have very crude notions on this ſubject. They are, indeed, very ignorant of the doctrine of the Bráhmans, who utterly deſpiſe them, and will not act as their Gurus to give them upadéſa. They will attend, however, at the ceremonies of the Moylar, and read the ſervices proper on the occaſion, and will accept from them both dhana and dharma.

The ſtrata of Tulava, near the ſea-coaſt, reſemble entirely thoſe of Malayala, and conſiſt of laterite or brickſtone, with a very few rocks of granite interſperſed. This granite is covered with a dark black cruſt, and is totally free from veins of quartz, or of felſpar. In many places large maſſes of the granite immerſed in the laterite are in a ſtate of decay; the black mica has entirely diſappeared, and the white felſpar has crumbled into powder, leaving the quartz in angular maſſes. Theſe ſometimes form ſo large a ſhare of the whole rock, that, after the decay of the other component parts of the granite, they firmly adhere.

On arriving in the Cavila diſtrict, the granite ſhows itſelf more abundantly; and among that which, as uſual, has no ſtrata, I obſerved ſome diſpoſed in ſtrata running eaſt and weſt, and which were truncated at the end, like much of that which is found above the Ghats. Even this was free from veins of quartz.

2d February.—I went three Sultany coſſes to Bellata Angady, or the white market; a place very improperly named, as it contains only one ſhop, and in that nothing but betel is ſold.

3d February. —I went a ſhort journey to Jamál-ábád, which originally was called Naraſingha Angady.

4th February. —I returned by the ſame road to the Jain temple at Bellata Angady, and then turned towards the north, and came to Padanguddy in a diſtrict named Majura, which formerly belonged to the Bungar Rájás.

5th February. —I went three coſſes to Sopina Angady. From Padanguddy, to the banks of the northern branch of the Mangalore river at Einuru, the country is much like what I ſaw yeſterday, but more woody. Between the river and Sopina Angady, the hills are ſteeper, and conſequently the road is very bad.

Einuru is a ſmall town, containing eight temples belonging to the Jain, and one to the Siva Bráhmans. The former have an annual allowance of 14 pagodas, and the latter one of 10 pagodas. As in this country the worſhippers of Jain are more numerous than thoſe of Siva, the temples of the former ought to have the beſt endowments; but while the native officers of government are moſtly Bráhmans, pretences will never be wanting for depreſſing theſe heretical temples.

At Einuru is an immenſe coloſſal image of one of the gods worſhipped by the Jain. It is formed of one ſolid piece of granite and ſtands in the open air.

6th February.—I went two coſſes to Mudu, or Eaſt Biddery, and by the way croſſed

croſſed a branch of the northern Mangalore river, which deſcends from the Ghats. On the way, two tigers were ſeen by ſome of my people. Although the country is well cleared, it contains very little rice ground; and, as the hills are conſidered as totally uſeleſs, this is in fact one of the pooreſt countries that I have ever ſeen.

7th February. — I went three coſſes to Carculla.

Carculla is an open town, containing about 200 houſes, which moſtly belong to ſhopkeepers. Near it are the ruins of the palace of the Byraſu Wodears, the moſt powerful of the Jain Rájás of Tulava. The Jain, who are the chief inhabitants of the place, do not pretend that their Prince had any authority over the Rájás of the ſouth; the whole tradition, therefore, at Hoſſo-betta ſeems to be erroneous. That place, however, may have belonged to the Byraſu Wodears; as the territories of the Rájás of Tulava were probably as much intermixed as thoſe of the chiefs of Malayála. The revenues of this family, it is ſaid, amounted to 17,000 pagodas, or 6850l. 4s. 7½d.

The moſt judicious old men that I could find here gave me the following account of the weather. Between the 13th of March and the 13th of May they have ſlight ſhowers, laſting three or four hours a day. Theſe come three or four days ſucceſſively, with equal intervals of dry weather, and accompany eaſterly winds. In the firſt month the winds night and day are eaſterly; in the latter part of this time the winds are from the ſouthward, and in the weſt there is much thunder. Between the 14th of May and the 16th of Auguſt there come from the weſt ſtrong winds, and heavy rains. The land winds are not at all perceptible. Between the 17th of Auguſt and the 15th of October there are gentle ſhowers from the eaſtward. Except when it rains, the winds are weſterly. From the 16th of October to the 13th of November there are ſlight ſhowers from the eaſtward. The rain is ſometimes, however, ſo heavy as to injure the crops. Except when it rains, the winds are variable. In the four following months there is no rain, and the air is reckoned cold by the natives. At preſent, the days are hot and the nights cool. The winds in the day come from the ſea, and in the night from the land.

9th February. — I went three coſſes to Beiluru, a place where there were a few houſes of cultivators, but no ſhops nor market. There is a ſmall temple of Siva there, with an annual allowance to the púját of ſix pagodas. The country is rather woody, and little rice-ground can be ſeen from the road. The granite rocks make a conſpicuous figure on the high lands.

10th February. — I went three coſſes to Haryadika.

11th February. — In the morning I went three coſſes to Udipu. The country, to the vicinity of this place, is ſimilar to that which I paſſed through on the two preceding days. The ſtrata of granite, however, are moſtly covered by the laterite. The roads are execrable; but, like many of thoſe in Canara, are ſhaded by fine rows of trees, eſpecially of the vateria indica; which, being now in full bloſſom, makes the moſt beautiful avenues that I have ever ſeen.

On getting within ſight of the ſea near Udipu, the country becomes more level; and round the town it is finely cultivated, and the rice-fields are beautifully intermixed with palm gardens. Such a delightful ſituation has been choſen as the chief ſeat of the Tulava Bráhmans of the Madual ſect.

I queſtioned the Bráhmans concerning the hiſtory of the country; and they produced a book called Gráma Paditti, which they ſay is hiſtorical. It is written in Sanſkrit, and is preſumed to have been compoſed by Viſhnu, who aſſumed a human form, under the name of Védi Vyáſa, and promulgated the Védas, the eighteen Puránas, the Gráma Paditti, and other ſacred writings. From this work the Bráhmans

ſay,

ſay, that Tulava was created, and given entirely to them, 1 arbuda, 95 crowds, 58 lacs, and 80 thouſand of years, before the extinction of the Pándu family. The laſt of theſe ended his reign in the year of the Kali-yugam 1036,

or		3,865 years ago
Add 80 thouſand		80,000
58 lacs		5,800,000
95 crowds		950,000,000
1 arbuta		1,000,000,000

1,955,883,865 years ſince the creation of Tulava, according to the Gráma Paditti. The candid reader will not expect, that in a work comprehending the accounts of ſuch a long duration of time, a few thouſand years, earlier or later, in the chronology of theſe degenerate times can be conſidered as of any conſequence. This having been premiſed, and the accounts of the Hindu gods and heroes having been left in becoming obſcurity, we find from the Gráma Paditti, that 1115 years after the family of the Pándus became extinct, Ananda Ráya governed Tulava. He and his eight brothers (or rather kinſmen in the male line) reigned 200 years, or until the year of the Kali-yugam 2351. Vakia Rájá and his ten ſons (deſcendants) reigned 112 years, till Kali-yugam 2463. Maurſuſhy and his ten ſons governed 137 years, till Kali-yugam 2600. Cadumba Ráya 45 years, till Kali-yugam 2645. Myuru Varmá 10 years, till Kali-yugam 2655. Hubuſhica, chief of the ſavages, called Coragoru, or Corar, governed 12 years, till Kali-yugam 2657. Lócáditya Ráya, ſon of Myuru Varmá, expelled the Coragoru, and governed Tulava, Malayála, and Haiga 21 years, till Kali-yagam 2678. After his death, eighty-one of his couſins, among whom the chief was Cadumba Ráya of Wudia-nagara, governed 24 years, till Kali-yugam 2702. Balhica Ráya, and twenty-nine other petty princes, governed 46 years, till the Kali-yugam 2748. Abhiri, and ten Rájás governed 99 years, till Kali-yugam 2847. The deſcendants of Moni Rájá then reigned 200 years, till Kali-yugam 3047, or till 53 years before the birth of Chriſt. At this time Mahummud Surtala, a Mlécha, who was a ſpy, viſited the whole country as far as Rámeſwara. It muſt be obſerved, that, according to theſe Bráhmans, Mlécha properly means an Arab, Turc a Tartar, aud Yavana an European; but all the three terms are frequently applied to the nations living toward the north and weſt of Hinduſtan, without diſtinction of country or religion. Nine Belally Ráyas governed ſix years, till Kali-yugam 3053, or 47 years before the birth of Chriſt. The Turc then returned, took Anagundi, and governed 540 years, till the Kali-yugam 3593, or A. D. 493. The followers of Vyáſa here, it muſt be obſerved, cut ſhort the government of the Belalla family, who are more deteſtable than Mléchas, as having been followers of the Arhita or Jain Bráhmans. Campi Ráya of Penu-conda drove out the Mléchas, and governed 13 years over the whole country ſouth of the Kriſhna, till the year Kali-yugam 3606, or A. D. 506. This Prince ſent an officer named Sankara Déva Ráya to viſit Tulava. In his train was a meſſenger (Peon) named Huca-buca, a Curuba by caſt. This fellow, having received aſſiſtance from the Yavanas, took Anagundi, and having built a city near it, which he called Vijaya-nagara, or the city of victory, he aſſumed the title of Hari-hara Ráya. This account of the origin of the family of Vijaya-nagara may be attributed to the following circumſtance. The Bráhmans of Tulava had hitherto been exempted from taxes; but Hari-hara, on the conqueſt of the country, impoſed an annual tax upon them, to the amount of 12,000 morays of rice. Déva Swámi, a tributary Prince, was ordered to collect this tax; but,

but, his conſcience having revolted at the thoughts of exacting tribute from the Bráhmans, he was diſmiſſed, and their tax was increaſed to 2578 pagodas in money. The hiſtory of the Gráma Paditti ends with this grievous event; but the Bráhmans ſay, that thirteen Princes of the family of Hari-hara governed for about 150 years, or from A. D. 493 to 643. Unfortunately for the exactneſs of this chronology, many inſcriptions on ſtone, made in the reigns of theſe Princes, are ſcattered throughout their dominions. Copies of five of theſe have been delivered to the Bengal government. The date of the firſt is in the era of Salivahanam 1297, or A. D. 1375, and of the lateſt E. S. 1400, or A. D. 1478. With this correction of about eight centuries and a half, Muhammad Surutala may have been a Muſſulman, and probably ſome of the followers of Muhammad Ghizni. The Yavana dynaſty of Anagundi is, however, a matter of great curioſity and not yet well underſtood.

Theſe Bráhmans ſay, that the celebrated Kriſhna Ráyalu, of Vijaya-nagara, was not of the family of Hari-hara, but governed the ſame dominions after the overthrow of the former dynaſty. He was deſcended from the nurſe of one of the five Princes called Pándus, who lived at the commencement of the preſent Kail-yugam. Dharma Ráya, the laſt of theſe five brothers, died in the year 36 of that era, or 4865 years ago.

12th February. — I went three coſſes to Brahmá-wara.

13th February. — I went three coſſes to Hirtitty, one of the fourteen ſmall villages that are called by the common name of Cotta. The whole of this almoſt is occupied by Bráhmans, who pretend to be of Paraſu Ráma's colony, although almoſt the only language ſpoken by them is that of Karnáta. Very few of them underſtand the peculiar dialect of Tulava. It muſt be obſerved, however, that, this country having been long ſubject to Princes reſiding above the Ghats, all perſons of rank ſpeak the language of Karnáta; and from having been ſubject to theſe Princes, and from its having been the place where all intercourſe between them and Europeans was conducted, the province has got the name of the coaſt of Canara, a corruption of Karnáta. In the towns on the ſea-coaſt the Muſſulman language is more commonly underſtood, than in any other part of the peninſula that I have viſited.

14th February. — I went three coſſes to Kunda-pura, where I entered the northern diviſion of Canara.

16th February. — I was obliged to ſet out without ſeeing Ramuppa Varmika; and, after having croſſed the lake, I went three coſſes to Kira-manéſwara, a temple dedicated to Siva. I paſſed firſt between the ſea and a branch of the Kunda-pura lake, and afterwards my road led along a riſing ground near the ſea. I ſaw many plantations of cocoa-nut trees; but, owing to the want of inhabitants, they are very poor.

17th February. — Early in the morning I was joined by the learned Bráhman Ramuppa Varmika, who accompanied me to Beiduru, three coſſes diſtant. By the way we croſſed three rivers; the firſt, called the Edamavany, is the moſt conſiderable; the ſecond alſo is not fordable, and is called Angaru; the third is ſmall, and joins the ſecond at ſome diſtance to the weſtward. Its channel is in many places ſhut up, and converted into places for making ſalt; for the tide in all the three rivers reaches a conſiderable way into the country. On this day's route there is much rice-ground, and the crops look well.

Beiduru is an open village, containing about 120 houſes. It had once a fort, and was then a large place, which belonged to a Jain Princeſs, named Byra Dévi. This family was deſtroyed by the Siva-bhaktars, and the place has ever ſince been on the decline. The cultivators now are Bráhmans, and Nadavar, who are a kind of Bunts, but they do not ſpeak the language of Tulava. The Jainar are quite extinct.

One temple of the kind called Buſty continued until the time of Hyder; when the pujari, being no longer able to procure a ſubſiſtence, left the place.

The temple at preſent here is one dedicated to Siva. There are about it ſeveral inſcriptions on ſtone, that contain the grants of lands with which the temple was endowed. One, which was a good deal defaced, ſo as not to be wholly legible, is dated in the year of Salivahanam 1445 (A. D. 152$\frac{3}{7}$), in the time of Devaraſu Wodear, Rájá of Sanghita-pura; and ſon of Sanga-raya Wodear, who held his Ráyada of Kriſhna Raya, the chief of Rájás in wealth, a Rájá equal to Paraméſwara, a hero greater than the Trivira, &c. &c. Sanghitapura, in the vulgar language called Hadwully, is four coſſes eaſt from Batuculla, and was formerly the reſidence of a governor appointed by the Kings of Vijaya-nagara. Devaraſu Wodear muſt either have been one of theſe, or an anceſtor of Byra Dévi. Kriſhna Ráya is, no doubt, the celebrated Ráyalu of that name.

In another inſcription, of which a copy has been preſented to the Bengal government, it is ſtated, that in the year of Salivahanam 1429 (A. D. 150$\frac{6}{7}$), and in the reign of Jebila Naraſingha Ráya, the great King of Vijaya-nagara, Kedaly Baſwappa Arſa Wodear having been appointed to the Ráyada of Barcuru, with orders to reſtore the lands of the god, and of the Bráhmans, certain merchants of Bideruru (Nagara) founded an inn for the accommodation of ſix travelling Bráhmans, and for this purpoſe purchaſed certain lands, which are ſpecified in the inſcription.

Ramuppa Varmika ſays, that his family have been hereditary Shanabogas, or accomptants of Barcuru diſtrict, ever ſince the time of the Belalla Ráyas; which dynaſty, according to him, commenced their reign here in the year 637 of Salivahanam or A. D. 71$\frac{4}{7}$. Ramuppa, however, poſſeſſes no revenue accompts previous to the conqueſt of the country by Hari-hara Ráyalu, in the year of Sal. 1258 (A. D. 133$\frac{1}{8}$).

Chap. XVI. — *Journey through the Northern Parts of Canara.*

FEBRUARY 18th. — I went four coſſes to Batuculla, which means the round town.

Batuculla is a large open town, containing 500 houſes. It has two moſques; one of which receives from the Company an allowance of 100 pagodas, and the other half as much. Theſe places of worſhip are ſituated in a quarter of the town inhabited by Muſſulmans alone. Many of theſe are wealthy, and go on commercial ſpeculations to different parts of the coaſt; but this is their home, and here they leave their families. In this part of the country there are no Buntar, nor does the language of Tulava extend ſo far to the north. In fact, Batuculla is properly in a country called Haiga; and the moſt common farmers are a kind of Bráhmans, named Haiga after the country, and a low caſt of Hindus called Halepecas. There are here 76 gudies, or temples belonging to the followers of the Vyáſa.

19th February. — Honawera being too far diſtant for two days journey with my cattle, I went a ſhort ſtage of one coſs and a half to Shiraly.

20th February. — I went three coſſes to Beiluru, which ſignifies the cleared place, and is a common name in countries where the dialect of Karnáta prevails. My tents were, however, pitched in a very ſtately grove of the Calophyllum inophyllum, which in this part of the country is much planted near the villages. It grows to a large ſize, eſpecially in ſandy places near the ſea. The common lamp oil of the country is expreſſed from its ſeed, by means of a mill turned by oxen. It is here called hoingay, the name by which above the Ghats the robinia mitis is known. In Tulava

and

and Malayala it is called puna, by us commonly written poon. I ſuſpect that the poon of the eaſtern iſlands is different.

From Shiraly to Beiluru the plain, between the ſea and the low hills, varies in breadth from half a mile to a mile and a half. Its ſoil is in general good, and almoſt the whole of it is cultivated for rice; but few parts yield two crops annually. The ſea-ſhore is ſkirted with groves of cocoa-nut palms, and the view is very beautiful. This plain is only watered by two ſmall ſtreams, the one of which is a branch of the Shiraly. Among the low hills are ſaid to be, as uſual, many narrow rice vallies. About three-quarters of a coſs from Beiluru is Murodéſwara, a temple ſtanding on a lofty promontory that has been fortified, and at high water is inſulated by a narrow channel. To the ſouth of the promontory is a ſmall bay, ſheltered by ſome rocks, which appear above the water, and afford protection to boats. Near this is a ſmall village containing ſhops (bazars). South-weſt from the promontory is a peaked iſland, which I ſuppoſe is what our ſeamen call Hog Iſland: the natives call it Jaliconda. In the offing from Murodéſwara is a very large rock; and ſtill farther weſt an iſland, which I ſuppoſe is what the ſeamen call Pigeon Iſland. It ſeems to be five or ſix leagues from the continent, and is pretty high, with a flat top. By the natives it is called Naytrany Guda, which laſt word ſignifies a hill. They ſay, that it has trees, with a ſmall ſtream of freſh water, and good landing on its weſtern ſide. Its caves are frequented by many wild pigeons, whence the European name is probably derived. It is frequented alſo by boats for coral, with which its ſhores abound; and they likewiſe ſupply all the neighbouring continent with quick lime.

To this iſland many people alſo go to pray, offer cocoa-nuts, and ſacrifice to a ſtone pillar called Jetiga, which repreſents a buta, or male devil. As this ſpirit is ſuppoſed to deſtroy the boats of thoſe who neglect him, he is chiefly worſhipped by traders and fiſhermen. On the continent there is another pillar called Jetiga; but as this devil is leſs troubleſome than the one on the iſland, he receives fewer marks of attention.

21ſt February.—I went four coſſes to the ſouth ſide of the Honawera lake, and encamped in a cocoa-nut grove cloſe by the ferry, which is above a mile wide, and without previous notice it is impoſſible to procure a conveyance capable of tranſporting cattle. The country from Beiluru to Caſſergody, about two miles from the ferry, is one of the moſt barren that I ever ſaw. It conſiſts of low hills of laterite, which extend down to the ſea, and are almoſt deſtitute of ſoil. In ſome places a few ſtunted trees may be ſeen; but in general the rock is thinly ſcattered with tufts of graſs, or of thorny plants. On the whole route there are only two narrow vallies. In theſe there are a few inhabitants, and a little good rice-land. On deſcending to Caſſergoda the traveller enters a plain, which after having been in the deſert, looks well; but its ſoil is very poor, and it wants cultivators, eſpecially to plant cocoa-nut palms, for which it is beſt fitted.

The lake is of great extent, and, like that at Kunda-pura, contains many iſlands, ſome of which are cultivated. It reaches almoſt to the Ghats, and in the dry ſeaſon is quite ſalt; but it receives many ſmall ſtreams, which during the rainy monſoon become torrents, and render the whole freſh. By the natives it is commonly called a river, but lake is a more proper term. The lake abounds with fiſh; but many more are taken in the ſea, and, when ſalted, form a conſiderable article of commerce with the inland country. Each fiſhing-boat pays annually to government from four to ſix rupees.

22d February. — I croſſed the inlet or lake, and went two coſſes to Hulledy-pura, where the tahſildar of Honawera reſides.

24th February. — I went a long journey, called four coſſes, and encamped on the ſouth ſide of a river oppoſite to Mirzee. About two coſſes from Hulledy-pura, I came to a town named Cumty. It ſeems to have been formerly a place of ſome note. Its lanes are ſtraight, and fenced with ſtone walls, and it has many cocoa-nut gardens.

On my return from the pepper hills to Mirzee, I paſſed a very fine plantation of betel-nut palms, belonging to four Bráhmans, and containing many thouſand trees. It was placed on the two ſteep ſides of a very narrow valley, well ſupplied with water from ſprings. Here I obſerved the firſt regular ſtrata ſince leaving Pali-ghat: they conſiſted of very ſoft pot-ſtone, probably impregnated with hornblende ſlate, as they ſeem to be a continuation of the quarries of ſlaty ſienite, from which the temples at Batuculla have been ſupplied with ſtone. I have already noticed the affinity that prevails between the hornblende and pot-ſtone rocks in the dominions of Myſore. The ſtrata at this garden are vertical, and run nearly north and ſouth.

26th February. — I went three coſſes to Gaukarna. There was a thick fog, which prevented me from ſeeing the country; but near the road it was a plain, conſiſting moſtly of rice-fields; many of which, by the breaking down of the bank, had been inundated with ſalt water. At the weſtern extremity of this plain is a ridge of low barren hills, which bend round to the ſea, and ſeparate the plain on the banks of the river from that on which Gaukarna ſtands, about a coſs north from the mouth of the river. The plain of Gaukarna is well cultivated, and conſiſts of rice-fields intermixed with cocoa-nut gardens.

Gaukarna, or the cow's horn, is a place of great note among the Bráhmans, owing to a celebrated image of Siva, called Mahaboléswara. The image is ſaid to have been brought from the mountain Coila by Ravana, King of Lanca. He wiſhed to carry it to his capital; but having put it down here, the idol became fixed in the place, where it ſtands to this day. The building, by which the idol is at preſent covered, is very mean. Gaukarna is a ſcattered place, buried among cocoa-nut plams; but enjoys ſome commerce, and contains 500 houſes, of which Bráhmans occupy one-half.

On my return, I met with an itinerant image of Hanumanta. He was in a palanquin, attended by a púját, and many vairagis, and had tents, flags, thibet-tails, and all other inſignia of honour. He was on an expedition to collect the money that individuals in diſtreſs had vowed to his maſter Vencata Ramanya, the idol at Tripathi; and from his ſtyle of travelling ſeemed to have been ſucceſsful. Many ſuch collectors are conſtantly travelling about the peninſula. Out of the contributions the púját (prieſt) defrays all the expences of the party, and pays the balance into the treaſury at Tripathi, which is one of the richeſt that the Hindus now poſſeſs.

At the temples here dancing girls are kept, which is not done any where on the coaſt toward the ſouth; for in Tulava and Malayala many of the fineſt women are at all times devoted to the ſervice of the Bráhmans.

28th February. — I went three coſſes to Ancola. Midway is the Gangawali, an inlet of ſalt water that ſeparates Haiga, or Haiva, from Kankana. Its mouth toward the ſea is narrow; but inwards it forms a lake, which is from one mile to half that extent in width, except at the ferry, where it contracts to four or five hundred yards. Boats of a conſiderable ſize (patemars) can come over the bar, and aſcend the river for three coſſes. Canoes can go three coſſes farther, to the foot of the Ghats. The boats of Haiga are the rudeſt of any that I have ever ſeen, and no where worſe than on this river,

river, which poſſeſſes no trade; and the country on its banks, although very beautiful, ſeems rather barren.

1ſt March. — I went five coſſes to Chandya.

In this part of Kankana, a little cut, catechu, or terra japonica, is made by ſome poor people, who gave me the following account of the proceſs. The tree, or mimoſa catechu, is called here keiri, and grows ſpontaneouſly on all the hills of Kankana, but no where elſe in the peninſula that I obſerved. It is felled at any ſeaſon; and, the white wood being removed, the heart is cut into ſmall bits, and put with one-half the quantity of water by meaſure, into a round-bellied earthen pot. It is then boiled for about three hours; and when the decoction has become ropy, it is decanted. The ſame quantity of water is again added, and boiled, until it becomes ropy; when it is decanted, and a third water alſo is given. This extracts all the ſubſtance from the wood. The three decoctions are then mixed, and next morning boiled in ſmall pots, until the extract becomes thick, like tar. It is afterwards allowed to remain in the pots for two days, and then has become ſo hard, that it will not run. Some huſks of rice are then ſpread on the ground, and the inſpiſſated juice is formed into balls, about the ſize of oranges, which are placed on the huſks, or on leaves, and dried ſeven days in the ſun. For two months afterwards they are ſpread out in the ſhade to dry, or in the rainy ſeaſon for twice that length of time, and are then fit for ſale. Merchants who live about the Ghats advance the whole price four months before the time of delivery, and give 2 rupees for a maund of 40 cutcha ſeers of 24 rupees weight; that is, for a hundred-weight $9\frac{8}{10}$ rupees, or nearly 1l. ſterling. The merchants who purchaſe reſide chiefly at Darwara Shanore, and other parts in that neighbourhood, and are thoſe who ſupply the greater part of the peninſula with this article, which among the natives is in univerſal uſe. Their greateſt ſupply comes from that part of Kankana which is ſubject to the Marattahs. The encouragement of this manufacture in Britiſh Kankana ſeems to merit attention. The tree is exactly the ſame with what I found uſed for the like purpoſe in the dominions of Ava, and does not agree very well with the deſcriptions in the Supplementum Plantarum of the younger Linnæus, nor in Dr. Roxburgh's manuſcripts.

2d March. — I went three coſſes to Sedaſiva-ghur.

4th March. — I went three coſſes to Gopi-chitty.

5th March. — I went four coſſes to Caderi, and did not ſee a houſe the whole way; but the heads of ſome cultivated vallies approach near the road, and extend from thence towards the river.

6th March. — I went four coſſes to Avila-gotna, without having ſeen the ſmalleſt trace of cultivation, or of inhabitants. The country is not, however, entirely a deſert. Small villages are ſcattered through the foreſts, and hidden in its receſſes.

7th March. — Although before leaving Sedáſiva-ghur, I had collected the perſons who were ſaid to be beſt informed concerning the road, and had procured from them a liſt of ſtages ſaid to be diſtant from each other three or four coſſes, that is, about ten or thirteen miles; yet to-day I came to my ſtage at Déva-kara, after leſs than an hour's journey.

CHAP. XVII. — *Journey from the Entrance into Karnata to Hyder-nagara, through the Principalities of Soonda and Ikeri.*

MARCH 8th, 1801. — On leaving Déva-kára, the valley watered by the Bidhâti becomes very narrow, and you enter Karnata Déſam, which extends below the Ghats, and occupies all the defiles leading up to the mountains. Karnata has been corrupted into Canara; and the coaſts of Tulava and Haiga, with the adjacent parts of Malayâla and Kankana, as belonging to Princes reſiding in Karnata, have been called the coaſt of

of Canara. The language and people of this Déſam being called Karnataca, the Muſſulmans, on conquering the peninſula, applied this name, changed into Carnatic, to the whole country ſubject to its Princes, and talked of a Carnatic above the Ghats, and one below theſe mountains; although no part of this laſt diviſion belonged to the Karnata of the Hindus. Europeans for a long time conſidered the country below the eaſtern Ghats as the proper Carnatic; and, when going to leave Dravada and enter the real Karnata, they talked of going up from the Carnatic to Myſore.

9th March. — I went what was called two Sultany coſſes, to Cutaki; but this eſtimate is formed more from the difficulty of the road than the actual diſtance, which cannot be above five or ſix miles. At firſt I aſcended cloſe to the river, with a high hill immediately on my right. Soon after I came to the foot of the Ghat, where a fine ſtream enters from the ſouth through ſome ground fit for cultivation; but of this no traces can be obſerved. I then aſcended a very long and ſteep hill, ſloping up by the ſides of deep glens; and having gone a little way on a level ridge, I deſcended a conſiderable way into a valley, where there is a fine perennial ſtream. On the banks of this are ſome rice-ground, and a wood which ſpontaneouſly produces pepper, and which is totally neglected. I then aſcended a mountain, ſtill longer and ſteeper than the firſt; and after a very ſhort deſcent came to a ſmall lake, and a building for the accommodation of travellers. Another ſhort aſcent brought me to a plain country above the Ghats, and immediately afterwards I came to Cutaki.

Here the weſtern Ghats aſſume an appearance very different from that at Pedda Náyakana Durga, or Kaveri-pura. The hills, although ſteep and ſtony, are by no means rugged, or broken with rocks; on the contrary, the ſtones are buried in a rich mould, and in many places are not to be ſeen without digging. Inſtead, therefore, of the naked, ſun-burnt, rocky peaks, ſo common in the eaſtern Ghats, we here have fine mountains clothed with the moſt ſtately foreſts. I have no where ſeen finer trees, nor any bamboos that could be compared with thoſe which I this day obſerved. The bamboos compoſe a large part of the foreſt, grow in detached clumps, with open ſpaces between, and equal in height the caryota urens, one of the moſt ſtately palms, of which alſo there is great plenty. There is no underwood nor creepers to interrupt the traveller who might chooſe to wander in any direction through theſe woods; but the numerous tigers, and the unhealthineſs of the climate, would render any long ſtay very uncomfortable. About midway up the Ghats the teak becomes common; but it is very inferior in ſize to the following trees, which unfortunately are of leſs value.

Tari, Myrobalanus Taria, *Buch. MSS.*

Jamba, Mimoſa xylocarpon, *Roxb.*

Nandy, foliis oppoſitis, non ſtipulaceis, integerrimis, ſubtus tomentoſis. — This is reckoned to make good planks and beams.

Unda Muraga, foliis oppoſitis, integerrimis ſtipulis inter folia ut in Rubiaceis poſitis. — Alſo reckoned good for planks and beams.

Mutti, Chuncoa Muttia, *Buch. MSS.* — Good timber.

Sampigy, Michelia Champaca. — The wood uſed for drums.

Shaguddy. Shaguda, *Buch. MSS.* A ſtrong timber.

Wontay. Artocarpus Bengalenſis, *Roxb. MSS.* — The fruit is about the ſize of an orange, and is preſerved with ſalt. Here it is uſed by the natives in place of tamarinds, which are much employed by the Hindu cooks.

Honnay. Pterocarpus ſantalinus, *Willd.* — The teak in ſome parts of this diſtrict of Yella-pura is abundant, and in the rainy ſeaſon may be floated down the river.

Below the Ghats the country conſiſts of the laterite, or brickſtone, ſo often mentioned;

tioned; but it is much intermixed with granites, and talcoſe argilite, which ſeems to be nothing more than the pot-ſtone impregnated with more argill than uſual, and aſſuming a ſlaty form.

The ſtrata on the Ghats are much covered with the ſoil; ſo that it is in a few places only that they are to be ſeen. Having no compaſs, I could not aſcertain their courſe; but, ſo far as I could judge from the ſun in a country ſo hilly, they appeared to run north and ſouth, with a dip to the eaſt of about 30 degrees. Wherever it appears on the ſurface, the rock, although extremely hard or tough, is in a ſtate of decay; and owing to this decay, its ſtratified nature is very evident. The plates, indeed, of which the ſtrata conſiſt, are in general under a foot in thickneſs, and are ſubdivided into rhomboidal fragments by fiſſures which have a ſmooth ſurface. It is properly an aggregate ſtone, compoſed of quartz impregnated with hornblende. From this laſt it acquires its great toughneſs. In decay, the hornblende in ſome plates ſeems to waſte faſter than in others, and thus leaves the ſtone divided into zones, which are alternately porous and white. I am inclined to think, that all mountains of a hornblende nature are leſs rugged than thoſe of granite, owing to their being more eaſily decompoſed by the action of the air. This rock contains many ſmall cryſtallized particles, apparently of iron.

From the ſummit of the Ghats to Cutaki the whole country is level enough for the plough, and the ſoil is apparently good; yet, except in ſome low narrow ſpaces uſed for rice-ground and betel-nut gardens, there is no cultivation. Cutaki is a poor little village, with ſeven houſes.

I perceive no difference in the temperature of air, on coming from the country below the Ghats; and, in fact, do not think that I have to-day aſcended more than a thouſand feet perpendicular height. This is perhaps the very loweſt part of the mountains; but the country is ſaid to riſe rapidly all the way to the Marattah frontier.

10th March.—I went four coſſes to Yella-pura.

11th March.—I went four coſſes to Caray Hoſſo-hully; that is, the new village at the tank.

12th March.—I went three coſſes to Sancada-gonda.

13th March.—I went three coſſes to the place which Europeans and Muſſulmans call Soonda. In the vulgar language of Karnata it is called Sudha, which is a corruption from Sudha-pura, the Sanſkrit appellation. The road was very circuitous; as I went firſt about ſouth-weſt, and afterwards almoſt eaſt.

14th March.—I went four Sultany coſſes to Serſi. The outermoſt wall of Sudha was at leaſt ſix miles from where I had encamped, and is ſaid by the natives to be ſixteen coſſes, or at leaſt forty-eight miles, in circumference. There are three lines of fortification round the town. The extent of the firſt, as I have already obſerved, was eſtimated by the natives at three miles ſquare, and the whole ſpace that it contained was cloſely occupied by houſes. In the two ſpaces ſurrounded by the outer lines, the houſes were formerly ſcattered in ſmall clumps, with gardens between them.

From the outer gate of Sudha, till I reached Serſi, I ſaw neither houſes nor cultivation; but it was ſaid, that there were villages in the vicinity of the road. The country is more level than that through which I came yeſterday. In two places the trees of the foreſt were covered with pepper-vines; but theſe were entirely neglected. Serſi is a ſmall village, but it is the reſidence of the Tahſildar under whom Sudha is placed. It is not centrical for the diſtrict, but is choſen on account of its being a

great thoroughfare, and as having a very conſiderable cuſtom-houſe. It has a ſmall mud fort, in which nobody reſides, although robbers are ſtill troubleſome; but to live in forts is not the cuſtom of Sudha. Near it are the ruins of a fortreſs, which was built by Rám Chandra Nayaka, the ſecond Prince of the laſt dynaſty. It is called Chinna-pattana, the ſame name with that of the city which we call Madras.

From a garden on the weſt ſide of Serſi, the Sálamala, or Gangawali river takes its riſe; and on its eaſt ſide, from a tank called Aganaſini, iſſues a river of the ſame name, which in the lower part of its courſe is called the Tari-holay.

16th March. — Having been employed all the 15th in taking the foregoing account, I to-day went five coſſes to Banawáſi. A great deal of the country through which I paſſed has been formerly cleared; and the greater part, although now waſte, has not yet been overgrown with trees.

18th March. — I entered the territory of the Myſore Rájá, and went to Chandra-gupti. The country through which I paſſed is level, and would appear to have been at one time almoſt entirely cultivated. A great part of it is now overgrown with trees, which have not yet had time to arrive at a great height. Chandra-gupti or Chandra-guti, is alſo called ſimply Guti; care muſt therefore be taken to diſtinguiſh it from Gutti, a place of ſome note ſituated at a diſtance towards the north. It formed one of the firſt acquiſitions of the houſe of Ikeri, and has a fort, which ſtands on a high peaked hill. The fable of the natives ſays, that this hill was formerly of an immenſe height, and prevented the moon from going round in her due courſe; whence the name of the place is derived. When the Racſha Jellaſunda had defeated Kriſhna, that incarnation of the deity hid himſelf among the rocks of this hill. The enraged demon, not being able to diſcover the god, conſumed the hill to its preſent ſize, very much to the ſatisfaction of the moon. It may perhaps be thought, that this fable may have ariſen from a tradition of the hill having been formerly a volcano. For my own part, I think that theſe ſtories are ſo monſtrous, that nothing can be drawn from them, but a commiſeration for the credulity of mankind.

About a coſs north from Chandra-gupti is a hill producing iron ore, which is wrought to ſome extent. It is found in veins intermixed with laterite, like the ore of Angada-puram in Malabar. The ore is of the ſame nature with what is uſually ſmelted in the peninſula; that is to ſay, it is a black ſand ore, which here is conglutinated by clay into a maſs, and contains leſs extraneous matter than common. It is broken into ſmall pieces, and the little maſſes of iron are picked out of the clay. Every man employed in the work pays to government two rupees or about 4s.; and they all have an equal ſhare of the produce. There being no tax on the forges, is perhaps the reaſon why none are mentioned in the public accompts of this Ráyada, in which much iron is ſmelted. The workmen ſay, that in Billighy and Sudha, there is abundance of ore; but in theſe diſtricts there are no people who underſtand the proceſs.

The rock on which the fort is built is a white granite without obſervable ſtrata, exactly like that of Jamal-ábád, and which is common throughout Haiga. The nature of the minerals there and here is indeed quite ſimilar.

19th March. — I went three coſſes to Sunticopa, or dry-ginger-village.

20th March. — I went three coſſes to Kilidi.

21ſt March. — I went three coſſes to Ikeri, through a country entirely like that which I ſaw yeſterday. Near Ikeri is a well-built town, named Ságar, which at preſent is the reſidence of the chief of the diſtrict (amildar). It ſtands on the ſouthern bank of the Varadá, which is here a very ſmall ſtream, as being near its ſource.

Ságar has ſome merchants of property, who export to a conſiderable diſtance the produce of the country.

During the time Ikeri was the reſidence of the Princes deſcended from Sedáſiva, it was a very large place, and by the natives is ſaid, in round numbers, and with the uſual exaggeration, to have contained 100,000 houſes. Like Sudha, its walls are of very great extent, and form three concentric enclosures, rather than fortifications. It had alſo a citadel, but of no great ſtrength, which, until eight or ten years ago, continued to be garriſoned. Within it was the palace of the Rájá, conſtructed of mud and timber, like thoſe of Tippoo, and by no means a large building. The wooden work has been neatly carved, and covered with falſe gilding. The temple of Siva, where the town ſtood, is a large edifice, and is formed of ſtone brought from a great diſtance; but, as uſual, it is deſtitute of either elegance or grandeur. It is now repairing, and workmen have been brought from Goa for the purpoſe; even the Portugueſe of India being more ſkilful artiſts than any that can be procured in this country. At Ikeri there remains no town, but the devaſtation has not been occaſioned by any calamity. When the court removed to Bidderuru, the inhabitants willingly followed. Ikeri continued, however, to be the nominal capital; the Rájás were called by its name, and the coins were ſuppoſed to be ſtruck there, although in fact the mint was removed.

22d March. — I went three coſſes to Ghenaſu-guli.

23d March. — I went three coſſes to Duma, or Dumam.

24th March. — Although I had deſired the guides to divide the road into tolerably equal ſtages, I found this day's journey to Fatahpetta very ſhort. It was called two Sultany coſſes. The country is rather opener than what we paſſed through on the two preceding days; but a large proportion of the ſmall quantity of rice-ground is waſte.

25th March. — I went two coſſes to the centre of Hyder Nagara, through a fog ſo thick that I could ſee little of the country. It is extremely hilly, and overgrown with woods, in which there are many fortified defiles and paſſes, that are guarded by armed men in the ſervice of the Myſore Rájá.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Journey from Hyder-nagara to Heriuru, through the Principalities of Ikeri and Chatrakal.*

MARCH 29th. — I went to Cowldurga, which is ſaid to be four coſſes from Nagara; but the ſtage proved very long, as the gate was at leaſt four miles from where my tents had been pitched. The road the whole way is exceedingly rough and hilly. The hills are all covered with woods, moſt of which produce the wild pepper vine: but theſe are quite neglected; and as they are not cultivated, although the village people collect a little pepper, they pay no revenue. The want of the ſtimulus of rent ſeems to produce the neglect. I paſſed through a good many narrow vallies fit for the cultivation of rice, ſeveral of which were entirely waſte. All the ſtreams of theſe vallies fall into the river of Honawera.

30th March. — I went four coſſes to Hodalla.

31ſt March. — I went to Tuduru. The ſtage ſeemed to be ſhort, but it is called four coſſes. The road paſſes near a village called Maluru, but on the whole way I did not ſee a houſe. By far the greater part of the country is covered with ſtunted woods; and as the roads generally follow the low hills, theſe hide from the view of the traveller the greater part of what is cultivated.

1ſt April. — I went four coſſes to Baikſhaváni Mata. The road is near the left bank of the Tunga.

2d April. — I went a long ſtage, called five coſſes, to Shiva-mogay. The firſt two coſſes of this road are in a foreſt of very fine trees, many of which are teak. On leaving

this, I entered an open country extending very far to the eaſtward. The greater part of it ſeems to be fit for cultivation; but at preſent a want of inhabitants renders the greateſt part of it a waſte. One coſs from the foreſt is Gajunuru, a fort and village on the left bank of the Tunga.

At the entrance into the open country, the laterite ſeems to ſtop. The laſt that I have ſeen was at Baikſhaváni Mata. Between that place and Shiva-mogay the ſtrata are not very obſervable. In ſome places they appear to run eaſt and weſt, in others the rock ſeems not to be ſtratified. In one place only, ſince I came up to Karnata, have I obſerved the large veins of quartz ſo common to the eaſtward, and I ſaw none in any place below the weſtern Ghats.

4th April. — I went four coſſes to Kudali. The country all the way is plain; but it contains many detached hills, ſome of which, towards the north, are pretty high. The whole country is bare, and almoſt entirely waſte.

Midway I came to a village, where the inhoſpitable diſpoſition of the natives fully manifeſted itſelf. Near this village, I overtook a ſepoy lying in the uttermoſt agony from a rupture. Having with ſome difficulty reduced it, the pain in his groin was ſucceeded by a violent colic, which contracted his limbs; and, had any exerciſe been at all proper for a man in his condition, rendered him totally unable to walk. I therefore went into the village, in order to procure a cot or bedſtead, of which a litter could be readily made. As I had left all my attendants with the ſick man, except an interpreter, the villagers held me in contempt. I found the Gauda, his brother, and ſome head men of the village, all Sivabhactars, ſtanding in converſation, and wrapped up in their blankets. Having made known to them my caſe, the Gauda replied, that they had no cots, and his brother talked very loud, and in an inſolent manner. This was checked by the coming up of a ſuperior officer of revenue, who informed me that there were cots in every houſe; but neither offers of payment, nor threats of complaint, were of more avail than humanity. In excuſe for theſe people, it may however be ſaid, that the ſepoy belonged to the Bombay army, a detachment of which had enabled Purſeram Bhow to commit all his cruelties. Not that the Bombay army had any ſhare in theſe exceſſes; but without its aſſiſtance he either would not have ventured into the country at all, or would have been aſſuredly defeated at Shiva-mogay.

The hills here, however, are not ſo rugged as toward Myſore; but the ſtrata run north and ſouth, and contain many lumps of quartz. In all the open country, where there is no laterite, the limeſtone nodules abound. Although the natives in general think that calcareous ſtone in the ground diminiſhes its fertility, I have an idea that the want of this ſubſtance in the countries to the weſtward, more than any abſolute ſterility in their ſoil, may be the cauſe why the dry grains do not thrive.

6th April. — I went three coſſes to Baswa-pattana, in order to avoid a ſteep mountanious road, called a ghat, that lies in the direct route between Sahaſiva-hully, and Hari-hara. On the open country through which I paſſed, there are ſcattered ſeveral ſmall hills.

7th April. — I went three coſſes to Malaya Banuru. This laſt word is a common termination in the names of villages in this part of the country, and ſignifies a place behind any other; thus Malaya Banuru ſignifies the place behind the hill.

8th April. — I went a very long ſtage, called four coſſes, to Harihara, and by the way croſſed a large empty water courſe, and afterwards a wide channel containing a conſiderable ſtream, which comes from the Solicaray, and is therefore called the Solicaray holay. It falls into the Tungabhadra immediately above Hari-hara, and never dries, except in very extraordinary ſeaſons.

11th April. — I went three coſſes to Davana-giri.

12th April. — To day I was prevented from advancing by no leſs than ſeven of my people

people having been ſeized with the fever in the courſe of the night, and from its being impoſſible, without ſome delay, to provide means for their being carried. Fevers have of late been very prevalent among my ſervants, although the country is perfectly dry and clear. The weather is now very hot in the day-time, with ſtrong irregular blaſts of hot wind, which often comes in whirls. The nights are tolerably cool. Early this morning we had a very heavy rain, with much thunder, but little wind.

13th April. — I went what was called four coſſes, but the ſtage was exceedingly long, and I halted at Coduganar.

In the forenoon a leopard was killed by the people of the village in a garden near the town, and brought to my tent in great triumph, with every thing reſembling a flag, and every inſtrument capable of making a noiſe, that could be collected. Firſt he had been ſhot in the belly, and then he was driven to the banks of a reſervoir, where he ſtood at bay; and, before he was killed, wounded three of the men who attacked him with ſpears; one of whom was ſeverely torn. He agreed very well with the deſcription in Ker's tranſlation of Linnæus, and was about four feet from the ſnout to the root of the tail. He had killed ſeveral oxen; and in this country, it is not unuſual for leopards to attack even men. Although I have called this animal the leopard, there is reaſon to think that it does not differ from the panther of India; for I am perſuaded that we have no larger ſpotted animal of the feline genus. The Indian panther and leopard I conſider, therefore, as two names for the ſame animal. The African panther may, however, be different, as certainly is the hunting leopard of India.

14th April. — I went a very long ſtage, called four coſſes, to Aligutta.

15th April. — I went a very long ſtage, called alſo four coſſes, and encamped in the plain near Chitteldroog, as we call it. Moſt of the country through which I paſſed is tolerably good, but very thinly peopled, and poorly cultivated. After having paſſed over a low ridge of hills, I came to a ſmall rivulet, named Jenigay holay, which has its ſource from Bhima Samudra, and from various mountain torrents. It runs towards Gudi-cotay, the chief town of a diſtrict in this principality, and contains water at all ſeaſons. It forms ſome fine reſervoirs, and in ſeveral places is alſo conveyed by canals to irrigate the fields for cultivation.

The plain of Chitteldroog is two coſſes and a half from north to ſouth, and one coſs from eaſt to weſt; the coſs here being at leaſt four miles. It is every where ſurrounded by low, rocky, bare hills, on one of which ſtands the durga, or fort, formerly the reſidence of the Polygars of this country. By the natives it is called either Sitala-durga, that is to ſay, the ſpotted caſtle, or Chatrakal, which ſignifies the umbrella rock; for the umbrella is one of the inſignia of royalty. During the government of the Ráyarus, the tributary Polygars of Chatrakal, who by deſcent were hunters (Baydaru) governed a country valued at 10,000 pagodas a year, or 3120l. 8s. 4d. On the decline of the royal family of Vijaya-nagara, theſe enterpriſing hunters, by gradually encroaching on their neighbours, increaſed their territories, until they became worth annually 350,000 pagodas, or 109,213l. 10s. 10d. The Moguls had no ſooner ſettled at Sira, than they began to covet the Chatrakal principality, which being entirely an open country, ought to have fallen an eaſy prey to their cavalry. Sida Hilal, Nabob of Sira, made the attempt, and beſieged the town for two years, but without ſucceſs. He then retired to Sira, having received a promiſe of an annual tribute, the payment of which he probably did not expect. Hyder, ſoon after taking Bidderuru, attacked Chatrakal. The firſt ſiege laſted five months, and was unſucceſsful. After the ſecond ſiege had continued ſix months, there was little proſpect of ſucceſs, and Hyder had recourſe to corruption. Partly by money, and partly by the influence of a common faith, he obtained

the treacherous aſſiſtance of a Muſſulman officer, to whom the Rájá had given a high military command. At this time the town was very large, and filled a great portion of the plain; but owing to the removal of its court it has ſince gradually decayed. Still, however, it is a conſiderable place, and ſeems to receive particular encouragement from Purnea. It is now confined entirely within the walls, which are near the foot of the rock. They were ſtrengthened by Hyder; and the town, after the peace granted by Lord Cornwallis, having become a place near the Marattah frontier, Tippoo had employed Dhowlut Khan, one of his ſlaves, to add much to its ſtrength. The new works are now completing, and will render it totally impregnable againſt ſuch invaders.

April 17th. — I went two coſſes to Siddamana-hully, a mud fort, containing ſixty houſes.

April 18th. — I went three coſſes to Imangula, and had on my right all the way a prolongation from the hills on which Chatrakal ſtands.

April 19th. — I went three coſſes to Heriuru, near which a great change takes place in the appearance of the country. The ſoil is moſtly ſtony, and at this ſeaſon exceedingly parched; ſo that there is ſcarcely any graſs, and the only green things to be ſeen are a few ſcattered mimoſas.

The ſtrata at Heriuru run nearly north and ſouth, and are almoſt quite vertical. The baſis of the country is ſomewhat between an argillite and ſchiſtoſe hornblende. It contains no veins that I obſerved; but in ſome places I ſaw large amorphous maſſes of reddiſh fat quartz imbedded in its ſubſtance. When expoſed to the air it readily decays, and is then covered with a cinereous cruſt. For building it is a very poor ſtone; at leaſt what is near the ſurface; but in a temple of Iſwara, without the walls, I obſerved ſome pieces of it that have been ſquared, and reſemble much the fine hornblende ſlate from Batuculla. It is probable, therefore, that by digging quarries, excellent materials for building might be procured. Of theſe, however, there is no want any where in Karnata.

The only other common rock here is called the black ſtone, and it may be conſidered as forming large beds between the ſtrata of the argillaceous hornblende ſlate. This is an earthy quartz or horn-ſtone, impregnated with hornblende. When expoſed to the air, its maſſes do not readily acquire a cruſt, but ſeparate into irregular quadrangular pieces, truncated at both ends. In the fiſſures may ſometimes be obſerved yellow ſhining *nodules*, which I take to be the *mica aurata*. It contains no other venigenous matter, and does not cut with the tools of the natives; but from the angular ſhape of its fragments, the ſmooth ſurface with which they break, and its great durability, it is excellently fitted for rough walls.

Although the air and water of Heriuru are reckoned ſalutary, and my people were well accommodated, they did not recover their health, and all my ſtock of medicines had been long expended. My cook died rather unexpectedly. His fever never had been ſevere; the paroxyſms had come on as uſual in the morning, and, after it was over, had left him tolerably well; but in the evening he ſuddenly became inſenſible, was convulſed, and died in about an hour. He was a very thoughtleſs man, and much addicted to intoxication; thoſe, therefore, who fancy that all ſpirituous liquors are pernicious, eſpecially in warm climates, will have no difficulty in accounting for his death:

Dicunt ah! nimio pocula dira mero.

But, let me add,

Vobis ſi culpa eſt bilis, ſua quemque ſequuntur
Fata; quod immeriti crimen habent cyathi.

For my own part, I am perſuaded, that intoxication is much ſeldomer a cauſe of diſeaſe than is commonly alledged; and that it chiefly proves injurious to the health of our ſeamen and ſoldiers in warm climates, by making them imprudently expoſe themſelves to other cauſes of ſickneſs. The two perſons in my ſervice that are moſt ſubject to fevers, are my interpreter and painter, although from their ſituation in life they are exempted from all hardſhips; but from their caſt they ought never to taſte ſpirituous liquor, and are really ſober men, avoiding not only liquor but every intoxicating drug. At the ſame time, a man who takes care of my tents, although he is expoſed to all weathers, and at times to much fatigue, enjoys perfect health, and probably keeps off the fever by copiouſly drinking ſpirituous liquors, to the uſe of which he is exceedingly addicted.

The arrival of a ſet of freſh men, and the conſequent preparations for our departure, cauſed great joy among my people, notwithſtanding their weak ſtate. When the cook was taken ill, I had given orders to ſecure his effects for the benefit of his wife and children; but on inſpection after his death, no money could be found. Whether he had been plundered as ſoon as he became inſenſible, and that a guilty conſcience occaſioned fears among his companions, or whether the ſudden manner of his death occaſioned ſuſpicions, I cannot ſay; but it was immediately believed that he would become a Pyſachi, and all my people were filled with terror. The butler imagined that the Pyſachi appeared to him at night, with a black ſilk handkerchief tied round its head, and gave him inſtructions to take all the effects of the deceaſed to his family; upon this, the butler, being a man of courage, put his ſhoes at the right ſide of the door, which he conſidered to be a ſure preventive againſt ſuch intruders. Next night, a cattle-driver, lying in all the agonies of nocturnal terror, ſaw the appearance of a dog enter, and ſmell round the place where the man had died; when to his utter diſmay, the ſpectre gradually grew larger and larger, and at length, having aſſumed the form of the cook, vaniſhed with a ſhriek. The poor man had not the courage to uſe the ſlippers, but lay till morning in a kind of ſtupor. After this, even the minds of the ſepoys were appalled; and when I happened to be awake, I heard the ſentries, by way of keeping up their courage, ſinging with a tremulous voice.

CHAP. XIX. — *Journey from Heriuru to Seringapatam, through the Weſtern and Middle Parts of the Myſore Dominions.*

MAY 2d, 1801. — In the morning I went four coſſes to Ellady-caray, which is ſituated among the low hills, running ſouth-eaſt from Chatrakal. I ſaw no houſes by the way; but ſome muſt have been near my route, as in different places I obſerved a few fields that were cultivated. I paſſed through ſeveral ruined villages. The appearance of the country is deſolate, and it is ſaid never to have been much better in the memory of man. The ſoil is entirely poor ſtony land; and the naked rocks, in a ſtate of decay, come frequently to the ſurface. The graſs in many places is long, but at this ſeaſon it is quite withered; and the only things green that are viſible, are a few wild date palms (*Elate ſylveſtris*), moſt of which are young. In moiſt places they grow ſpontaneouſly, and produce juice, which is often boiled into jagory. The hills are of no conſiderable height, and among them there is much plain ground. By the natives this is conſidered as of very little uſe; but to me much of it appears to be very capable of being rendered productive, whenever labourers and ſtock can be found.

Between Heriuru and Ellady-caray the ſtrata are all nearly vertical, and of a ſlaty ſtructure; but near the ſurface they are in ſuch a ſtate of decay, that it would be difficult

cult to determine the ſpecies. Some appeared to be the ſame with the quartz, impregnated with hornblende, that is found in the weſtern Ghats. The layers or plates are in general very thin. There are no veins of quartz; but many of the ſtrata, or rather thin plates, of which united the ſtrata are compoſed, are fat quartz. Theſe ſtrata, or beds of quartz, are from a quarter of an inch to two feet in thickneſs, and are often ſtained of a livid colour, which I have nowhere elſe obſerved.

The talcoſe argillite of Heriuru is here very common, and paſſes at times entirely into pure argillite, like the ſlate uſed for the roofs of houſes. The tranſitions from the one ſtone to the other are ſo gradual, that it would be difficult to ſay where the one ends, and the other begins. The ſlate here is grey, blue, and purple. All that I ſaw, being near the ſurface, was in a ſtate of decay, and therefore uſeleſs; but that is the caſe on the ſurface of the beſt ſlate quarries in Scotland.

3d May. — I went three ſhort coſſes to Chica-bayli-caray; that is, the little hedge-tank.

4th May. — I went one coſs ſouth, to ſee the mine at Cudera Canavay; and having examined it, I returned to Chica-bayli-caray. The road paſſes through a valley ſurrounded by low hills, and about half way there is a fortified village. At the bottom of the hill on which the mine is, there is a plain of a very good ſoil, which would be the moſt proper place of reſidence for the ſmelters.

On the road I met with an image of Hanumanta, going on an annual viſit that he makes to his maſter at a temple called Raméſwara. From the neighbouring villages he was attended by all the better ſort of inhabitants, male and female, young and old; the Sivabhactars excepted, who abominate both this idol, and that of his maſter, Viſhnu. The people compoſing the train of the god were very irregular and diſorderly; but they had collected together a number of flags, and inſignia of honour, with every thing that could be found in the country capable of making a noiſe. The men who carried the idol ſaid, that the god would reſt himſelf at a mandapam near Raméſwara, and allow his followers to aſſemble, and form themſelves into ſome order; after which he would viſit the image of Ráma; and having returned to the mandapam, he would ſit in ſtate, while for his amuſement the people played before this building. The Bráhmans would then ſell them ſome victuals, which were conſecrated by having been dreſſed in the temple, and offered to the god with the proper incantations (mantrams). Having feaſted on theſe, the image would return to his own temple, attended as on his outſet. This is what is called a jatram; and had the image been that of one of the great gods, it would have been carried in a rath, or chariot; but for Hanumanta a litter is ſufficient.

Cudera Canavay, or the horſe-hill, is a hummock about a hundred and fifty feet in perpendicular height. The north end is ſteepeſt, the ſlope toward the ſouth being gentle. The eaſt and weſt ſides alſo are pretty ſteep. The natives ſay, that Doray-guda is about ten coſſes to the ſouth-eaſt, and that there is a continued ridge of low hills extending the whole way between the two mines; but none of them contain ore.

The ſurface of Cudera Canavay is ſmooth, and is not interrupted by rocks. The ſoil is a poor red earth. I ſaw only one lump of hæmatites; and that, when compared with the fine maſſes lying on the ſurface of Doray-guda, is very poor and ill-formed. The whole extent of the hill is not great, and the miners have contented themſelves with digging the ore from the ſurface of the hill near its ſummit. No ſhaft nor pit having been made, I cannot form any eſtimate of the quantity of ore remaining. The mine appears to be much richer than that of Doray; for the quantity of barren ſtone intermixed with the ore is very ſmall. This barren

ſtone reſembles the ore very much; and, no doubt, could the natives extract it, contains much iron. The ſpecimen which I have brought away, has concentric layers ſomewhat like a log of wood. The ſuperficial earth in moſt places is not above a foot thick. On digging into it, the miner comes to a mixture of ochres, earth, and ore, in a tabular form. This mixture ſometimes extends in depth ſo far as has been wrought, which no where, that I ſaw, exceeded five or ſix feet. In other places the miner meets with large maſſes of ore, conſiſting of a number of plates united together like ſchiſtus. This by the miners is called black iron-ſtone. Theſe maſſes have a tendency to divide into rhomboidal fragments. In other places the ore is found in a number of flat pieces, divided by fiſſures into parallelograms, perhaps three inches long, two broad, and one thick. Theſe fragments are placed in layers contiguous to one another; but they are ſeparated by the ſlighteſt force, the fiſſures being filled up with reddiſh ochre. By the workmen this is called red-ore; and becauſe it is taken out of the mine with the leaſt trouble it is moſt eſteemed. All kinds, when broken to ſmall pieces, and rendered proper for the furnace, are quite the ſame. The manner of working is very ſimple. The miner forms a cut with a perpendicular ſurface, and throws all the rubbiſh down the declivity. He then continues cutting down from the hill, with his perpendicular ſurface, two or three feet in height. He works with a pick-axe, and cuts promiſcuouſly through earth, ſtones, and ore. Having brought down a ſufficient quantity, he rubs the fragments; and having picked out the ſmaller pieces of ore, he throws down the hill all the earth, ochres, barren ſtone, and larger maſſes of ore; for the trouble of breaking any of theſe into lumps the ſize of the fiſt, is greater than that of cutting down more from the hill. I obſerved nothing like ſtrata in the mine, and look upon the preſent ſhape aſſumed by the ore, as of very recent date. From the rubbiſh thrown down by former miners, which conſiſts in a great meaſure of ferrugineous particles, theſe have, I imagine, united into their preſent form; and the layers may be often obſerved intermixed with the roots of vegetables. Indeed, the proceſs is probably now regularly going on; and until the hill be entirely conſumed, the mine may be continued to be wrought in the ſame manner as it is at preſent.

On the north-eaſt ſide of the hill, from which I aſcended, the ſtrata are in general vertical, and run from ſouth eaſterly to north weſterly. They are of quartz blended with hornblende, forming a hard, very tough, and ſonorous ſtone, interſected with fiſſures, but free from venigenous matters, and having a flaty ſtructure, with plates from an inch to a foot in thickneſs. In other places, this ſtone is not vertical, but has only a dip toward the eaſt. In this I frequently obſerved the quartz and hornblende diſpoſed in alternate layers; that is to ſay, certain alternate thin portions of the quartz were leſs impregnated with the hornblende than thoſe that intervened. From the diſpoſition of theſe, the ſtone looked as if at one time it had been fluid, and had then undergone an undulating motion; for the different coloured portions were diſpoſed ſomewhat like the colours on marbled paper, or like the fibres in a knot of timber. To give a proper idea of this would require a ſpecimen ten feet in diameter; but even in the ſpecimen which I brought away, it is obſervable, although that has ſuffered a conſiderable decay. I had no means of breaking a ſpecimen from the centre of the rock.

Here I alſo obſerved a rock of a ſimilar nature, but divided into rhomboidal fragments by wide fiſſures, ſome of which were empty, and others filled with veins of fat quartz, which muſt therefore be of later origin. This reſembled the rock deſcribed in the ſeventh chapter of my journal, Vol. II. p. 43, at Malailwara Pagoda, near

Madana

Madana Mada, which is about eight coſſes from hence toward the ſouth-eaſt. There, however, the veins of quartz formed a complete net-work, involving the fragments of the original ſtone, which contained little or no hornblende.

5th May. — I went to Muteodu, diſtant three coſſes.

6th May. — In the evening of the 5th there was much thunder, with heavy ſqualls of wind from every quarter of the compaſs, and ſome ſevere ſhowers of rain. The thunder continued all night, and the morning looked ſo threatening that I did not ſet out till after breakfaſt. The weather, however, has now become ſo cool, that I did not feel the leaſt inconvenience from being all day in the open air.

I had intended going to Hoſſo-durga, and had ſent my ſpare tents to that place; but, finding it neceſſary to look after the mines, which produce the ores called kemodu and cari-cullu, I was obliged to alter my plan. Neither could I get any accurate information concerning the ſituation of theſe mines; ſome of thoſe even, who where employed in bringing the ore, called them two coſſes diſtant, while others ſtated their diſtance at three times as much.

I went firſt in ſearch of the cari-cullu, and proceeded on the way by which I came yeſterday, till I reached the ſmall valley neareſt Muteodu, diſtant from thence about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a coſs, or two miles. Here I paſſed a ſmall village, named Sida Gondana hully, and came to a low hill, which is called Malaya Maluppa, after a temple dedicated to Siva. This hill forms the eaſtern boundary of the valley, and is of no conſiderable height. The mine of cari-cullu is on its aſcent, and is readily diſcernible from a number of bluiſh-black ſtones, that lie on the ſurface of the ground. No excavation has been made. The cari-cullu is found, in detached maſſes on the ſurface, mixed with the ſtones. Theſe ſtones are often ſo much tinged by the metal, as hardly to be diſtinguiſhable from it; but are known by being broken, when their ſtony nature appears evident. Some of them, when broken, appear internally to have undergone little change, and are evidently fat white quartz; the appearance of the internal parts of others has been ſo much altered, that had I not obſerved them in all intermediate gradations, I ſhould never have ſuppoſed them to have been of a quartzy nature. The maſſes of ſtone are much more numerous than thoſe of the cari-cullu, owing probably to the quantity of the laſt that has been removed from the ſurface. Deeper in the earth it is probably found in a great proportion, but there has been no occaſion to make any experiment by digging. The extent of ground which the mine occupies may be about 200 yards ſquare. The cari-cullu literally ſignifies the black-ſtone. It is found in maſſes about the ſize of the fiſt, and has a very ſtrong reſemblance to the black ore of Manganeſe. By the uſual proceſs, however, for diſcovering the calx of that metal, I have not been able to obtain any; nor indeed any thing elſe, except a brown calx of iron. The ore however, when heated, readily gives out a conſiderable quantity of oxygen.

Immediately north-weſt from the mine, and on the declivity of the ſame hill, is a ſingular ſtratum of rock. It has every appearance of a rock that has formed the channel of a river, being water-worn, and excavated into round pits or pots, exactly like the rocks on which a rapid ſtream has long acted. This is an appearance, concerning which any one who has been accuſtomed to a mountainous, well-watered country can hardly be miſtaken; yet, as the rock is ſituated on the declivity of a hill, and has a valley immediately below it, and parallel to its courſe, it is impoſſible, without a total change having taken place in the face of the country, that it could have formed the bottom of a river. At preſent there is no ſtream in the valley. This rock runs nearly north and ſouth, and is quite vertical. It is a Sienite; ſometimes

times of a homogeneous grey colour, and at other times compoſed of alternate grey and white layers, which laſt conſiſt of the quartz and felſpar entirely. Theſe layers are of very various thickneſſes, and are ſometimes ſtraight, and ſometimes diſpoſed in ſwirls, like a knot of timber. Although it has the appearance of having ſuffered much decay, this ſtone poſſeſſes a very high degree of toughneſs.

Having examined this mine, I returned almoſt to Muteodu, and then proceeded ſouth to a ſmall village, named Cadu-caray, three coſſes diſtant. The country is not hilly, and in moſt places is fit for the plough; but almoſt the whole is waſte. I ſaw only one village, named Chica Taycu-lawati; but I paſſed ſeveral ſmall collections of huts belonging to Goalaru, or keepers of cattle. Towards the eaſt was a range of hills, running from Chatrakal to Chica Nayakana hully. Towards the weſt is a level country, interſperſed with a few low detached hills. On the moſt remarkable of theſe is placed Hoſſo-durga, or the new caſtle.

The ſoil is in general poor, and the rocky ſtrata frequently come to view. Among theſe are very extenſive ſtrata of quartz, and of quartz intermixed with felſpar of a white colour. Intermixed with theſe are ſtrata of white quartz, and black mica, diſpoſed in alternate layers, firmly united, and forming a very hard ſtone.

7th May.—I went in the morning to examine the mine of Kemodu, and another of iron, concerning which I had received intelligence on the preceding evening. The ore is ſmelted here in the ſame manner as at Chica-bayli-caray. When the proceſs fails, a brittle porous maſs is obtained, which has a greater reſemblance to our caſt iron than any thing that I have ſeen produced in India. This maſs is fuſed in a furnace of lower power, and gives an iron ſofter than the common kind; and and from this ſoft iron are uſually formed the hoes, and other digging inſtruments of the natives.

Doda Raſhy Guda, or great heap hill, which contains the mines, is a peak about three hundred feet in height, and a mile in length, that forms part of a ridge running nearly north and ſouth, and lying eaſt from Cadu-caray. Between the mine and this village is another ridge, on the northern extremity of which is a temple dedicated to Ranga, and named Mavana Canavay, from which the rivulet ſo called has its ſource.

As I aſcended this neareſt ridge, the firſt rock which I met was an earthy quartz, or hornſtone, divided by fiſſures in all directions, and having ſome of theſe fiſſures filled with veins of white quartz. This rock is not vertical, but dips much towards the eaſt. Further on, the common rock conſiſts of alternate parallel layers, firmly united, of white arid quartz, and of brown iron-ſhot quartz, or hornſtone. Theſe layers are ſometimes plain, and at others diſpoſed in ſwirls; and as the ſtone in decay, by the attrition of its longitudinal angles, has a great tendency to aſſume a cylindrical form, and always breaks in maſſes, truncated at right angles to the layers, it is often found in pieces which have a ſtrong reſemblance to petrified wood. The ſtone does not break regularly in the direction of the layers, which are diſpoſed in the ſame line with the ſtrata. Theſe are vertical, and run nearly north and ſouth. I am by no means ſure of the nature of the brown part of this ſtone. It may very poſſibly be hornblende overcharged with iron; and the ſienite found yeſterday nearly in the direction of its ſtrata, ſtrongly confirms this opinion.

Between the two ridges I came to the channel of a rivulet, named Aladi-holay, which at preſent is quite dry. Here I found the place whence the glaſs-makers procure the ore called kemodu. For about three quarters of a mile the bed of the rivulet is filled with ſtones of a ſteel-grey colour. Many of theſe are the iron ore called kemodu. It is in water-worn maſſes, from the ſize of a man's head downwards,

wards, and poſſeſſes the external characters of the grey ore of manganeſe. When powdered, it is attracted by the magnet. Intermixed with the kemodu are other maſſes of a ſimilar appearance, but which are uſeleſs. On breaking theſe, they are found to be in all intermediate ſtages of maturation, from the common rock before deſcribed, to almoſt perfect ore.

On aſcending the eaſtern bank of the rivulet, beyond the mine of kemodu, I came to a conical peak on the eaſtern ridge; and obſerved, that all the ſtones on its ſide were ſtained with the ſteel grey of that ore. I ſaw none perfect on it; but on breaking the ſtones I found them in all ſtages, from the rude rock to a ſtate approaching to maturity. Indeed, many grains of pure kemodu were very diſcernible, imbedded thickly in the ſubſtance of theſe ſtones.

Immediately ſouth from this, is the peak called Doda Raſhy Guda, whence the iron ore which ſupplies the forges is procured. This ore is quite the ſame with the black kind at Cudera Canivay, but it is diſpoſed in a different manner. It is imbedded in large irregular cavities of the barren ſtone, or matrix. This conſiſts of plates that are ſeparable without much difficulty, and which, I have no doubt, are the brown layers of the common ſtone of the hill ſeparated by the white ones, having been corroded by iron. It is, no doubt, a primeval rock; and its ſtrata may be traced running in the direction of the meridian, and in general vertically. The ore is ſimilarly compoſed of plates; and fibres of the roots of plants are found to have penetrated into the interſtices; but this, I am inclined to think, has happened after the ſurface has been expoſed by the miners. I alſo ſuppoſe, that the ore has once been the common ſtone of the hill, and has afterwards been more and more impregnated with iron by ſome proceſs unknown to us; in the ſame manner as, I ſuppoſe, has taken place in the ore called kemodu. The various gradations from the perfect ſtone to the perfect ore is the circumſtance that induces me to form this opinion. A portion of the rock having been cut down with a vertical ſmooth face about three feet deep, preſented an appearance ſimilar to that in plate XXXIII. fig. 82. The central parts are of the ore, and contain the roots of plants between their plates. The upper layers are of the barren matrix. I brought away, as a ſpecimen, the upper extremity of the ore, with part of the matrix adhering. Owing to the nature of the mine, the manner of working it is ſomewhat different from that uſed at Cudera Canivay, and the workmen are forced to dig the ore from under the caverns of the matrix. I no where ſaw that they had ventured in farther than ten or twelve feet; ſo that I cannot ſay, whether or not the internal parts of the hill contain any veins, or rather beds, of ore. Openings have been made in various places for about a quarter of a mile in length, which ſeems to be the extent of the mine.

8th May. — I went three coſſes to Belluguru, and by the way paſſed two tanks and villages.

9th May. — In the evening and night there was much loud thunder, with heavy rain from the ſouthward, but little wind. I went four coſſes to Garuda-giri, or the hill of Garuda, the eagle on which Viſhnu rides. It is often pronounced in the oblique caſe Garudana-giri, which by the Muſſulmans, is uſually corrupted to Gurruna-giri; and in a map which I received, I find it called Gurgan-droog.

10th May. — I went two long coſſes to Banawara.

11th May. — I went three long coſſes to Jamagullu. The country is rather more broken than that through which I have come for the laſt two days, and is equally deſerted. The wild date has even overgrown much of the rice-land. Jamagullu at preſent contains about eighty houſes, and has a fort. Before the invaſion of Trumbaca Mama, it was a large place, but has never ſince recovered.

Here

Here is a temple dedicated to Narafingha, and built entirely of Balapum, or pot-ſtone. It is highly ornamented after the Hindu faſhion, and on the outſide every part of its walls is covered with ſmall images in full relievo. Both the general ſtructure of the fabric, and the execution of the component figures, are utterly deſtitute of either grandeur or elegance; indeed, I have not yet had the good fortune to meet with a Hindu image that was tolerable. This temple is ſaid to have been built by Sholun Ráya, and the architect that he employed was named Jacanachery. This Prince lived about a thouſand years ago; and having killed a Bráhman, in order to waſh away his ſin, he employed twenty years in travelling between Káſi and Rámeſwara, and in rebuilding temples. The one here entirely reſembles in its ſtyle the others that I have ſeen which are attributed to the repentance of this perſonage. It has an inſcription on ſtone, but that has been defaced. The annual revenues formerly belonging to the temple amounted to 250 ikeri pagodas (100l. 6s. 4½d). Theſe were entirely removed by the Sultan. Purnea allows it 50 canter' ráya pagodas a year in money, or 15l. 12s. 0½d.

Many of the ſtrata around this are of pot-ſtone. They are quite vertical, and run north and ſouth in the uſual direction of the other ſtrata of the country. In general, the pot-ſtone breaks into ſmall fragments, and is full of fiſſures; but in the neighbouring country there are many quarries, where maſſes of great ſize may be procured. It forms an excellent material for building, being very eaſily cut, and at the ſame time being exceſſively tough. The good kinds reſemble entirely the ſtone at Maru-Hully, deſcribed in the eighth chapter of my Journal, vol. ii. p. 146; and, in fact, are ſomewhat between a hornblende and a pot-ſtone.

12th May.—I went to Hullybedu, a ſtage of about 10 miles, but it is called only two coſſes.

The moſt remarkable building at Hullybedu is a temple of Siva erected by Viſhnu Verdana Ráya. From an inſcription on the wall, this muſt have been before the year of Sal. 1203, or A. D. 128$\frac{2}{1}$. A copy of this inſcription has been delivered to the Bengal government. This temple is built of ſimilar materials, and in a ſimilar ſtyle of architecture, with that at Jamagullu; but is larger, and more crowded with ornaments. Its walls contain a very ample delineation of Hindu mythology; which, in the repreſentation of human or animal forms, is as deſtitute of elegance as uſual; but ſome of the foliages poſſeſs great neatneſs, as may be ſeen by a drawing made of part of one, and given in plate XXVII. figure 83. The temple has long been without a púját, or public worſhip, and has gone ſo far to decay, that it would be repaired with great difficulty. This is a pity, as it much exceeds any Hindu building that I have elſewhere ſeen.

Before the temple are placed two images of the Baſwa, or bull of Siva. The one is of balapum, or the pot-ſtone impregnated with hornblende, of which the temple is built, and which does not admit of a marble poliſh. This ſtone, which as uſual repreſents the bull in a lying poſture, is ſixteen feet long, ten feet high, and ſeven feet broad. The other image is not quite ſo large; but its materials are finer, and admit of a marble poliſh. It ſeems alſo to be a pot-ſtone or perhaps a talc impregnated with hornblende, and contains ſmall irregular veins of a green ſhining matter. Its general colour is black, with a tinge of green. Some of the pillars in the inner part of the temple are of the ſame fine black hornblende that is uſed in Hyder's monument, and are highly poliſhed. Some of them reflect objects double, which by the natives is looked upon as miraculous. Theſe temples having been built when this was the ſeat of empire, and the inhabitants for many centuries having had no occaſion for ſuch coſtly materials in their buildings, the knowledge of the quar-

ries from which they were ſupplied has been loſt; and the natives believe that the ſtones were brought from Káſi, on the banks of the Ganges.

A very common rock here is called by the natives the blackſtone (caricullu). It ſeems to be a hornblende porphyry; but the baſis, having a ſlight degree of tranſparency, probably conſiſts of an intimate union of horn-ſtone, or quartz, with hornblende. It is black, with a greeniſh tinge, and greaſy appearance, and contains white felſpar in pieces of various ſizes. It ſometimes alſo contains veins of quartz, and on that account might perhaps be called a ſienite. It does not cut well for fine buildings, but breaks into quadrangular maſſes, which from their being exceſſively tough and durable, make excellent rough work. For the ſame reaſon it is frequently hollowed out into the mortars of oil mills.

13th May. — I went three coſſes to Bailuru. The country is very bare; ſome of it is hilly, and full of ſtones; much of it is a good ragy ſoil; but very little is cultivated. I croſſed a ſmall river called the Bhadri, which comes from Baba Bodeens hills, and runs into the Cavery. It never dries entirely, and receives the water from all the country ſouth from Banawara. To the weſt of the Bhadri river the country is called Malayar, or the hills; while that on the eaſtern ſide is called Meidán, or the open country. I remained at Bailuru, taking an account of the cultivation there, as an example of that which prevails in the hilly region whence the Cavery has its ſources.

The nature of the Malayar country reſembles that of the ſea-coaſt below the weſtern Ghats, in ſo far as rice is the principal object of cultivation, and as little attention is paid to the rearing of dry grains upon which the people to the north and weſt of the Bhadri chiefly ſubſiſt. In the Malayar country, however, there are no pepper gardens, nor plantations of betel-nut palms, for which it ſeems as well fitted as the Nagara principality. It is ſaid entirely to reſemble the Codagu Ráyáda, or Coorg country. At Bailuru there is no brick-ſtone, and the country abounds with the calcareous tufa. The hills are overgrown with wood, and are conſidered as quite uſeleſs. The vallies only are cultivated.

15th May. — I went three coſſes to Holtaray.

16th May. — I went three Sultany coſſes to Háſina, which derives its name from one of the Saktis, that is the village deity (Gráma Devata). The country through which I paſſed is fine ragy land, but very little of it is cultivated.

17th May. — I went two Sultany coſſes to Gráma, which ſignifies merely a village.

18th May. — I went, what appeared a long ſtage, to Chin'-raya-pattana. It was called four Sultany coſſes.

19th May. — I went two Sultany coſſes to Sravana Belgula.

Seringapatam I found recovering apace. Some more openings for parades, and other public uſes, have been made in the town; but it ſtill continues to be a ſink of naſtineſs. The ſuburb called Shahar Ganjam is increaſing rapidly, and care has been taken to form the ſtreets wide and ſtraight. A new magiſtracy has juſt now been eſtabliſhed, under the ſuperintendance of Captain Symmonds, an eſtabliſhment that was much wanted; for the officers of the garriſon have neither time nor inclination to inveſtigate civil affairs. Proviſions are good, and, bread excepted, are cheap. Artificers have been aſſembled, and are now buſy in preparing military ſtores; ſuch as gun-carriages, leather accoutrements, tents, and cordage of the aloe leaves (agava vivipara). This employs many people, and will turn out a great ſaving to the Company. Trade is beginning to be reſtored, and conſiderable quantities of the produce of Malabar again paſs this way. The lands are increaſing in value; and people, who had formerly deſerted to adjacent diſtricts, are now returning, and with the utmoſt eagerneſs are

reclaiming their former poſſeſſions. This climate, however, continues to be very unhealthy; and a damp is thrown on every thing by the ſickneſs of the reſident, Colonel Cloſe. Owing to this, I have been much diſappointed by not receiving any anſwers to the queries which I propoſed.

CHAP. XX. — *Journey from Seringapatam to Madras.*

JUNE 4th. — Early in the morning I left Seringapatam; on coming to where my tents had been pitched, I found, that in the ſtorm of the preceding night, they had been blown down, and that my people had been diſperſed into the neighbouring villages. I was, therefore, neceſſitated to halt a day, in order to put my tents into ſome kind of repair, and to reaſſemble my people. In this I had great difficulty, moſt of them being intoxicated.

Kari-ghat, near which I halted, is a high peaked hill, which conſiſts chiefly of ſchiſtoſe mica, that is compoſed of white quartz, and ſilvery mica, diſpoſed in an undulating manner. When the ſtone is ſplit in the direction of the ſtrata, the mica is moſt conſpicuous, and makes a very beautiful appearance.

5th June. — I went three coſſes to Banuru.

6th June. — I went two Sultany coſſes to Soſila. The country is plain, with a few ſmall hills interſperſed.

7th June. — I went three coſſes and a half to Kirigavil. The country through which I paſſed is moſtly dry arable land; but much of it is waſte. I croſſed one ſmall ridge of hills, conſiſting of naked rocks of white granite. Kirigavil has once been a large village; but after the affair at Malawilly, the Sultan, in order to prevent it from being of uſe to the army under General Harris, deſtroyed it, and few of the houſes have been rebuilt. The greater part of its inhabitants are Muſſulmans; for, during the former government of the Myſore Rájás, it was given in jaghire to a Mahomedan family in their ſervice. The heir of this family now lives at the place, and has a conſiderable penſion from the Company, for which he appears to be grateful.

8th June. — I went three coſſes to Malawilly. All the country through which I paſſed ſeems capable of cultivation; and there are veſtiges remaining to ſhow that the whole has once been ploughed, and encloſed with thickſet hedges. Much of it is now waſte, and the fences are very ruinous. There is little irrigation.

Hyder gave Malawilly in jaghire to his ſon Tippoo, and of courſe it enjoyed conſiderable favour, and contained a thouſand houſes. Adjoining to the town is a very fine reſervoir, that gives a conſtant ſupply of water to a fruit-garden which the Sultan planted. This is of great extent; but the ſoil is poor; and ſome of it is indeed ſo bad, that the trees have died, and the ground has been again converted into rice-fields. The eſtabliſhment kept in this garden conſiſts of one daroga, or ſuperintendant; one writer, and ten labourers, who, as they cultivate the rice-fields, are not able to keep the fruit-trees in decent order, much leſs to prevent the walks from being in a moſt ſlovenly condition. The trees are 2400 in number; and of theſe one-half are mangoes. They are loaded with fruit, and ſome of the oranges are very fine. The mangoes that I ſaw were but ordinary. One kind, if the account of the ſuperintendant is to be credited, is very curious. It annually produces two crops,—one in the hot ſeaſon, and the other during the rains. In the centre of the garden is a ſmall, but neat cottage (bungalo), from which graſs walks diverge in all directions.

9th June. — I went four long coſſes to Hulluguru.

10th June. — I went two Sultany coſſes to Satnuru, through a pretty wide valley, with hills on both ſides of the road.

11th June.

11th June. — I went three coſſes to Canicarna-hully, commonly called Cancanhully.

13th June. — I went three coſſes to Malalawady, a village of the Chena-pattana diſtrict.

14th June. — I went four coſſes to Tully.

15th June. — I went three coſſes to Panch-akſhara-pura.

16th June. — I went three coſſes to Kellamangalam, and by the way croſſed two barren ridges covered with wood. Much of the intermediate arable land is waſte.

The ſtrata, the whole way between Seringapatam and Kellamangala, lie north and ſouth, and are all vertical. Many of them are grey granite. In the eaſtern part of Karnata I have obſerved no pot-ſtone. The nodules of lime-ſtone are very common, as is alſo iron-ore in the form of black ſand.

18th June. — I went two coſſes to Waragan-hully. The country conſiſts of low rocky hills overgrown with bruſhwood. Interſperſed are conſiderable portions of arable land.

19th June. — I went three coſſes to Ráya-cotay, where my ſurvey ended; but I ſhall continue to note down what I obſerved on my return to Madras.

20th June. — I went ſeventeen miles to Kriſhna-giri. The road is good, and moſt of the way leads through narrow defiles among hills covered with bruſhwood. The deſcent is very gentle. Towards Kriſhna-giri I croſſed the Dakſhana Pinakani, or Pennar. The former is the Sanſkrit, the latter the vulgar name of this river. Near Kriſhna-giri the country conſiſts of a plain, in which are ſcattered high rocky hills.

That on which the fort of Kriſhna-giri is ſituated is about 700 feet in perpendicular height, and remarkably bare and ſteep. Much of the plain is rice-ground; but the ſoil, although well watered, is in general poor. A new village has been founded, excellent roads have been made, and convenient houſes for the European gentlemen have been built. The weather at this ſeaſon is cool, with ſtrong weſterly winds, which bring many clouds to mitigate the power of the ſun.

21ſt June. — I remained at Kriſhna-giri with Captain Graham, the collector, a gentleman educated in the ſchool of Colonel Read. My intention was to have returned from Kriſhna-giri to Madras by the way of Gingee; but Captain Graham prevented me from adopting this plan, by informing me, that the country through which I muſt have paſſed had become ſo deſolate, that I ſhould find great difficulty in procuring a ſubſiſtence.

22d June. — I went twelve miles, by an excellent road, to Malapaddy. The country, like that near Kriſhna-giri, conſiſts of a plain, in which are ſcattered high detached rocky hills. The ſoil of the plain is poor, and much of it is waſte, and overgrown with bruſhwood. Malapaddy, although placed in the heart of the Bára-mahál, never belonged to that province, and has long been annexed to Arcot. The Nabob has given it in jaghire to the huſband of one of his ſiſters. It is a very ſorry place. Here the language of the Tamuls is almoſt the only one that is ſpoken.

23d June. — I went about fifteen miles to Tripaturu. The plains on this day's route are wider than thoſe I ſaw yeſterday, and are alſo better cultivated. The hills are lengthened out into ridges. Tripaturu is a large open village, containing ſome good houſes neatly roofed with tiles. This is to be ſeen no where in Karnata, and theſe roofs have been probably conſtructed by workmen from Madras, where a long intercourſe with Europeans has greatly improved the natives in all the arts. At this place an attempt was made by Colonel Read to introduce the manufacture of ſugar, and the rearing of ſilk-worms. A Mr. Light, from the Weſt Indies, and a native of Bengal, were procured to ſuperintend; but both have failed.

24th June. — I went fourteen miles to Vanambady, a village fortified with a mud-wall.

25th June. — I went thirteen miles to Amboor.

26th June. — I went thirteen miles to a ſmall village named Anavan Nelluru.

27th June. — I went eleven miles down the Palar to Viranchi-pura, an open town, ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the river. It formerly was a large place, and poſſeſſed many public buildings, both Hindu and Muſſulman; but all theſe have ſuffered much from the towns having been repeatedly deſtroyed in Hyder's wars. A large temple of Iſwara has eſcaped, having been ſurrounded by a very large and ſtrong wall of cut granite, that excluded irregulars; and Hyder took no delight in the deſtruction of temples. On the walls of this temple, there are many inſcriptions, which are written in the Grantham character, and ſome of them are ſaid to be of great antiquity. The Bráhmans promiſed to ſend me copies, but this they neglected to do. They were very clamorous in complaining againſt the Nabob, although he annually allows the temple 2000 pagodas, or 800l. The town ſeems to be recovering faſt.

28th June. — I went eight miles, and halted at a little diſtance eaſt from Vellore. There I viſited the buildings preparing for the families of Hyder and Tippoo. They are built with accommodations ſimilar to thoſe uſed by Muſſulmans; and the architecture is more elegant, and the apartments are more commodious, than thoſe in the palace of Seringapatam. The building would have been ſtill more elegant, had not the cuſtom of thoſe who were to occupy it required long dead walls and narrow ſtaircaſes, with other things that by us are conſidered as deformities.

29th June. — I went about fourteen miles to Wallaja-petta, or Wallaj'-abad, on the north ſide of the river, about two miles from Arcot. The valley leading from Vanambady to Vellore, or Velluru, opens here into a level country containing both dry-field and rice-ground. The weather in the day, although there are ſtrong winds from the weſt, is very hot. There are occaſional ſhowers of rain, that have brought forward the crop of bajera (holcus ſpicatus), which is that commonly raiſed on the dry-field.

30th June. — I remained at Wallaja-petta, in order to give my people reſt. This town was built by the orders of the late Nabob, Mahummed Aly Wallaja, and called after his own name. The people were removed from Laal-petta and other places, which with the Muſſulman Princes of India is a common practice. Soon after, it had the misfortune to fall into the hands of Hyder; but on the reſtoration of peace, the Nabob heaped benefits on his favourite, and it has riſen to a great ſize, and is regularly built, rich, and populous. Its fortifications are mouldering to decay; but, as the place is now far from an enemy, it is not ſoon likely to regret the loſs. Almoſt the whole of the trade, between the country above the Ghats and the ſea-coaſt, centers here; and a larger aſſortment of goods can, it is ſaid, be procured at Wallaja-petta than in any town of the peninſula, Madras itſelf not excepted. Proviſions are plenty and cheap.

1ſt July. — I went a ſhort ſtage to Wochuru Choultry, having paſſed through a fine country very well irrigated from numerous reſervoirs. Owing to the excellent ſupply of water, ſome of the rice-ground is even now in crop.

Wochuru is an inn (choultry), with a pent roof of tiles, and was built for the accommodation of travellers. This kind of building, in the native language, is called chauvadi, from which perhaps the Engliſh term choultry is derived. The ſame kind of building, which conſiſts of one long hall open in front, is alſo uſed by the native officers, for the place in which they tranſact buſineſs. When behind the hall there is a ſquare court, ſurrounded by buildings for the accommodation of travellers; the inn is by the natives called chitteram; by the Engliſh this alſo is called choultry. Every where within forty or fifty miles of Madras ſuch uſeful buildings are very common, and have been erected and endowed by the rich native merchants of that flouriſhing city.

At

At Wochuru there is alſo a very handſome tank, formed by digging a ſquare cavity into the ſoil. Its ſides are lined entirely with cut granite in the form of ſtairs. Such a tank, when intended for the accommodation of travellers, or of the people of the neighbourhood, in the Tamul language is called colam; in the Karnataca dialect it is called cúntay; and by the Telingas, and ſouthern Muſſulmans, it would be called gunta. Similar tanks, that are within the walls of a covil, or temple, are called by the Sanſkrit names calliany, ſarovara, tirta, or puſcarany.

2d July. — I entered the Company's jaghire, and went to Conjeveram, which by the natives is univerſally called Kunji. The country has more verdure than it had laſt year when I viſited it. The rains uſual about this ſeaſon had not then commenced; but they have this year been unuſually favourable.

All over the coaſt of Coromandel, it is common in May, June, and July, to have occaſional ſhowers, and at ſome period of that time to have even three or four days heavy rain, which ſomewhat cools the air, and enables the cultivation for dry grains to take place. The weather now, although hot, is cloudy, with ſtrong winds from the weſt. Such weather uſually prevails about this time for eight or ten days; and at Tanjore is well known to precede the riſing of the Cavery, which is at the higheſt when the periodical rains prevail in Myſore. Theſe clouds ſeem to be an extenſion of thoſe which before and during the violence of the monſoon collect over the weſtern ghats. When theſe have poured down, and have occaſioned the ſwelling of the river, the rains even in Karnata abate, and the weather clears in the countries below the eaſtern ghats, until October, when the eaſterly monſoon brings on the proper rainy ſeaſon of the ſea-coaſt. In the interval, the weather at Madras is often exceſſively hot, and the ſea-breeze frequently fails; or what occaſions more uneaſineſs, blows from the ſouth, and is then called the long ſhore wind.

3d July. — I went to Vira Permal Pillay's Chitteram, or inn built by Vira Permal, a Madras Dubaſhy.

4th July. — I went to Sri Permaturu. or Varam-phuthur, a celebrated temple and agrarum, or abode of Brahmans, which is ſituated about a mile out of the road; but I was deſirous of viſiting a place, rendered remarkable by its having given birth to Rama Anuja Achárya.

5th July — I returned to Condatura, and on the day following arrived at Madras; having obſerved, ever ſince paſſing the Ghats, more and more ſigns of improvement, the nearer I approached this European city.

I was here greatly diſappointed at not finding any anſwers returned to the queries which I had propoſed to the gentlemen who managed Bára-mahál and Coimbetore; as I had depended on this aſſiſtance, and as their great knowledge and abilities would have enabled me to correct many errors into which I muſt have fallen, and to obtain much information which a traveller cannot procure.

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

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